PICTORIAL NARRATIVE IN ANCIENT GREEK ART

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For Wendy and Ben

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Chapter 1

AN APPROACH TO PICTORIAL NARRATIVE

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The scholarly study of pictorial narrative in Greek art goes back to the later nineteenth century and the work of C. Robert. In his book *Bild und Lied* (1881), Robert examined some of the fundamental questions of narration that have occupied scholars ever since: types of narrative strategy, the relationship between literature and art in storytelling, the study of iconographic questions, and the historical development of narration.[1] He saw that poet and artist both drew upon the same collective consciousness that produced the *Sage* or myths of ancient Greece, and that poet and artist altered the *Sage* to fit within the forms of their art. In his book, Robert distinguishes three types of narrative schemes used by artists – complete (*kompletive Verfahren*), situation (*Situationsbilder*), and cyclical (*Bildercyklen* or *Chroniken-Stil*) – and linked their development to the history of Greek art and literature. Robert's work was developed further by F. Wickhoff, who substituted the term *continuirende Darstellungsweise*, or "continuous narration," for *Chroniken-Stil*, but otherwise continued Robert's tripartite scheme.[2] This same structure endures in K. Weitzmann's 1947 study of the origins of book illustration.[3] These three studies may well be said to form the foundation of discussions of narrative in ancient art.

Throughout these studies, there is a predominant concern for the nature of time and space within a picture, and whether their link in the real world is maintained in art. Weitzmann's particular interest with the dimension of time led him to coin the term *simultaneous* for Robert's *kompletive Verfahren*, a type in which multiple moments of the story are combined in the same picture; this technique dominated the Archaic period of Greek art. An example of this is the picture on the neck of an amphora found in the cemetery at Eleusis that shows the blinding of Polyphemos (Fig. 1, "Eleusis Polyphemos").[4] In it, we see Polyphemos on the right holding a skyphos in his right hand while his left hand attempts to ward off the stake that Odysseus and two of his men are driving into his eye. This composition, however, presents some narrative anomalies from the detailed account of the episode found in *Odyssey* 9. There we learn that Odysseus gets Polyphemos drunk. Polyphemos passes out and throws up, at which point Odysseus heats up the stake and with his men drives it into the eye of the Cyclops. Polyphemos awakes screaming and pulls the stake from his eye while Odysseus and his men hide. Whereas the literary version presents a

1. Protoattic amphora from Eleusis, ca. 670–650. Blinding of Polyphemos; Perseus fleeing the Gorgons. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

straightforward temporal succession of events, the painting does not. Polyphemos cannot still be holding his cup in a drinking position if he has passed out; if he is conscious, then he sees the attack coming. His eye is open so he should see the attack coming, but if this is the case then he did not pass out. These narrative contradictions have led to the conclusion that the artist was conflating

2. Protoargive krater fragment, mid-seventh century. Blinding of Polyphemos. Argos, Archaeological Museum, C 149. (Photo courtesy of the École Française d'Archéologie, © EFA)

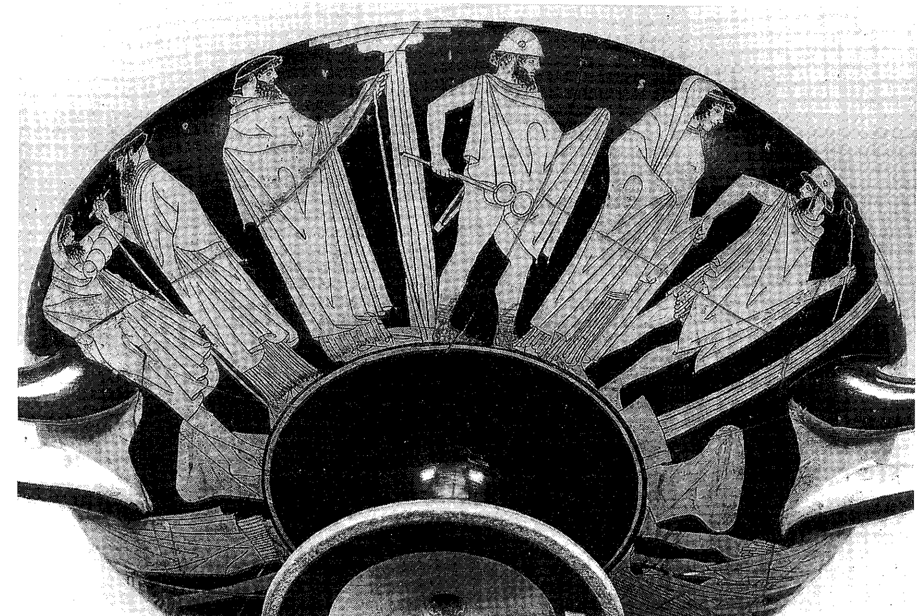
different moments into the composition by including elements such as the cup that do not belong with the main action, but this presupposes that the artist is illustrating the literary account. Some of these contradictions do disappear if one does not hold the *Odyssey* version as canonical. For example, the attack may not be on the passed-out Polyphemos, but on a drunken and slow Polyphemos who sees it coming but is too slow in his reaction.

For Robert's *Situationsbilder*, Weitzmann uses the term *monoscenic*, emphasizing the unity of time and place: one picture, one space, one moment. According to Weitzmann, this method became prominent in the Classical period, but we can find a good example of it on another seventh-century representation of the Polyphemos story from Argos (Fig. 2, "Argive Polyphemos").[5] Here we see Polyphemos lying on a bed of rocks as if he had passed out. To the right, at least three men drive a giant branch whose point has gouged the eye of the Cyclops. Blood spatters from the eye and Polyphemos reaches toward the point of affliction. Which of the figures may be Odysseus is uncertain, and he may have appeared on the missing section of the krater at the end of the stake, a position from which he can turn the weapon like a drill as the *Odyssey* describes.[6] All of the elements belong to a single moment of time, without the potential temporal inconsistencies of the Eleusis Polyphemos when compared to the literary account.

3. Attic red-figure kylix by the Briseis Painter (name vase), ca. 480. A: Briseis led away from the tent of Achilles. London, British Museum, E 76. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

The limitations of the single picture for narrative began to fade when artists, according to Weitzmann, developed the cyclic method of narration in the Classical and Hellenistic periods: "By conceiving each changing situation of the text as a picture in itself, the artist creates now a series of consecutive compositions with separate and centered actions, repeating the actors in each and so observing at the same time the rules of the unity of time and place."[7] An early fifth-century cup showing Briseis being led away from the tent of Achilles and into the camp of Agamemnon demonstrates this (Figs. 3 and 4).[8] In both, we see the two heralds flanking Briseis, who is led by the hand. The repetition of the figures clearly indicates that there are two scenes here and hence two successive moments of the story, although disagreement exists over whether the second arrival scene is the arrival at Agamemnon's camp or the later return of Briseis to Achilles.[9] In either case, the pictures depict the story by showing multiple moments like a filmstrip.

Weitzmann's terminology and definitions have become fairly standard in English-language studies, and Robert's and Wickhoff's are found in German-language publications. Wickhoff's category of *continuous* narration has also been used in a more limited sense to distinguish a type of *cyclical* narrative in which the scenes are shown as a frieze without break.[10] Throughout these studies, there is a clear link between narrative type and the historical development of style in Greek art, so that as Greek artists became more adept at the problems of representing form and space, they became more naturalistic in their representation of time in narrative. This essentially tripartite model of pictorial narrative



4. Attic red-figure kylix by the Briseis Painter (name vase), ca. 480. B: Briseis led to the tent of Agamemnon. London, British Museum, E 76. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

might best be categorized as morphological and progressively evolutionary in nature, and its simplicity, symmetry, and elegance are appealing.

Other scholars have complemented this approach to pictorial narrative by focusing on style or iconography. K. Schefold, for example, relies primarily on style as a defining criterion and for drawing analogies between the characteristics of different forms of poetry and their artistic equivalents.[11] An epic style arises at the same time as the Homeric poems, exploring the fundamental situations of life, and is followed in succession by a lyric phase, an epic-cyclical phase, a dramatic phase, a new lyric phase prompted by a deeper understanding of Homer, and finally a tragic phase. To name the category of narration is to situate a pictorial narrative stylistically and historically. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz approached the interpretation of narrative characters as "hieroglyphs," that is, a collection of specific forms that conveys a meaning and tells a story.[12] Whether it is the individual form or character, like the figure of Polyphemos, that bears the burden of recognition and meaning in a narrative, or it is the formula or combination of elements as I. Raab has argued, has been the subject of some debate. In all of these studies, however, it has been the point of view of the artist that is paramount; the artist creates a narrative with a specific meaning and intent that only needs to be defined.

In the past decade or two, there have been challenges to the tripartite model, adding categories to the taxonomy while undermining its evolutionary hypothesis. For example, A. M. Snodgrass uses the term *synoptic* as a synonym for the earlier categories of complementary and simultaneous narrative, defining it as

having "within a single picture two or more successive episodes in a story, but without repeating any individual figure."[13] More fundamentally, Snodgrass has recognized both synoptic and monoscenic categories in the earliest phases of Greek art and attributes their use to the needs of artists in depicting a particular story, and not to their stylistic development or sophistication. As the two Polyphemos pictures demonstrated, the differences between two representations is potentially one of degree, particularly when one provides an artist with a degree of latitude in formulating a narrative independently of any specific literary source. J. M. Hurwit proposes a new category, *serial* narrative, which he defines as a "method of telling a single myth on a series of contiguous yet self-contained panels, where the characters appear but once."[14] This method appears on works of the seventh century, making the use of multiple images much earlier than had been proposed (see Section 4.3 in Chapter Four). Hurwit sees this period as one of great experimentation in narrative and finds in it the occurrence of another category, *progressive* narrative. This is a term E. Harrison had earlier defined for fifth-century art, in which there is a single work with no repetition of characters but with temporal progression from one part of the work to another.[15] H. A. Shapiro has proposed *unified* narrative for the case in which there are multiple scenes that belong to same moment of time, but each scene occupying a different space.[16] J. B. Connelly has added *episodic* narrative to the list, using it to distinguish the depiction of "several different episodes within a single larger story" that are not synchronic, but this might also be seen as a variation of Hurwit's progressive narrative.[17] The resulting taxonomy of narrative can best be summarized in Table 1.1.

What this admittedly dense review of recent work on narrative reveals is that the nature of pictorial narrative is more complicated than the tripartite model allowed and that its progressive and evolutionary hypothesis is no longer neatly tenable.

This situation has led some scholars to turn to theories of literary narration for new models and terminology, not just in studies of Greek art, but of ancient art generally as the essays collected by P. J. Holliday in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* attest.[18] Earlier, C. Bérard described a semiotic approach for the analysis of images and their meaning, stressing the image as a collection of minimal formal units that combine syntagmatically to create identity and meaning, while paradigmatically they link the image to others that are similar in type.[19] In separate articles on the early Archaic François vase and the sculptural program of the fifth-century Nike temple on the Akropolis, A. Stewart borrows terms and concepts from structural analysis and semiotics to distinguish between *paradigmatic* narrative, in which scenes from different stories are linked thematically or symbolically, and *syntagmatic* narrative, in which these scenes follow each other in a sequence, such as the history of a family.[20] The concept of a form of pictorial narrative that can exist outside of the chronological exposition of a single story adds considerably to the complexity of the subject. For example, the Eleusis Polyphemos also shows the story of Perseus on its body (Fig. 1); R. Osborne has proposed that the two scenes share a theme of death

Table 1–1 Types of Pictorial Narration

Type	No. of Pictures	Characters	Time	Space
Monoscenic	1	No repeats	One moment	One space
Synoptic/simultaneous	1	No repeats	Multiple	One
Progressive	1	No repeats	Multiple	Multiple
Unified	2+	No repeats	One	Multiple
Cyclical	2+	Repeats	Multiple	Multiple
Continuous	2+	Repeats	Multiple	One landscape
Episodic	2+	No repeats	Multiple	Multiple
Serial	2+	No repeats	Multiple	Multiple

as blindness that is appropriate for the funerary function of the vessel.[21] Stewart has also used literary criticism as a model to explore the multiple layers of time within the act of narration, a threefold present that includes the memory of the past and expectations of the future, and the interaction that takes place between the memory of a story and its poetic reformulation.[22] This idea of reader or viewer response has drawn attention in studies of Roman art, especially in the work of R. Brilliant and J. Elsner, and in the study of fifth-century Athenian art by D. Castriota.[23] Rhetoric and ekphrasis have been particularly helpful in providing material for this kind of "reader" or "viewer" analysis that is fundamental to narrative. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, who have edited some recent essays touching on narration, note that even simple acts of naming figures in a picture "construct and imply a relation between an object and a viewer," and that even the process of identification involves some degree of interpretation.[24] In their collection, this act of viewing and the role of the viewer is examined in more detail from the perspective of Euripidean ekphrasis by F. Zeitlin.[25]

Not only the viewer, but also the viewing context has begun to receive more attention recently. F. Lissarrague notes, for example, that the image is part of a chain linking painter and spectator through viewing context and iconography.[26] A shift in viewing context, such as the export of a vase to Etruria, can change the nature and meaning of a narrative, even though the image has not changed. The importance of the cultural context and the interactive nature of the viewing process in creating meaning in a work has also been emphasized by C. Sourvinou-Inwood.[27] H. Hoffmann explores the controversial issues of the function of vases, whether they are meant for the symposion or are a symbolic representation of the symposion for a funerary context.[28] Osborne stresses the importance of the viewing context in interpreting images of centaurs. These specific studies demonstrate the importance of the viewing process and of the original viewing context in understanding narrative imagery. As mentioned before, the funerary function of the Eleusis Polyphemos amphora (Fig. 1) provides a potentially different experience of the narrative than the function of the Argos Polyphemos krater (Fig. 2). The latter, if used in the context of a symposion, whether real or for the dead, is the place where wine is mixed with water and then served to

the drinkers. The effects of too much wine on the drinker are amply demonstrated by the picture, perhaps in both a heroic and humorous vein. The point is that two narratives, even while of the same subject, can be as different in their impact as an epic and a lyric account of the same story.

This admittedly brief review of scholarship on narrative does not do justice to the intricacies and insights of the authors, nor does it claim that these interpretations and models of narrative are wrong. Although some on the one hand might criticize recent studies as oversophisticated and applying modern conceptions to Archaic practices, and others on the other hand criticize older studies as simplistic or biased in their philosophical foundation, in actuality, they all have legitimacy as narrative responses and are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[29] Indeed, as S. Fish has discussed in terms of reader response, the fact that an interpretation can be sustained demonstrates its validity as a point of view.[30] As viewers change, whether ancient Greek or modern, so does the understanding of the story being depicted. What I propose in this book is a systematic approach to pictorial narrative that accommodates the differing viewpoints, a framework that defines the different levels at which narrative and its constituent elements work and one that defines the role of each participant in the act of narration: artist, object, and viewer. To do this, it will be necessary to utilize several methodologies rather than one, including structural analysis, semiotics, formal analysis, reader response, poststructuralism, and iconographic analysis. Although ideologically these methods are often set against each other, each contributes at some level and in some manner to the understanding of narrative and the act of narration.

1.2 AN "ARISTOTELIAN" VIEW

The use of literary perspectives raises two fundamental issues that should be addressed before laying out a framework for pictorial narrative. First is the issue of whether narration can actually take place in a visual medium. Second is whether theories developed for the study of written literature can be applied to the pictorial arts. I would argue briefly that one can, provided that adaptations be made for the nature of the different media. Furthermore, parallels between art and poetry were apparent to ancient viewers that permit us to consider ancient pictorial narrative by incorporating a literary perspective.

The dichotomy of two basic modes of representation, description and narration, has been one of the basic objections to the existence of narrative in the visual arts. Over two centuries ago, Lessing claimed that as description poetry was inferior to painting, but it excelled at moving the emotions through narrative.[31] This dialectic has continued to resonate into the present. Since an image can be glanced all at once, whereas a literary work must be perceived over an extended period of time, some literary theorists would argue that narration cannot take place in art because time, the essential component of narration both in the story and in its telling, does not unfold.[32] However, these views

both oversimplify the process of viewing an image and overestimate the degree of control over time and attention that a text exercises on a reader.

Whereas an image can be glimpsed as a whole in an instant, it cannot be entirely comprehended in all of its details without closer examination. Even in relatively simple pictures, the viewer's eyes must move around the picture, gathering information about the identity of the figures, their actions or relationship, and the story that is being told.[33] J. M. Lotman distinguished this process as "iconic" narration as opposed to "verbal," in which "narrative is constructed as the combination of an initial stable state with a subsequent movement," rather than a sequence of experiences that build to a stable state.[34] J. Dewey recognized the same process but reversed the order so that perception of details builds up to a cumulative experience of the object.[35] Neither position is mutually exclusive. H. Bonheim, for example, recognizes description as one of four modes of narrative most closely associated with painting, but that any single mode of narration can be incorporated with others in the narrative.[36] As Goldhill and Osborne have recently summarized, "naming, describing, narrating are overlapping and mutually implicative processes."[37]

Viewers in confronting the work of art can potentially proceed through a series of stages in comprehending it, including an attempt to identify the subject quickly, the examination of details, an interpretation of these details, and revision of earlier states of interpretation. F. Saint-Martin has defined this in terms of semiotic analysis, which "aims at bringing to light the interrelations between [visual] elements – rather than their hypothetical essence – in the totality that is the visual work."[38] He defines a first, presemiotic stage of peripheral vision, "assessing the distance at which the work can be found, its dimension, and its general aspect." The semiotic analysis follows, in which the viewer both explores the visual elements and then combines them syntactically to form a functional ensemble. Indeed, this is the same basic process that U. Eco outlines for a reader's reaction to a text.[39] Although an image may not be perceived in a linear and chronological fashion like a text, the constant effort to perceive, comprehend, and adjust to a narrative are the same. Even with a linear mode of presentation, a writer or performer cannot ensure that the reader or listener will be equally attentive to every part of the narrative, so that the experience will not be complete. Further, if a literary narrative digresses into the future or past, it breaks the synchrony between the act of narration and the actions of the story. Although a viewer may exercise more control and choice over her or his perceptions than a listener or reader, the process of understanding the perceptions is similar. This is not to say that the qualities of literary and pictorial narration are the same; each has its strengths and weaknesses, but each demands the interaction of writer/artist and reader/viewer through its respective medium.

Structurally and mechanically, it is possible for the visual arts to present stories. Understanding how an ancient viewer might have participated and understood a pictorial narrative, however, is a difficult task. The process of pictorial narration is potentially much more rapid than literary narration and

rarely does a viewer take the time to make a detailed verbal analysis. Although we might imagine discussions among ancient viewers about narratives that they had experienced, whether literary or visual, and ancient critics providing detailed assessments and judgments of the same, it is rare for these discussions and analyses to be written down and preserved for us today. Still, some accounts of visual narratives exist as well as discussions about the narrative qualities of literature that can provide a model for reconstructing the process of visual narration.

Parallels between art and poetry were apparent to the ancient world, as demonstrated by the ancient formula of *ut pictura poesis*, or as Simonides expressed it, that painting is mute poetry and poetry is a speaking picture.[40] Both are capable of description and narration, in short, of representation. One can also appeal to Aristotle and to Plato for comparisons of literature to the visual arts. Plato, for example, compares mimesis or the representation of an action or thing in both painting and poetry, to the advantage of neither.[41] Aristotle uses painting as an analogy for his discussion of tragic representation, especially of *ethos* or character. The dependence of character on plot he likens to the relation of color to form or outline in painting, in that color of its own only takes on meaning when placed within the context of a form that may be articulated by line.[42] He also appeals to painting in justifying the view that one can have plot without character but not character without plot by comparing the paintings of Polygnotos, noted for their depiction of character, and of Zeuxis, who describes actions alone.[43] These writers are clearly availing themselves of references to painting to demonstrate some broader point and are not concerned with the workings of pictorial narrative for itself. Nonetheless, their use of art as analogy for poetry demonstrates that applying some of the concepts of poetry and literature to visual narrative would not be foreign to an ancient audience.

For the creation of a multiple-level framework for the analysis of ancient narrative, as I shall sketch out in the next section, one can turn specifically to Aristotle. In the *Poetics*, he articulates a theory of language in his definition of "diction" that begins with the letter and progresses to the syllable, connective, noun, verb, inflection, and then the sentence.[44] Although a listener or reader does not consciously identify each word as a part of speech that has a specific relationship to the other parts of a sentence, nonetheless every sentence is understood as a unit with subject, verb, object, and modifiers that conveys an action or idea. This, then, is the level at which literature begins to work, whether rhetoric, lyric, epic, tragedy, or comedy. In defining tragedy, for example, Aristotle states that it is "a representation of an action which is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude – in language which is garnished in various forms in its different parts."[45] He goes on to qualify "garnished language" as language having particular rhythm and melody, that is, *lexis* (diction) and *melodia* (melody). In other words, language is the fundamental medium that literary forms share; epic and tragedy alike use the metrical arrangement of words as their means of representation. What distinguishes tragedy and epic is the way in which the medium is used, as in the choice of meter or song, but

these operate at a level beyond language. The same is true of other media. Color, line, and form in painting, tune and rhythm in music, rhythm in dance are analogous to diction and song in poetry and are the representational foundations for those media.[46]

Beyond the most basic level of the medium, Aristotle distinguishes three categories of representation in tragedy that we can think of as successive levels. The first of these we have already mentioned: the *means* of representation. Diction and song are the two basic parts belonging to this level, at which we begin to distinguish the difference between different forms of literary narrative. Not only do epic, lyric, and tragedy each have their own preferred forms of diction and song, they also are different in other elements such as point of view. Tragedy, for Aristotle, is a *mimesis*, or the direct representation of an action, whereas lyric and other genres utilize *diegesis*, meaning narrative but in an indirect mode such as the third person. Epic, because it combines "quoted" speeches with indirect accounts is a mixed genre. Following the means of representation is a second category or level, the *manner* of representation, which consists solely of *opsis*, or spectacle, the visual organization of the tragedy on the stage. As Aristotle states, this is in some sense foreign to poetry as a medium, but is important for the "spectacular effects" that costume or scenery or staging can create on stage. As such, it is an important part of tragedy and conceivably of dance, but not of some other narrative media such as epic or lyric poetry. A third, final category of tragedy consists of the *objects* of representation: *mythos* (plot), *ethos* (character), and *dianoia* (thought). Of these, plot or the organization of events is the most essential, for one can have a tragedy without character or thought, but not without plot. In essence, Aristotle's categories constitute a series of levels, beginning with the most basic components of words that contribute to diction and ending with their product at the level in which actors and audience interact. To approach pictorial narrative in a similar manner requires adaptation of definitions and categories to a different medium, but neither the use of a multiple-level framework nor the use of literary analysis as an analogy for the visual arts is unprecedented.

This leads us to recognize one further dimension of narration and of representation generally that is critical for Aristotle. In discussing the origins of poetry and of the representational arts generally, he emphasizes the fundamental role of both the artist and spectator:[47]

> Poetry in general can be seen to owe its existence to two causes, and these are rooted in nature. First, there is man's natural propensity, from childhood onwards, to engage in mimetic activity (and this distinguishes man from other creatures, that he is thoroughly mimetic and through mimesis takes his first steps in understanding). Second, there is the pleasure which all men take in mimetic objects. An indication of the latter can be observed in practice: for we take pleasure in contemplating the most precise images of things whose sight in itself causes us pain – such as the appearance of the basest animals, or of corpses. Here too the explanation lies in the fact that great pleasure is derived from exercising the understanding, not just for philosophers but in

> the same way for all men, though their capacity for it may be limited. It is for this reason that men enjoy looking at images, because what happens is that, as they contemplate them, they apply their understanding and reasoning to each element (identifying this as an image of such-and-such a man, for instance). Since, if it happens that one has no previous familiarity with the sight, then the object will not give pleasure qua mimetic object but because of its craftsmanship, or colour, or from some other such reason.

As S. Halliwell has commented, "poetry is seen as deriving from, and satisfying, the impulse to understand the world of human action by making and enjoying representations of it."[48] In considering pictorial narrative, it is incumbent to analyze not just the intent of the artist, for which we have virtually no testimony other than the work of art itself, but also the reaction of the viewer to it. For the latter, we do have recourse to several sources, including ancient descriptions of works of art and *ekphrasis*. Although we may not be able to reconstruct a specific reaction to a specific work with certainty, an examination of the viewing process and the general nature of the viewer's reaction to the work is necessary for understanding the character of narrative and its effect in Greek art.

The importance for pictorial narrative of Aristotle's discussion of poetry is severalfold. First, it places painting, and by extension the other visual arts, into a group of media that represents the world around us, both as individual figures and their interaction. This means that some of the ideas that he develops in more detail regarding tragedy might be adapted to the discussion of other media like the visual arts. Second, Aristotle proposes a multiple-level approach to the discussion of the storytelling. Narrative is more than just typology, and although it is important to define specific forms of a category, it is as important to articulate where in the structure of mimetic art the category fits and how it relates to other categories. Third, Aristotle also provides us with an ancient perspective on narrative that is not always the same as modern theories. Although it is impossible for any student or scholar to escape the outlook of his or her own time, it is helpful to have ancient testimony to balance modern theory.

For our purposes, one might draw an analogy of pictorial narrative to Aristotle's discussion of tragedy by saying that visual art consists of basic elements such as line and color that create representational forms. At this level, an image can be purely ornamental, a representation of a being or thing (portrait), or the representation of an action (narrative). Certain forms, materials, and patterns, such as the single free-standing statue or a column capital, will be favored in one genre/medium or another. As Aristotle states, this collection of line, color, and shapes is enriched by the technique or style of the artist into a particular image that can please the eye.[49] Style itself, then, belongs to the next level of representation, analogous to diction and rhythm for poetry. Aristotle's second level of narrative in tragedy, the manner of representation or *opsis*, belonged in a different category from the means since it was something added to tragedy and not to epic or lyric. For the visual arts, however, it belongs in the same category as style because it is inherent rather than foreign to that medium. Its parts are numerous and include elements such as composition, space and time, visual language or symbols, and so on. Aristotle's third category, the objects of representation or action (*mythos*) and character (*ethos*) have clear parallels to the visual arts. The role of the artist and viewer run through all of these levels but in different ways, one creating and one reacting, mediated by the art object.

1.3 A FRAMEWORK FOR PICTORIAL NARRATIVE

To move from analogy to framework for this book, we must define each part of pictorial narrative more carefully and articulate the methodologies that are most appropriate for its realization. Each of the following chapters examines one level of narration, but I would like to sketch out here the basic framework as an introduction to those chapters.

To begin, one should look at narrative at its more basic level as it exists in the object. Just as a poem is made up of sounds, words, and parts of speech that are structured to create a coherent meaning, so too an image is made up of lines, planes, colors, and surfaces that create a recognizable set of forms. For language, one must recognize subject, verb, and modifiers in order to articulate the basic pattern of action that a narrative describes, and so too the viewer must decide what the forms of an image represent and their immediate relationship to one another in the picture. We have already seen this approach in Aristotle, and it constitutes the foundation for structural analysis and semiotics in literary theory.[50] As W. Steiner has explained, the utility of structuralism for the discussion of visual narrative is that it promotes the idea of the relationship between elements over their substance as the basis of similarity and connection.[51] Semiotics in particular deals with the relationship of the sign, or material aspect represented in a work of art, to its referent or object. Structural analysis deals more with the mechanics of narrative structure and the interaction with the audience and with the archetypes and patterns that a story creates. Both share, however, a common approach in identifying basic units and examining how they interact at different levels to create meaning or experience.[52]

R. Barthes has provided the articulation of structural analysis for the study of narrative that can be adapted to our purpose.[53] The most basic units of narration he labels *functions*, of which there are four: cardinal functions or nuclei, catalysts, indices, and informants. At the next higher level of narrative, functions combine to describe an action; each action can be labeled as a specific type of *praxis* (desire, communication, or struggle). A third, final level is narration itself, consisting of the discourse between narrator and listener/reader.

Barthes's work provides a starting point for articulating the most basic roles that visual forms play in a narrative. As will be described more fully in Chapter 2, cardinal functions, or *nuclei*, are open-ended actions on which the narrative hinges and are the most important components of narrative. *Catalysts* fill in the gaps between the nuclei, elaborating but not altering the story. These functions Barthes describes as distributional. They work horizontally or syntagmatically,

being combined with other distributional functions into a consecutive and consequential action, for example, in the series of small actions like sitting, ordering a drink, lighting a cigarette, and looking around the room that comprise an episode like a rendezvous in a bar. Integrative functions, in contrast, work vertically, identifying or deciphering the unit in order to tie it paradigmatically to time, space, and other actions, as in linking the rendezvous to a broader plot like a James Bond thriller or linking the protagonist to a larger category of spy or lover. The integrative functions consist first of *indices*, which involve deciphering and include the use of symbolism. *Informants* serve "to identify, to locate in time and space." All elements of a narrative may be identified as one of these four functions, although an individual element may serve more than one function simultaneously.

These four functions constitute the most basic elements of a pictorial narrative and make up what we shall call the *micro-structure* of pictorial narrative. As in language, the viewer is not consciously aware of the function(s) that an individual from within the image may play, but still he or she recognizes the story, its setting, and the identity of the figures by perceiving the functions within the image and their relationship to each other. The advantage of structural analysis for the study of pictorial narrative is that it allows us to see and define the underlying elements of a narrative and from this, moving to a higher level of analysis, to differentiate the impact that other elements of narrative have on the viewer or artist. One may also use this approach to discuss such fundamental questions as the existence of narrative within a specific image or period, the existence of narrative within a single image, and the definition of pictorial narrative, as shall be discussed in Section 2.2 in Chapter Two.

For structuralism, the next level of analysis defines the action. This proceeds at two levels, one of syntax or the combination of functions to describe an episode, and one of semantics, exploring the meaning of the action.[54] Here, however, one must modify the framework for the purposes of pictorial narration. Literary narrative involves the sequential exposition of a series of actions, combining the small actions constituting nuclei into a whole. Most pictorial narrative in the ancient world, however, involves a single picture that describes action as a state. A single picture does still define a number of actions within it, but how a viewer experiences and comprehends these as a whole involves a different process than literary narrative. In order to understand how action is defined, it is necessary to broaden the scope of relationships that structural analysis considers at this level.[55]

If a narrative discourse is to take place, the single composition must be able to depict the actions or episodes in such a way that it logically refers back to earlier episodes, to describe the particulars of the present, and to indicate a direction that the narrative might take in the future. In other words, if it is to function effectively within a group or just as a single panel, a narrative image must be open-ended, leading forward, backward, or to other actions or stories, whether these appear in another picture or in the viewer's memory. If the action of a picture is completely closed and static, as in a heraldic or apotropaeic

image, there is little impetus for the viewer to reflect on it more broadly as a story since there does not appear to be past, present, or other consequences to the action, or much possibility of variations in its conclusion. Such an icon may serve as a divine epiphany and even be based on an action, but need not tell a story. Since a viewer can only really look at one picture at one moment, it is to some degree irrelevant at this level whether that picture is part of a larger cycle or not.

The single picture also helps to frame the relationship between artist and viewer. All narrative images exist first as compositions on objects that the artist creates; this is the act of storytelling for the artist. An image, however, only becomes a narrative and not a narrative intention through the viewer's interaction with the object. This skews the focal point of the current study away from the artist toward the viewer, counter to the tendency of most art historical studies of Greek art.[56] The intention here is not, however, to minimize in any way the role of the artist as a storyteller, for certain artists like Exekias or Polygnotos are quite remarkable for their narrative invention. Rather, this viewpoint is to emphasize that there is little evidence beyond the object for the narrative impulse of the artist, whereas there is surviving testimony to the reactions of viewers to works of art. Although the reaction of a viewer like Pausanias may not be that fully intended by the artist, it at least gives us a sense of how the pictorial narrative functioned in ancient culture.

In a sense, each act of narration is unique since the identity of the viewer, the viewing circumstances, and/or the identity of the artist changes from one telling to the next, but these acts may form patterns that provide consistency to a pictorial narrative in a given period and culture. I propose naming this level of narration the *macro-structure* of narration since it deals with qualities of the entire picture and the artist's and viewer's interaction with it. In Chapter Three, we shall examine the different elements of this macro-structure: the viewing process, the viewing context, the composition of the image, the use of space and time, the visual language, and the style of the work.[57] Each of these elements focuses to different degrees on the three participants in narration: the artist, the object, and the viewer. Some of these are broadly comparable to Aristotle's first level of tragedy: the means of representation. Diction is comparable to style, and song or rhythm has elements in common with composition. Others of these elements belong to the nature of *opsis* generally, including the viewing context and process, visual language, and composition, so that the macro-structure combines and modifies two of Aristotle's levels for tragedy, means and manner, to the specific nature of pictorial narrative. There is also no single methodology that encompasses these elements, and we will rely on a variety of approaches including formal analysis, semiotics, iconographic analysis, and reader response. The sum of these elements, however, constitutes the immediate act of narration.

There is another dimension to narrative that can be defined as dealing with elements external to the picture and the narrative participants. In some cases, there are multiple narrative images within a single context. How one image

works in relationship with another is first defined by how the viewer reacts with each image as an individual narrative, but there is a wide range of combinatory possibilities and strategies available to both artists and viewers. This is the area that has attracted the most attention in narrative studies, especially the efforts to create a typology of narratives. We might call this level the *extensional* level, since it accounts for the narratives around a single image and moves both artist and viewer to a more advanced stage of interpretation than the individual image.[58] This level will be the subject of Chapter Four. It must be emphasized, however, that such an extensional level can exist even when there is only one narrative image, if it stimulates the viewer into a comparison of the work of art with another, whether visual or literary. For example, in describing the paintings of Polygnotos at Delphi, Pausanias often makes reference to literary accounts and notes contradictions between painting and poem regarding an action or character.

The final level or end result of a narrative constitutes its meaning and relationship to its participants and their culture. This is in many ways the most interesting, but it is also hard to define since each culture will use pictorial narratives for different motives, with different values, and in different contexts. Although it is important to understand stories as types and to compare variations of those types from one culture to another, it is also necessary to consider the historical and cultural context of a narrative if we are to imagine the interaction of the ancient artist and viewer through it. I would suggest, following Aristotle, that we call this level that of the *narrative object.* To define the possible objects of narration for a specific culture is beyond the scope of the present work, since it must depend on the detailed analysis of the structural elements of a large number of works and a consideration of their interrelationships. As a preliminary exploration of this level, however, I would propose an examination of Aristotle's three objects of narration: action (*mythos*), character (*ethos*), and thought (*daianoia*). To translate these into terms for pictorial narrative is difficult, not just because of the difference in narrative medium from tragedy to visual art, but because here we are also discussing the results of narration, what it tells us about a historical period or culture. One might state, loosely and with an awareness of the abundant number of contradictions, that Archaic narrative is about action, which Aristotle notes can exist alone as an object of narration, whereas Classical narrative more frequently incorporates character. Narrative becomes less about what happened and how, but about why something took place or someone did it. This will be the subject of Chapter Five, but in a very real sense it raises more questions than it answers. For example, does human action constitute broadly the basic object of narration for Greek and other ancient cultures? Is Greek culture unusual in having other qualities of narration such as character? Is an aspect such as character an enduring object of narration in succeeding periods? Are there other objects that can be defined?

These questions properly belong to a history of narrative art, both of Greece and of the ancient world generally. The progressive and evolutionary model developed for the study of Greek and Roman art has been challenged by recent studies. Certainly, the character of narrative changes within Greek art, but it is not due solely to a better philosophical understanding of time and place, for these are elements that storytellers have understood, used, ignored, and distorted since the beginning. The character of narrative art is a much broader result of the culture that produces it, of the means and medium available to an artist, of the contexts in which one finds narrative, of the relationship between artist, object, and viewer, and of the purpose of narrative altogether. A history of narrative art must be more than the definition of the stories and a retelling of the tale or a discussion of style. Indeed, it must be more than a framework for narrative, which is the subject of this book. A history of narrative art remains to be written, but I hope that it will be served by a broader understanding of the nature of pictorial narrative.

In order to achieve its purpose in creating a framework for the discussion of pictorial narrative, this book is not a comprehensive history and is limited in its range. It will cover only three periods of Greek art, the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical, not because these are the most important or most interesting, but because they allow one to articulate a narrative framework. With the Hellenistic and Roman periods, narrative art moves into new media, such as manuscripts, and develops a theatricism and emotional level not frequently found in earlier art. These are also periods in which literature itself changes, in which written text takes on an authority it did not previously have and in which narrative might well be read rather than seen or heard. I believe that these are important issues to consider, but they belong to a different kind of study. This book is also limited by the nature of the archaeological record for Greek art. Some media are highly represented, such as vase painting, whereas others such as metalwork and mural painting are scantily or not at all preserved. Although many of the works to be discussed are vase paintings, this is not to claim a specific value for these objects compared to others, but because they provide the necessary documentation for the issues. Whether the conclusions that this book will propose regarding Archaic or Classical Greek art are applicable to other cultures and periods or not remains the subject of a historical and synthetic level of study. It is hoped that this book will help to provide a foundation for such work.

Chapter 2

THE NARRATIVE MICRO-STRUCTURE

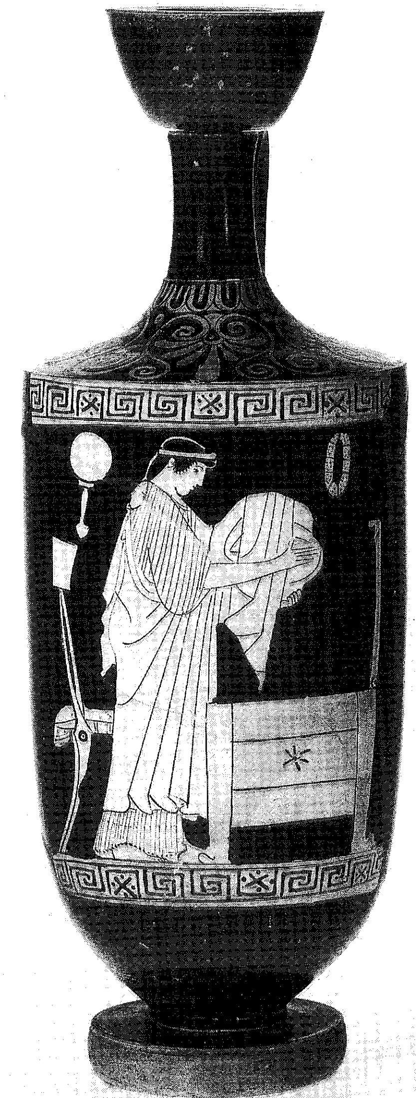
2.1 DEFINITION OF ELEMENTS

As mentioned in the introduction in Chapter One, R. Barthes defined the most basic units of narration as functions and identified four of these: nucleus, catalyst, index, and informant.[1] In order to adapt these definitions to the requirements of pictorial narrative, we shall apply them first to a relatively simple image. On the name vase of the Yale Lekythos Painter, one sees a woman holding a bundle of clothing (Fig. 5, "Yale lekythos").[2] In front of her is a chest with its lid open; to her left side is a chair. Floating seemingly in midair but understood as hanging from a peg on a wall are a mirror and a wreath. There is, admittedly, some question as to whether this everyday image constitutes a narrative, but the lack of mythological subject here makes it easier to focus on the nature and definition of the functions in an image. We will return to the question of whether this is indeed a narrative in the next section.

The most important of the functions is the *nucleus*, which Barthes defines as an open-ended action on which the narrative hinges. Since a nucleus describes an action, it requires at least two elements: an agent – someone or something to act, and consequently someone or something to be acted on. It must also be open-ended, that is, the action and its result must come from a plausible range of alternatives. This does not mean that the audience is in genuine suspense or that the result is in doubt, for anyone who has heard a story such as one of the labors of Herakles will generally know how a narrative based on the story will turn out, whether the narrative is poem, play, or painting. It is enough that there is another possible outcome. Using this definition, we might identify the nucleus of the scene on the Yale lekythos as the woman holding the bundle of clothing. Although the action is not of momentous consequences, it still fulfills the requirement of someone acting on something else.[3] Further, the action depicted is open-ended in that it plausibly leads from or to other actions. Implicit in the act is that the woman has picked up the bundle and will put it down; whether she has just done one or is about to do the other is less clear. Judging by the position of her hands, especially the placement of her right hand on the side of the bundle, it would seem more likely that she is about to put the bundle into the chest since the more natural position for both hands would be under the bundle if she had just lifted it out of the chest. So too, if she were merely carrying the bundle, both hands would be more under it. By

putting her right hand on the side, it appears that she is using that hand to guide the bundle downward. Thus, one can understand from the frozen action that further actions will likely occur, although one cannot preclude the possibility that the bundle may come undone with the shifting of hands, that it may fall on the way down, or that it will become rumpled in the process of transfer and require further straightening before she closes the lid of the chest. It is likely that the action will proceed smoothly, but the possibility of more than one outcome does exist.

In a literary narrative, a poet would string together a series of nuclei to describe the entire action: the woman picks up the bundle, carries the bundle, shifts her hold, lowers the bundle, leaves the bundle. An artist working with only one image, as is usually the case, must be more economical.[4] Frequently, the artist will choose, as here, a moment near the end of the sequence from which the result can be inferred, but whether an earlier or later moment is chosen, the single nucleus must be perceived as open-ended, as representative of prior and subsequent nuclei that constitute the basic action. Clearly, where the nucleus is ambiguous, there would be more potential problems for a viewer, but the nature of the function remains the same.



5. Attic red-figure lekythos by the Yale Lekythos Painter (name vase), ca. 475–450. Woman holding a bundle of clothes. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Rebecca Darlington Stoddard, 1913.146. (Photo courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery)

More difficult to adapt to pictorial narrative is the matter of *catalysts*. According to Barthes, these fill in the gaps between the nuclei, elaborating but not altering the story. Like their literary counterparts, pictorial catalysts are not necessary to the narrative, which could consist only of the nucleus, but their inclusion provides an important dimension to the story, perhaps more so than literary catalysts. They may serve to magnify the scope of the action or provide a means for the artist to refer to earlier or later nuclei that are not depicted, increasing the density of the narrative. In the Yale lekythos, we can point to the chest as a catalyst by subjecting it to a test by removing it from the picture. If we do so, we still

understand the action in the same way, but at the cost of making the action more ambiguous and generic. Without the chest, for example, we might imagine that the clothes will be left on a shelf, that they will be placed in a basket to be carried somewhere else, or perhaps that they will be given to someone. The chest provides a clue as to the next action or nucleus; it also provides a clue as to another action, that of raising the lid so that the clothes can be placed inside. Indeed, this helps to provide a second explanation for the side position of the right hand as having drawn back from raising the lid to steady the bundle before placing it in the chest. On the other hand, the lid might have been left up from an earlier action unrelated to the present. In other words, the chest is not fundamental to the action, but is important in defining it.

To summarize, the Yale lekythos has one nucleus of a woman holding and about to lower a bundle of clothes (N) down into a chest (C) whose lid she has already raised (C). The chest also serves another function, that of *informant* (F). Informants serve "to identify, to locate in time and space." In this case, the chest tells us that the action is taking place inside a house since it is too large to be carried easily out of doors. The presence of the chair, mirror, and wreath confirm this placement, so that the four elements work collectively as informants to identify the place of the action. The presence of the mirror on the wall would suggest that the room is in the women's quarters of the house. The way that the artist arranges them also creates in the mind of the viewer an understanding of the space. The chair is to the side of the woman, farther back in the picture space, and the hanging mirror and wreath indicate a wall or back boundary to the space. Space, however, is not the same as the informants and more properly belongs to the viewer's understanding of the entire picture, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Since pictorial narrative cannot name a figure at the same time as describing its action, as verbal narrative does with noun and verb, informants in an image also serve to identify the figures, either by type or more specifically by proper name. Labels are frequently found in pictures and serve as informants, but common attributes such as the lion skin of Herakles, the kerykeion of Hermes, or the armor and spear of Athena can serve in the same way. Because attributes like the lion skin often derive from stories, these can serve simultaneously as indexes. In the case of the Yale lekythos, we have a general figure of a woman, but her hair style with the hair gathered behind the head in a net suggests that she is unmarried, and the simple fillet that she wears on her head suggests that she is not the head of a wealthy household.

The final function in the narrative micro-structure is the *index*. An index, like an informant, serves to tie the nucleus to something outside of the action, for example, to other actions or episodes. Attributes, for example, both identify the figure but are frequently based on other actions performed by the character. In pictorial narrative, an index can also link the nucleus to other actions, whether in the same or a different story, so that an action of Theseus may recall one of Herakles. Indexes can also serve as symbols of broader concepts or ideas, thus

helping to situate the action in a larger context. In the Yale lekythos, for example, the mirror and chest are not only informants, but serve simultaneously as paradigmatic indexes linking the scene to the social context of women's life in fifth-century Athens since these objects are most often associated with women. The objects too can recall other possible actions performed by the character, such as holding the mirror or opening the chest, since the viewer can recall other scenes from art and from daily life in which a woman would have used these objects.[5] So, too, the bundle of clothes hints at other actions concerned with the making, use, and care of material in the household. The nucleus itself, belonging to the quiet realm of daily domestic life, might be understood as an index referring to an ideal household and the social and moral values that belong to it. To explore and understand the value of an index, however, brings us to other levels of narrative such as the visual language and viewing context that are beyond our immediate focus. The important point about indexes, however, is that they provide the links to elements beyond the nucleus and action.

As we have noted, it is possible and indeed standard that a single form within a picture can serve multiple functions simultaneously. The nucleus on the Yale lekythos is also an index referring more broadly to a range of domestic scenes; the catalyst of the chest also serves as informant and index; the mirror serves as both informant and index. A simple scene may not combine individual functions or even utilize all of them, but at its core, it will work in the same way as one more complicated. We may offer, then, the following definitions of each of the functions in a pictorial narrative's micro-structure:

Nucleus: The essential action and its participants on which the narrative hinges; this action must be open-ended.

Catalyst: Additional elements that elaborate on the nucleus, but are not essential to the action of the nucleus. This elaboration can be an enrichment of the action, by including reacting spectators, or can serve to connect the nucleus to other undepicted nuclei, situating the nucleus more clearly within the episode.

Informant: Those elements that identify participants or locate the narrative in time and place.

Index: An element that refers to an event, idea, or person outside of the immediate narrative.

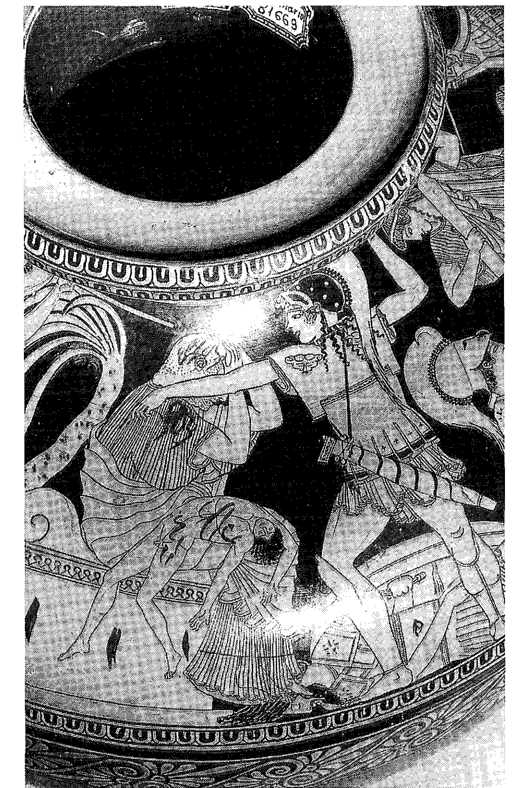
We can see that these functions work in the same manner in a more complicated mythological scene. A hydria in Naples by the Kleophrades Painter has in a frieze on its shoulder five scenes from the fall of Troy (Fig. 6, "Naples Iliupersis").[6] The central scene shows the slaying of Priam and contains five main elements: Neoptolemos, Priam, the body of Astyanax, the altar, and a dead Trojan soldier. We can identify as a nucleus the young, fully armed warrior raising his sword in his right arm to deliver a blow to the old man in civilian dress. In this case, the identity of the figures is a critical part of the nucleus and their physical characteristics – youthful warrior killing an older man at an altar

– constitute a distinct set of informants that permits the viewer to identify the action as Neoptolemos about to slay Priam. Both figures are part of the nucleus; removing or changing one would alter the story completely, not just in changing the mythological story but also in changing the unequal relationship of the two agents. Neoptolemos grabbing hold of Priam's chiton is best understood as a catalyst, since it is not essential for the impending blow, given Priam's attitude, but it does enhance and elaborate on the nucleus, making the action more intimate and final. The body of Astyanax might also be regarded as a catalyst, elaborating on the scope of the action but not fundamentally altering its course.

Unlike the Yale lekythos, this scene actually has more than one nucleus. Priam's reaction constitutes a second nucleus, since covering his head with his arms in resigned submission to his fate is not necessary for the completion of the first nucleus, although his presence as victim is required. That it is a nucleus in its own right can be seen by comparing the depiction to older versions of the scene in which Priam reaches out toward Neoptolemos in a gesture of pleading (see Fig. 71). The entirely different choice of gesture here, representing resignation and mourning, transforms the nature of the other nucleus and of the narrative, clearly making this a nucleus in its own right. The ability of an artist to have simultaneously two nuclei within a visual field distinguishes the potential for a virtually immediate perception of multiple actions with a pictorial narrative from the sequential exposition of action in a literary narrative.[7] For example, a poet might say of this episode that Neoptolemos struck Priam (N), who was holding the body of his dead grandson (C), then struck him repeatedly (N), and then, holding onto Priam's garment (N), he reared back his sword for a mighty final blow (N), brought it down upon his neck (N), killing Priam finally on the altar (N). Priam, bleeding from earlier blows (C), simply held his head with his hands and offered no resistance (N). In such a passage there are several nuclei (marked by the letter N) and two catalysts (C).[8] The combination of the consecutive acts creates the substance of the episode, which is elaborated through the extra details of the catalysts. Priam's action constitutes a narrative analepsis, going back in time from the moment of the last nucleus. An artist, however, would be hard pressed to narrate as densely in terms of nuclei, since it would require more than one picture to depict all of these nuclei. Some of the nuclei, such as grabbing hold of Priam's garment, can be made into catalysts, and the choice for the main nucleus, with the sword pulled back for the final blow, clearly and quickly implies the succeeding actions. The bleeding wounds clearly refer to earlier blows. In representing Priam's action, however, the painter can give it the simultaneity that it had as a real event, whereas the poet must either interrupt the sequence of nuclei with Neoptolemos or use an analepsis as before. The painter also gives a more equal weight to the two nuclei that is immediately apparent to the viewer. The importance of understanding the nature of the Priam nucleus is seen in comparing it to other representations of the story. In these, Priam's action is more of a direct reaction to the threat of Neoptolemos, while here Priam is conceivably uncaring of the presence of his slayer. By having Priam clutch his head and hair

in a gesture associated with mourning, the Kleophrades Painter creates another narrative thread that at other levels can create an entirely different flavor to the story (see Section 5.2 in Chapter Five).

Other details help to fill out the pictorial narrative. The altar acts as an informant, locating the action at a shrine (of Zeus Herkeios) in Priam's palace. Both Astyanax and the dead soldier attest as informants to the earlier fights of that night, presumably victims of Neoptolemos given their proximity to him and Priam. In this regard, the two corpses help to pinpoint the narrative moment as one well into the story of Troy's sack. The wounds clearly indicate the numerous blows and testify not only as informants to the late moment of the narrative, but as indexes combined with the sword in Neoptolemos's hand to earlier nuclei in the episode. On a broader level, the identity of each figure is an index, conjuring in the viewer's mind their knowledge of the story and its participants. Beyond our immediate purpose, however, it is significant to note that the nature of each participant is an index that links the central scene of the hydria to those laterally. That is, we have a heavily armed warrior facing not only an unarmed opponent, but one that is in some way "weaker," either older, younger, or female. This is important to the construction of the extensional narrative on the vase and to the important reversals that the artist introduces as we shall see later (see Sections 4.3 and 5.2).



6. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480. Naples, National Museum, 2422. Iliupersis: Detail of Neoptolemos slaying Priam. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

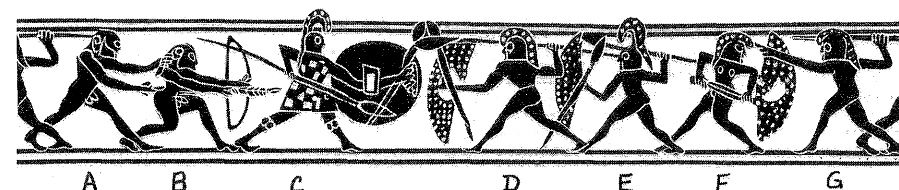
In the pictures that we have examined, the compositions are sufficiently compact that the viewer can readily see the nucleus or nuclei without obstruction. Further, the agents in the action are both readily identifiable so that there is little doubt about who is acting on whom. Sometimes, however, identifying all of the forms that constitute the nucleus is more difficult. The participants may be visibly separated to a degree that their relationship is not readily apparent and a viewer may think that the elements belong to different nuclei, particularly if there are multiple figures and nuclei present in an image. If multiple nuclei are present, the viewer must also determine their relationship to each other. In some cases, the viewing context may even prevent one from seeing the entire picture without changing position. These circumstances are found in a battle scene on a Middle Protocorinthian aryballos of ca. 675 that

7. Middle Protocorinthian aryballos near the Huntsmen Painter, ca. 675. Battle. Corinth, Museum, CP 2096. (Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens)

has been placed in a group of works near the Huntsmen Painter (Fig. 7, "Huntsmen aryballos").[9] Since the battle fills a continuous frieze around the center of the vase, it is impossible to see all of the figures at once or to discern a beginning or end to the composition. This introduces an element of viewing time and experience that can shape the narrative experience of the viewer, but this belongs properly to the level of discourse in the macro-structure. As far as the micro-structure is concerned, all of the elements exist in a fixed relationship to each other that is independent of where the viewer starts or stops. For this reason, we will utilize the drawing of the frieze to analyze the micro-structure of the narrative (Fig. 8). Although this ignores the reality of the object, it does permit us to see more conveniently the narrative micro-structure that is the beginning of the visual experience.

The seven combatants, labeled A through G from left to right on the drawing, are distinguished by details of their armor. Three warriors (D, E, F) wear helmets and carry shields shown in profile; two of the shields have notches in the side (D, F). Both shields and helmet crests are decorated with dots painted in white. Three other warriors (A, B, G) are without shields or body armor, although one (G) wears a helmet. A seventh warrior (C) wears greaves (?) and a short chiton decorated with a checkerboard pattern painted in white on the black silhouette. This figure also wears a crested helmet and carries a round shield whose interior faces the viewer. Spears are the predominant weapon, but bow and arrow (B) and swords (A, F) also appear.

Since the frieze is continuous around the vase, what is the primary nucleus of the narrative? We might begin by trying to place the individuals into groups. The three shieldless warriors (G-A-B) are juxtaposed, as are the three warriors with dotted shields (D-E-F). The seventh warrior with the checked chiton (C) does not fit typologically with either side, but is clearly opposed to figure D and presumably to his group as well. The end members of both groups face in opposite directions, so that to the left of the handle, the swordsman (F) confronts a spear-bearing warrior (G), and to the right of the handle the other two shieldless warriors (A-B) face toward the other two shielded warriors (D-E), each of whom carries a spear. At first glance, then, one can identify two nuclei, a pair-fight (F vs. G) and a group-fight (A-B-C vs. D-E). However, closer examination reveals that figure A is actually grasping the hair of the archer B from behind and plunges a sword into his torso. The use of incision within the silhouette allows one to see the individual fingers grasping the hair and removes



8. Middle Protocorinthian aryballos near the Huntsmen Painter, ca. 675. Drawing of battle. Corinth, Museum, CP 2096. (After Eliot and Eliot [1968], pl. 102)

any ambiguity about A's action. This detail means that there are at least three nuclei present in the composition and considerable ambiguity regarding the warriors' allegiance.

F-G clearly form one nucleus: G is about to throw a spear at F, who is turning to defend himself and brings sword, shield, and head around to confront G. Although G has the advantage of position, coming up from behind F, F is better armed for meeting the challenge, resulting in a rough equivalence. A-B also constitute a nucleus and a similar pattern of action with one figure (A) coming up behind the other (B). In this case, however, there is a clear result of the action because a later moment is shown with A's sword in B's back. C-D also form a nucleus that features a rough parity. Each warrior carries two spears; D readies a spear for a throw while C is apparently about to lunge with its spear. E belongs with D, but it is a question as to whether it is part of the nucleus or is a catalyst, especially given its visual distance from C. The same might be said of B who aims an arrow in the direction of D-E. In any case, we have a more complicated nucleus centered around C-D than with A-B or F-G and making use of catalysts to create a group fight.

This analysis means, however, that B belongs with two different actions, once as aggressor/catalyst and once as victim/nucleus. That a figure can belong to two different actions, serving as nucleus in one case and catalyst in another, is essentially no different from the double nuclei of Priam and Neoptolemos on the Naples Iliupersis, except that now additional figures beyond the main action are drawn into the narrative, weaving the separate nuclei together by the doubling of their role in the micro-structure. This doubling can also be seen in F and provides a key for understanding the micro-structure on the aryballos. F's armor and running pose link it with D and E and along with proximity suggest D-E-F as a group. However, G is also similar to D and E in pose, direction, helmet, and action, while lacking a shield and second spear. Although proximity and shield link D-E-F, D-E-G make a slightly stronger combination because their correlation is based on action. If D-E-G form a group, then we would have B-C-F facing D-E-G as a large-scale action, with C-D as the nucleus and B, E, F, and G as catalysts. Figure A, who stands back-to-back with G, would then be on the same side as D-E-G and could be added as a catalyst to that group.

As we have already seen, however, F-G and A-B constitute separate nuclei in the frieze. How, then, are we to determine the relationship of the nuclei to

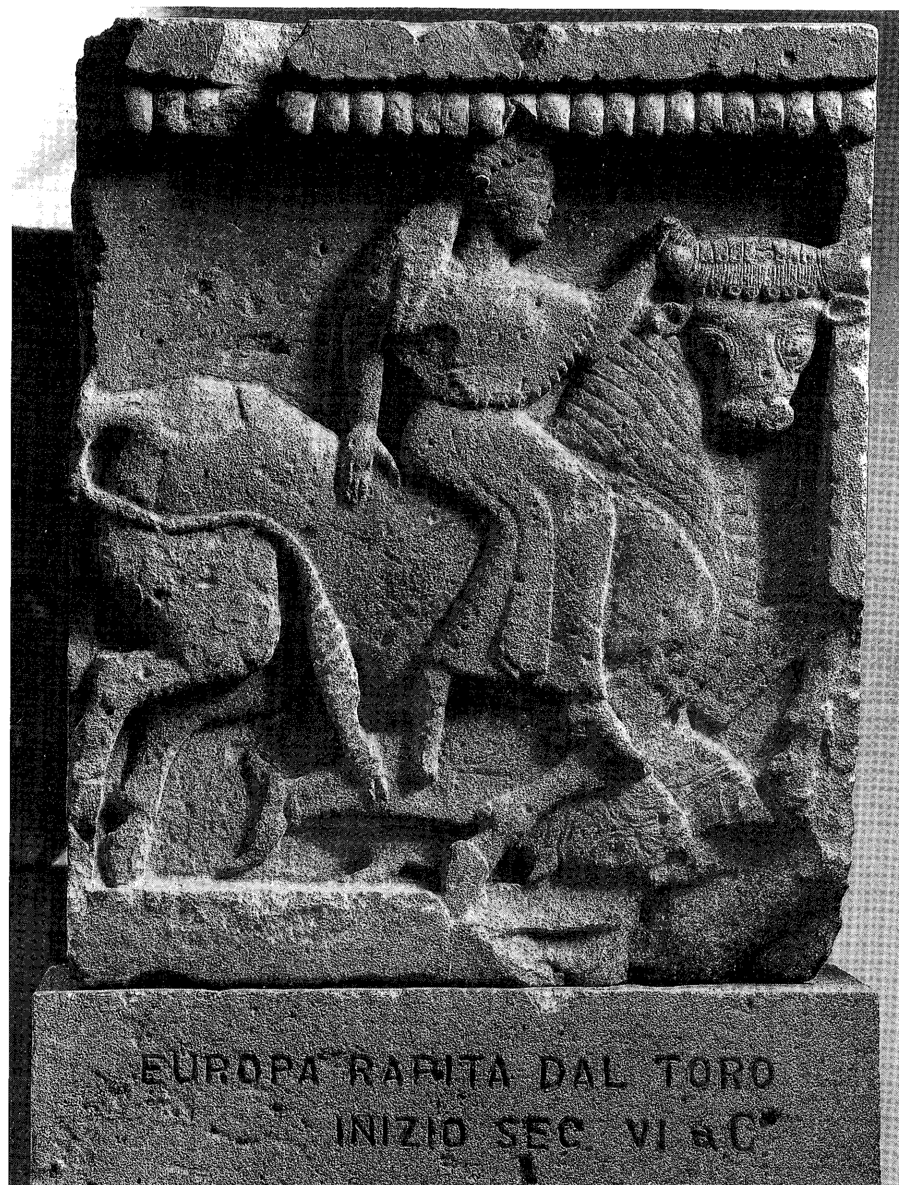
each other when individual elements can belong to different actions? We can begin by deciding that there can be a priority among nuclei, that there is one nucleus in a composition that is primary and others that stand in a secondary relationship to it. If the elements in one nucleus can be determined as functioning as catalysts in a second nucleus, then the latter must assume a priority. Also, a nucleus with numerous catalysts can also be regarded as being more complicated and potentially of greater importance since it could absorb other elements into its structure. In the Huntsmen aryballos, we have two nuclei, A-B and F-G, that are compact and that do not utilize catalysts to expand the basic action. The third nucleus (C-D) clearly has a catalyst (E) that belongs exclusively to it, making it more complicated and arguably of greater importance since elements from the other nuclei can be assigned to it (B clearly; F and G in some manner) but not from it to the others. This is also the nucleus that is most widely spaced, pushing its edges back to the limits of the visual field when the viewer looks at the vase (Fig. 7).

Since in reality all of the nuclei could only be perceived as part of a narrative discourse, we are in some sense being premature in trying to decipher the relationship of the nuclei to create a composite narrative, but it is worth proceeding to see the relationship of multiple nuclei involved in the same broad action. On the one hand, if we place D-E-F together, then we have a primary nucleus of the battle B-C vs. D-E-F. G in this case would belong to B-C and the secondary nucleus of F-G would represent an attack on the flank of D-E-F. A would belong to the group D-E-F, but it would represent an attack from behind B-C, while the rest of the group (D-E-F) faces them head on. How A got into such a position is unclear and given his similar appearance to B and G, it would imply some level of treachery as a secondary nucleus. On the other hand, if we place G with D-E, then we can see F as an ally of B-C attempting a flanking attack. G represents a counterattack, perhaps from a reserve or second-wave position. This suggests more of a temporal sequence of attack and counterattack than the first reading. A in this reading becomes an ally of G, who attacks the main group of B-C. In this reading, we have two subgroups, B-C vs. D-E as the main battle groups and G-A vs. F-B as the reserves. Which reading is correct could impact the viewer's understanding of the main nucleus. At first glance, it would seem that C is the hero of the piece, since C is the most elaborate of all the figures and has been identified by some scholars as Athena.[10] However, either reading of this primary nucleus in conjunction with the catalysts and secondary nuclei changes this impression, for in either reading one must conclude that D is gaining the upper hand over C. In this case, it would be unlikely that C is Athena, but suggestions of Penthesileia or Memnon would be appropriate, if indeed a mythological subject is intended.

Up to now we have looked solely at images from vase painting. The status of vase painting in the ancient and modern world has been the subject of much dispute in recent years, revolving around whether vase painting is a "fine art" like mural painting and sculpture and whether it had an equal status to metalwork, to which it was closely related in shapes and techniques.[11] For our purposes, the debate points to the need to consider whether the micro-structure is independent of the medium, as indeed it should be if it is the basis for pictorial narrative. To do this I propose examining succinctly a series of renderings of the same subject, Europa and the Bull, in several different media: architectural sculpture, gems, vase painting, and metalwork. Despite differences in scale, materials, techniques, periods, and styles, we can see that the narrative image can be described in the same way and that the micro-structure provides a means for articulating the differences and similarities between the images as narratives.

To begin we can look at one of the metopes assigned to "Temple Y" in Selinus (Fig. 9, "Selinus Europa").[12] On a basically square field, we see a bull striding to the right, its left front leg raised and its right front leg planted behind to indicate motion. Below the bull above the ground frame are dolphins or fish leaping. On the bull's back is a female figure riding sidesaddle. She faces toward the right in the direction that they are heading; she grasps one of the bull's horns with her left hand and plants her right hand and arm behind on the bull's back. In terms of its micro-structure, the scene is fairly simple compared to the Naples Iliupersis and the Huntsmen aryballos. The nucleus consists of a woman riding on the back of the bull. Given the unique character of the action in Greek mythology, we can readily use the nucleus as an index to identify the scene and characters as Europa and the bull, but this brings us to the level of the macro-structure and visual language. Still even without knowing the story, we can understand that the bull is carrying her from one place to another. The dolphins serve as informants; since they belong in the sea, we know that the ride is over water, reinforcing the unusual nature of the action. That the woman sits upright and holds the horn and back can be seen as catalysts, elaborating on the nature of the action. Clearly, the bull is not moving at threatening and breakneck speed and the ride, although at first glance hazardous because of the nature of the beast and watercourse, appears less urgent and almost stately.

The Selinus Europa metope is 84 cm in height, of a scale sufficient for the image to be legible from the ground. Another depiction of Europa on a gem is much smaller, 1.4 cm high, and can only be seen from up close, as indeed one would see it when worn on a ring (Fig. 10, "Oxford Europa").[13] The shape of the field is now oval rather than square, but in terms of the narrative micro-structure, there is very little change from the monumental Selinus Europa. The nucleus is once more a bull carrying a woman on its back. In the impression shown here, the bull again moves rightward with its front legs in basically the same position. The back legs are bent and more forward; combined with the more forward position of the bull's neck, there is an indication of somewhat greater speed, but these elements are catalysts, modifiers rather than an inherently different action. A fish, like the dolphins earlier, serves as an informant. Again the woman sits sidesaddle and holds one of the bull's horns with her forward hand (left in the case of the impression, right in the original gem). The back hand lies along the bull's back but grasps the tail. The woman still sits upright, so that the nucleus is still understood as not directly threatening.



9. Metope from Selinus, mid-sixth century. Europa and the Bull. Palermo, Museo Archeologico. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

Despite the smaller scale, the folds of the woman's clothes are indicated in more detail and more transparently, as are details of her jewelry and hair and of the bull's anatomy. These stylistic differences, however, do not change the basic character of the nucleus.

Whatever differences one experiences in these two narratives is due not so much to the micro-structure of the narrative, but of elements of its macro-structure such as context, style, and visual language. The one significant differ-

ence in their micro-structures in a sense confirms this, and that is the position of the bull's head. In the Oxford Europa, the bull's head is in profile, facing in the direction of the movement. In the Selinus Europa, it is frontal, looking out toward the viewer. This change in the position of the head does not alter the nucleus, but like the upright position of Europa is rather a catalyst that slows down the action. It also acts as an index that refers to other functions of temple imagery beyond narrative, to serve as an apotropaeic device and as an epiphany of the god Zeus.[14] While the position of the head changes the function of the metope compared to the gem, it only begins to do this as an index when the viewer understands the context and visual language. The index sets up the possibility for understanding the image in other ways, but it does not change the nucleus and the other elements of the micro-structure, but operates in the domain of the macro-structure.

10. Agate gem, ca. 480 (impression). Europa and the Bull. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.596. (Photo courtesy of the © Ashmolean Museum Oxford)

The same holds true in a red-figure vase painting on a Nolan amphora in Berlin (Fig. 11, "Berlin Europa").[15] Again we see a bull carrying a woman to the right. The positions of legs and neck are similar to the slightly earlier version in the Oxford Europa, as are the positions of the woman and her hands. One slight difference is that she rests her right hand on the bull's back, as on the Selinus Europa. There are no fish in the image, and no other informants that place the action. Against the neutral background, one could see the action as taking place on land or over the water, but the way that the bull's hooves do not rest on the ground line provided by the lower border might suggest water rather than land given the viewer's familiarity with the scene and story. Another difference from the gem and metope is that Europa faces leftward or backward rather than forward. This in itself is not a substantial change and so is not integral to the nucleus. It belongs to the category of catalyst and perhaps as a time index, in that Europa looks back to the origin point of the story rather than to its future.

We will look at one last version of the story before concluding. On a bronze mirror-cover in Athens from the fourth century are once more the familiar elements of a bull carrying a woman on its back (Fig. 12, "Athens Europa").[16] A dolphin serves again as informant, as do wave patterns. The outstretched positions of the bull's limbs, front and back, suggest greater speed than in the other versions that we have seen. The woman's position confirms this impression of vigorous motion in that she leans forward along the bull's neck and wraps her hand and arm around it, her legs stretch out diagonally behind her, and her

11. Attic red-figure Nolan amphora from Nola, ca. 450. Europa and the Bull. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung, F2347. (Photo by Karin März. ©Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1997)

himation billows behind her. Undoubtedly, this makes the character of the image different from the more stately previous versions, but does it constitute a change in the nucleus or the catalysts? Perhaps one way to gauge this question is to ask whether the action is more threatening and indicates a different result from the others? It is true that the bull moves faster and that Europa is pulled along by him rather than supported by being seated. Significantly, however, the grasp that she maintains on his neck also brings her into closer and more intimate contact with him. If she were truly threatened with falling into the sea, one would think that her left hand would also be grasping the bull rather than trying to hold onto her himation. Indeed this gesture is also an index; it is the *anakalypteria*, the unveiling of the bride in which she "signals acceptance of her husband and her sexual submission to him."[17] Deciphering the index again moves us into the macro-structure and interpretation, but the discrepancy between the gesture of the left hand and the action of the right hand indicate that the situation is not genuinely threatening. It signals an acceptance of the situation that is analogous to the other three representations. We should understand, then, that as a nucleus the mirror-cover is basically the same: a bull carrying a woman. While more vigorous, it is also more intimate as an action, making the change one of emphasis and style but not of substance as far as the micro-structure is concerned.

So far, we have examined four different objects with the same story that belong to different periods, media, techniques, scales, functions, and contexts. In each case, however, the nucleus remains the same. Differences in catalysts, indexes, and informants make each version of the story here distinctive and liable to bearing changes in interpretation, but only at the level of the macro-structure and the interaction of the viewer and object. The four functions of the micro-structure, then, describe the basic narrative components within a picture, but they do not treat matters such as the behavior of time and space or the meaning of a scene. The meaning of the scene and its identification draw

on the knowledge of the viewer, and the character or interpretation of the scene is affected by indices such as gestures, pose, and attributes. In some ways, we might think of the micro-structure of narration as being the bridge between two acts, the creation of the work by the artist and the reception of the work by the viewer. By analyzing a picture in terms of its functions, one can place each element of a picture into its role or roles within the act of storytelling and provide a foundation for analyzing the interaction of the picture with its creator and audience. It also provides a means for placing into a proper context the effects of changes in style, techniques of spatial representation, and developments in subject matter and symbolism. To draw a linguistic analogy, it allows one to distinguish changes in the content or style of a sentence from the grammatical principles with which it is formed, allowing one to distinguish true changes in the structure of narration itself.

12. Bronze mirror cover from Eretria, early fourth century. Europa and the Bull. Athens, National Museum, 7422. (Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Receipts Service [TAP Service])

2.2 DEFINITION OF NARRATIVE AND ORIGINS IN THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

To return to the first image that we examined, the Yale lekythos with the woman putting down a bundle of clothes (Fig. 5), we can address a fundamental question that runs through many studies of Greek pictorial narrative: Is it a narrative? Many scholars would define narrative as being a specific mythological or historical story, such as Europa and the bull, making a more daily and generic scene like the Yale lekythos nonnarrative.[18] Having defined the basic components with which narrative works, can we perhaps offer a different approach to the question and offer a more structural rather than exclusionary definition of pictorial narrative? Further, can we use this definition to determine the starting point for pictorial narrative in Greek art and by so doing deduce the circumstances that may have stimulated its appearance? Before offering a structural definition to answer these questions, it is important to review other definitions of pictorial narrative.

Scenes like that on the Yale lekythos are usually labeled *Lebensbild*, or pictures from everyday life, as opposed to *Sagenbild*, pictures drawn from mythology.[19] This categorization as *Lebensbild* is usually grounds for rejection as a narrative,

which must, by some definitions, constitute a unique and identifiable event. Since genre scenes are by definition typical, narrative must therefore be mythological or perhaps historical in subject. The labels *Lebensbild* and *Sagenbild*, however, overlook how common or identifiable an action really is. An act such as putting away clothes or even a ritual such as pouring a libation is certainly a part of life and is repeated frequently, but it may occur only at narrowly prescribed times and with a proscribed, small number of participants or witnesses. Indeed, such an action may be no more frequent or less distinct as an event than a battlefield death in the *Iliad*.

Consider for a moment one of the large number of battle scenes in Greek art (Fig. 13, "Minneapolis amphora").[20] Like most, this scene is generic, identifiable for its general action but not the discreteness or specificity of either the action from other combats or the identity of its agents and circumstances; one might question whether this scene is a narrative because of its lack of individuality.[21] However, the status of a duel on one of the Parthenon metopes is usually taken for granted as pictorial narrative because we can identify the subject of the action as the Greeks fighting the Trojans or the Lapiths fighting the Centaurs. However, none of the individuals on the Parthenon metopes is named nor is there a label confirming the general subject matter, so that the distinction between them and the Minneapolis amphora is one of viewer recognition of the subject and not of narrative structure. The fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs is also found on the François vase (see Fig. 57); here both individual Lapiths and Centaurs are named, giving us action, general subject, and specific participants beyond doubt. Of these three examples, it is the François vase that comes closest in degree to the battle scenes of the *Iliad* in that we know who is fighting under what circumstances and what happens. Using specificity and discreteness as criteria, the François vase would qualify as a pictorial narrative, whereas the Parthenon metopes would not.

Specificity and discreteness, however, are illusory as criteria for narrative status. The names of many of the individual combatants in the *Iliad* are frequently repeated or have no background in mythology and bear little meaning other than to distinguish one victim from another. If specificity is our standard for the existence of narrative, then some of the poetic combats do not qualify unambiguously. Further, literary works such as parables would not count as narratives since they are not mythological or historical, that is, individualized in subject.[22] Ultimately, the distinction between parables and the *Iliad* and the Parthenon metopes and François vase is one of degree, not of kind. In one case, we have action, subject, and agents; in the other, we have action and subject only. If we simply add names to the Parthenon metopes or to a parable, we have made them more specific but have not changed the nucleus or catalysts that are the core of the narrative micro-structure, nor do we change the importance of the narrative for the viewer which lies in the subject.

But is having even a specific subject necessary for narrative status, since many parables are generic and identify the figures only by their occupation or status? Turning back to our generic battle in Fig. 13, it shows action but has no specific

subject. If we add names to the picture, it becomes specific, but the nature of the nucleus still has not changed and the nature of the micro-structure has changed only with the addition of some informants or indexes.[23] The same can be said for the woman putting away the clothes: if we add a name such as Pandora to the vase, then the picture becomes mythological and narrative according to traditional criteria but has not changed in substance or structure. In essence what is being done is to define pictorial narrative not on the basis of its ability to convey a sequence of actions to the viewer, but on the basis of the kind of story and figures that it represents.[24] If specificity and discreteness are the defining criteria for narrative, then virtually any honorific portrait should be a narrative in that we know who the figure is and that he or she is standing, sitting, walking, and therefore performing an action.

To resolve this difficulty, it is important to consider a structural definition of

13. Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Vatican 359, ca. 530. Detail of shoulder: Combat scene. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund, 57.1. (Photo courtesy of the MIA)

narrative. In his study of narratology in literature, G. Prince defines narrative as "any representation of non-contradictory events such that at least one occurs at a time t and another at a time t_1 following time t."[25] Earlier in his book, Prince offers the following examples as narrative statements:

"Mary drank a glass of orange juice then she drank a glass of milk."

"At 2 A.M. yesterday, the U.S. declared war on England."

It is not critical in the first case that the statement be significant. It is not critical in the second case that it only describes one event, since it clearly implies events that led to the described event. In contrast, a statement like the following is not a narrative:

"Bill opened the door."

Like the second statement it too presumes a sequence of events, such as "The door was closed, then Bill opened the door, then, as a result, the door was open." This statement, however, is not a narrative because its events are presupposed or entailed by one another and do not represent a change in circumstances or condition. Prince concludes by stating that "narrative is the representation of **at least two** real or fictive events or situations in a time sequence, neither of which presupposes or entails the other."

Prince's definition and examples correspond to Barthes's definition of the nucleus as an *open-ended* action on which the narrative *hinges*. To serve as a hinge, the action must serve as a stage in the development of the story in which a change in circumstance, condition, or direction takes place. As discussed earlier, the test for the status of a pictorial element as a nucleus is to remove or alter it and by doing so changing the direction of the story. Open-ended indicates that there is some measure of plausible variability to the antecedents and results of a given action. Does the event set up a train of associations and thoughts in the viewer – subject, context, style, and so on – that unfolds a story? In other words, events and actions are not presupposed or entailed.

Applying this definition to pictorial narrative requires some discussion, particularly with the importance of two events. One course is to require that a pictorial narrative have two scenes or actions represented, usually with the repetition of figures in it.[26] Repetition like the Briseis kylix (Figs. 3 and 4) is found in ancient art, but in most examples, there is only one scene with no repetition of characters, as the examples discussed in this chapter demonstrate. Prince's examples, however, tell us that all of the events do not have to be represented as long as there is a clear implication of at least two events or actions. To return to our examples, the battle scene (Fig. 13) fits the requirements of a narrative statement. The nucleus of the work suggests several results: either one of the warriors may die or they may reach a stalemate. The horses suggest that the warriors may have traveled to the site from a distance, but the actions that precipitated their clash are unknown. The appearance of Hermes on the right may be an index suggesting that the warrior on that side will win since he has the support of a god, but alternatively he may be about to die since Hermes also conducts the souls to Hades. The nucleus is clearly a hinge and is open-ended, the events are not predetermined, and a plausible range of

variations exists. The Yale lekythos (Fig. 5) represents a much less dynamic scene, but one that meets the same criteria. The nucleus is open-ended with a plausible range of alternative events that could precede and follow it, the events are not necessarily predetermined, and changing the nucleus would alter the sequence of events and story.

Although neither of these scenes might be cited as an example of a spellbinding narrative, structurally and functionally they qualify as narrative. What is at stake in comparing the Minneapolis amphora's battle with a mythological scene on the Naples hydria (Fig. 6) is that there is a measure of specificity and discreteness that contributes to the degree of the work's narrativity. The elements of a narrative – specificity, discreteness, and wholeness (a more complete representation of a story with clear beginning, middle, and end) – are important, but they determine the quality of the narrative, not its existence. Curiously, by representing a very specific story, the artist forecloses on the degree of variability in the act of narration in that the viewer knows beforehand that Priam will die and that Troy will fall. Nonetheless, the nuclei on the Naples hydria represent the result of earlier actions and indicate a specific path of events from a plausible if hypothetical set of variations (the Trojans might have returned Helen or burned down the horse). Certainty in this case creates a more effective narrative. As Prince states, "narrativity is a function of the discreteness and specificity of the (sequences of) events presented, it is also a function of the extent to which their occurrence is given as a fact (in a certain world) rather than a possibility or probability. The hallmark of narrative is assurance."[27] So, too, the type of action can contribute to the degree of narrativity. Conflict, as Prince points out, works better for narrativity, and domestic scenes do not. Thus, the battle scene has a greater degree of narrativity than the domestic scene, but both remain narrative at their most basic level. The distinguishing elements of narrativity – type of action, discreteness, specificity, certainty, wholeness – belong to the next levels of narrative discourse.

We can use this analysis to examine one of the issues found in the study of Greek narrative art: its existence in the Geometric period. Following the destruction of the palatial culture of the Mycenaeans in the twelfth century B.C.E. there followed a long period in which the quantity and quality of pottery and its decoration declined. The major arts most associated with storytelling, especially mural painting and metalwork, virtually disappeared. During the tenth century, Greece began to revitalize, as can be seen in the development of new Protogeometric pottery shapes and decoration. In the ninth century, the villages of Greece began to expand ties to the rest of the world and examples of small-scale Near Eastern objects provided examples of figural decoration that were rare in indigenous art.[28] At this time, the Early Geometric period (ca. 900–850), figures of animals and humans make their first modest appearance on pots. Looking ahead to the Middle Geometric II period (early eighth century), one begins to find increasing numbers of figures in art, including horses, birds, deer, ships, and humans.[29] Originally isolated in metopes, these figures begin to

multiply and be deployed in larger friezes. The breakdown of visual segregation creates the potential for interaction among the figures, but the generic quality of the figures has created arguments against the appearance of narrative during the Geometric period. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz and J. Carter, for example, believe that these early vases stress action, but not narrative. They maintain that the objects in the picture are not connected in time or space and that the figures are not differentiated but are shown with the same formula, regardless of situation.[30] Another, related objection to the idea of Geometric narration is that scenes of the typical cannot be narratives, which must show "a unique and identifiable event."[31] To address this issue, we can approach the images in the same manner as we have those of later centuries.

A cup found in the Kerameikos cemetery features a wide frieze running around the neck of the cup at the level of the handle. On it appears a horse and two warriors with swords (Fig. 14, "Kerameikos cup").[32] Although found in a disturbed context, the Kerameikos cup was probably placed in a grave along with other offerings and dates from the first quarter of the eighth century. The picture is set opposite from the handle and between two swastikas. The horse faces to the viewer's right, and the two men both face in toward the center and horse. The figure on the left holds a staff or rod over the rear of the horse, and the other holds a tether or rein.

Is this picture a narrative? One can identify two actions that constitute the potential nuclei of the picture: the use of rod and tether on the horse by the two men. The nuclei are separate and distinct, but are united through the horse, who serves not only as the recipient of action for both nuclei, but is also a catalyst binding the two nuclei into a common and cooperative task. The figures are frozen in the middle of their action, with the final result not displayed. There is little in the way of informants showing a specific setting or time, but the swords serve to identify the figures as warriors or aristocrats and the objects that they hold convey something about their role or status in the activity. The horse itself is a sign of aristocratic character, and indeed most of the early figural depictions of the Attic Geometric period are apparently signs of status used in burials.[33] Although a picture of a man holding a horse might not be considered a narrative in that the action is not open-ended and connected to a plausible train of events suggested by the nucleus, the picture here is more specific. The figures are clearly attempting to control the horse and when finished successfully will be in a position to use the horse for some purpose. In its degree of narrativity, the actions perhaps fall somewhere in between the woman holding clothes on the Yale lekythos and the combat on the Minneapolis amphora in terms of difficulty and the likelihood of alternative results. Taming a horse is potentially more hazardous than putting away clothes, and the action is more open-ended in that a number of things could plausibly happen to change the course of the story since there are more characters involved.

From a grave in Eleusis comes another cup, a skyphos dating about 770 (Fig. 15, "Eleusis skyphos").[34] Between the handles of this small cup are two scenes,

on one side a ship taking part in a battle and on the other a land battle (see Fig. 19). The variety and complexity of the action and interrelationships of the figures is much greater than on the earlier Kerameikos cup. On side A, there is a ship facing toward the right, set in the middle of the picture field and taking up about two-thirds of its length. A helmsman guides the ship at the left, while an archer crosses the ship in the middle, running and aiming his arrow rightward. Helm and archer constitute separate nuclei, but with the ship as catalyst, they become coordinated actions within a single episode. Here an advantage of pictorial narration over poetry again becomes apparent in that the two actions are immediately connected in a picture, but lose some of their simultaneity with the sequential description of a poem.[35] The ship acts not only as a catalyst, binding the figures, but acts as an informant as well, placing the scene on or by the sea. This is also the function of the waterbird on the ship's prow. More obscure are the two shield-bearing figures to either side that face inward toward the ship. Both carry two spears diagonally, and a third horizontally and directed at the ship. These figures belong more clearly to land than to the sea, and because of this, they may serve as informants indicating the shore. The asterisk behind the right warrior may also work as an informant in signaling the presence of land; three asterisks appear on the other side of the skyphos in a land battle.[36] The warriors do not perform any action and must work as catalysts rather than as nuclei in the picture. They may indicate that the actions of the ship are taking place near the shore, as in an attempted landing and raid, and stand defensively against it. Alternatively, the ship might be defending itself and attempting to flee after an unsuccessful raid. In either case, the shielded warriors fill out the actions of the central figures by providing an opposition and apposition and serve to place the nuclei more firmly in the context of a raid or some other struggle. The product of these functional elements of the Eleusis skyphos is a more complicated narrative than the horsetaming scene.

14. Middle Geometric II beaker from the Kerameikos, ca. 800–775. Horse tamers. Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 2159. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

Another narrative theme that emerges in late eighth-century vase painting is the lion attack. The theme has been found on gold bands found in burials just before the mid-eighth century, but it was not featured in vase painting until the third quarter of the eighth century.[37] Around 740, the theme appears on a series of vases, some of them associated with the Burly Workshop, including two found in the same tomb on the south side of the Acropolis near the Erechtheion

15. Middle Geometric II Attic skyphos from Eleusis, ca. 770. Ship battle. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, 741. (Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Receipts Service [TAP Service])

(Fig. 16, "Burly oinochoe").[38] The main picture on the oinochoe is located on the neck, opposite the handle, and dominates the vase's decoration. It shows two lions placed on either side and facing toward the center of the picture; between them is a man placed diagonally. The lions are treated in the same abstract manner as other figures and objects in Geometric painting. Unlike the lions on the gold bands, great emphasis is given in the vase painting to jaws, teeth, and tongue, so that these are their most important and menacing feature. No mane is indicated, but the large area painted for the chest emphasizes the shoulders in a similar way.

Compositionally and structurally, the picture is organized much like the earlier Kerameikos cup (Fig. 14), but the action is far more vigorous and menacing. The lions constitute twin agents that are unified by the middle figure's role as both object of the action and as catalyst, but in this picture, the catalyst also acts in its own right. With his left hand, the warrior plunges his sword into the neck of the lion on our right; with his right hand, he grabs the snout of the other lion, whose lower jaw pokes him in the buttocks.[39] The warrior's right foot also seems to push back against the leg of this second lion. Thus, we have a complicated action with multiple nuclei of two lions who attack a warrior, who stabs one while attempting to hold the other from striking decisively at his exposed backside. The result of this struggle is in doubt, particularly whether the man will survive the attack.[40] His diagonal position would suggest, indeed, that he is about to die. The figural interaction is more developed here than on the Eleusis skyphos and action and counteraction are welded into a more unified narrative.

To summarize, works like the Eleusis skyphos and Burly oinochoe demonstrate that from a structural point of view, pictorial narrative can be said to exist in eighth-century Greek art. Although the abstract style makes the figures and action even more generic than the combat on the Minneapolis amphora, it still

16. Late Geometric IIa oinochoe of the Burly Workshop from south side of the Acropolis, ca. 735–720. Man being attacked by lions. Athens, First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, 1955 ERK 643. (Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Receipts Service [TAP Service])

articulates actions that are open-ended on which the story hinges. Elements of the pictures serve additionally as catalysts, informants, and indexes, just as they do in much later images. That is not to say that the Geometric pictures are equivalent to later mythological scenes, but that the distinctions between them belong not to the micro-structure of the picture but to the interaction of the viewer and the image. This being said, there are two questions about Geometric pictorial narrative to consider further. First, given the relatively sudden appearance of figural and narrative imagery in the eighth century, what is the source for this imagery? Second, would a contemporary viewer have understood such images as narratives, that is, stories being told?

There are several proposed explanations for the development of narrative

imagery at this time: that it is based on experience, that it is inspired by epic similes, or that it is derived from other pictures of this theme. The last theory J. Hurwit has labeled the *artistic precursor*, in which artists learn to make narrative images from imitating and observing other works of art.[41] In the case of Geometric art, these sources have been seen in Near Eastern art such as gems, metalwork, and reliefs or in works of Bronze Age Greece found in tombs or abandoned palaces.[42] By using the Burly oinochoe as a test of this theory, there are several possible sources. For example, the lion theme appears earlier in the second quarter of the eighth century on gold bands found in tombs in Attica; there is a short gap in the record before the motif reappears in vase painting, which may have served as a substitute for the earlier metal grave goods.[43] This, however, leads us to compare the Burly oinochoe with Near Eastern metalwork that might have served as a source of inspiration for the gold bands. In comparing, then, the lion fight on the Burly oinochoe with that on a Cypriot bowl (Fig. 17), there are two important differences.[44] First, the scheme is different. In Near Eastern imagery the lion is usually raised up on its back legs and is subdued by its human opponent, who strides forward with the death blow.[45] In four of the five examples of lion attacks in Attic vase painting, however, the lion dominates, marking a distinct change in the nucleus and the resulting narrative.[46] Second, the Geometric lion is rendered schematically in such a way that it could also resemble a boar; what is important is its power and threat and not its zoological correctness.[47] The lion attack is also a theme that was familiar to Bronze Age Greece, and examples like the inlaid dagger from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae could also have been known in the Geometric period. Stylistically, these are no closer to the Burly lions than Near Eastern images, but the more equal footing of the opponents is closer to some of the characteristics of the Burly oinochoe nucleus. Still, to represent a warrior defeated by the beast marks the Burly oinochoe as a different story from these other examples. To summarize, if the Geometric artist were imitating other examples of pictorial narrative, one would expect a closer correspondence in the nucleus than actually exists, regardless of difference in style and media. Although such images may have been inspiring, artists developed the story in their own right.

A variation on the artistic precursor theory is to find an inspiration for Geometric pictorial narrative in literary sources, specifically in epics like the *Iliad*.[48] The inspiration of the vivid epic imagery of the simile has been discussed at length by G. Markoe. Certainly, the comparisons of heroes to lions is common in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the function of lion imagery in the Near East, as guardian and symbol of royal power, differs from that in Greek poetry. According to Markoe, "pictorial imagery was directly inspired by the poetic language embodied in the Homeric epics . . . an artistic response to a heroic literary mode or tradition." The heroic quality of leonine aggression works well for scenes of lions attacking animals or appearing singly or with other lions in art, and such a scene appears on the shield of Achilles, as we shall see in what follows. The essential quality of the action in these similes or parables is that the lion dominates the herd, killing and devouring its victim in

17. Cypriot silver-gilt bowl, seventh century. Lion attacks. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection; purchased by subscription, 1874–1876 (74.51.4554). (Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum)

spite of the threat of human intervention. The nucleus on the Burly oinochoe, however, shows lions dominating the human figure in direct confrontations. The implication is that the human is weaker than the lion, rather than that there is a parallel in their triumphs.

In the *tabula rasa* view of the origin of narrative, artists start from a blank slate and develop imagery in response to the stimulus of their environment.[49] With the lion attack, the artist was depicting the contemporary world in which the threat of predators to an agricultural society was quite real.[50] The presence of lions in Greece at this time has been a subject of debate, but predators of any kind were a threat to herds, whose protection was of great concern. Whether there were lions in the eighth century, the lions of the Burly oinochoe are not based closely on the study of natural models; they are reduced to a scheme that reproduces the threat and ferocity that the lion or another scourge represents. It is likely that trying to contain predators a number of men were killed or maimed by their quarry, but if this were the story being presented,

then some kind of informant or catalyst like a domesticated animal would be required to distinguish the nucleus. Geometric artists did employ such devices, as the water-fowl on the Eleusis ship battle demonstrates (Fig. 15), so that their absence in the Burly oinochoe may indicate that some more general story about lions and men is intended.[51]

In summary, no single source explains the structural characteristics of narrative imagery on the Burly oinochoe or in Geometric narrative images. The quality of the lion as expressed in simile and the splendor of Near Eastern renderings of the animal may have contributed to its popularity, but as a narrative nucleus, the lion attack is quite different from these examples and is more likely the result of a range of circumstances.

On the subject of the Geometric narrative nucleus, there remains one further question, and that is, would a contemporary viewer have understood an image like that on the Burly oinochoe as a narrative? This question moves us into questions of the macro-structure of narrative that we will discuss in the next chapter, but it is opportune to look at one source here, the shield of Achilles described in the *Iliad* 18.478–607.[52] This ekphrasis describes a magnificent shield that Hephaistos made for Achilles after his own had been taken when Hektor killed Patroklos. This object could only have existed in the poetic imagination, although there have been both ancient and modern attempts to reconstruct it or give at least a part of it visible form. As a description of a visual image, and particularly of a scene of action, it provides a model for how an eighth-century viewer might have approached either a lion theme on the Phoenician bowl (Fig. 17) or on the Burly oinochoe (Fig. 16).[53]

According to the poet, the shield of Achilles was round and divided into five concentric bands. The first, innermost zone was a picture of the cosmos with earth, sky, and water. In the next zone were two cities, one of peace and one of war, each with several scenes. In the third zone were agricultural scenes: plowing, reaping, a vineyard, herding, lions attacking an ox, and finally a meadow with sheep. The fourth contained a dancing floor with young men and women with two acrobats and a crowd of onlookers. Around the rim was the Ocean. Throughout the description, the poet uses mostly the imperfect tense to describe the actions of the figures and their world. In the case of the dancing men and women of the fourth zone, the wedding procession of the city of peace, and the agricultural scenes, these rarely stray from the imperfect tense. There is movement and rich description in these scenes, and one gains a clear sense of a moment frozen in time of these processions and ritual activities. Although more animated and elaborate than the picture on the Kerameikos beaker (Fig. 14), these passages and the imaginary pictures that they describe share some of the same qualities of many scenes found in Geometric art. They are composed of rhythmic and repeated figures, arranged either as continuous friezes or more self-contained panels.

From a literary point of view, these passages are regarded more as description than narration since they describe a single moment and not a series of events.[54] Indeed, they would suggest that a Geometric viewer might look at the Kerameikos beaker and identify it as "men tame a horse" with the same attitude as "John opened the door." However, there are a few scenes where the poet goes into more elaborate description of the action, even though the imagined picture may not have had a greater degree of activity within it. In the passages describing lions mauling an ox, the siege and ambush scene of the city at war, and the law court dispute of the city at peace, the poet articulates a more complicated sense of narrative time and sequence of incidents.[55]

In the simplest of these scenes the poet describes two lions who have attacked the herd of cattle in the third band of the shield (*Il.* 18.579-84):[56]

> But among the foremost of the cattle two formidable lions
> had caught hold of a bellowing bull, and he with loud lowings
> was [being] dragged away, as the dogs and the young men went in pursuit of him.
> But the two lions, breaking open the hide of the great ox,
> gulp down the black blood and the inward guts, as meanwhile the herdsmen
> were in the act of setting and urging the quick dogs on them.

There are five nuclei in this brief passage: the attack on the bull, the lions dragging it away, the lions ripping its hide, the lions devouring it, and the beginning of the herders' counterattack. This is a compact but full narrative, with action and reaction.

From the passage, it is evident that the poet did not imagine multiple depictions, but rather a single scene on the shield, set next to the immediately preceding picture of the peaceful herd of cattle. The core of the scene is the bull being dragged by the lions since this action is described, like the other scenes on the shield, in the imperfect tense.[57] One might imagine this as close in form to the Burly oinochoe (Fig. 16), with the addition of a herd of cattle to one side and hunters and dogs elsewhere. As the passage reveals, however, the viewer/narrator develops a more complex sequence of actions in recounting the picture. The description begins with the initial attack on the bull, which is described using the pluperfect as something that took place before the scene imagined on the shield.[58] Certainly, the logic of the situation demands that if two lions are dragging a bull, they must have earlier attacked it, but other pictorial elements may have served as catalysts to prompt this analepsis. Perhaps the close proximity of the peaceful herd (the bull was foremost of them) and the contrast between their grazing and the fierce lions dragging the bull away may have stimulated the analepsis, making the nearby cattle serve as catalysts for the pictorial nucleus and as analeptic indexes for earlier moments of the story. The ripping of the bull's hide is introduced by a future active participle, and the devouring follows as a present indicative.[59] These nuclei must therefore take place in the immediate future, a narrative prolepsis when the lions try to eat their capture before the hunters and dogs are on them. As a catalyst for this prolepsis, one might point to the presence of the hunters and dogs in the picture, or perhaps to the actions of the lions themselves, whose mouths would have been attached to the bull as they dragged it. To summarize, it would

appear that the poet is able to take a simple scene like two lions dragging away a bull with other cattle to one side and hunters and dogs elsewhere in the picture but not yet attacking the lions and to reconstruct from this image several events constituting a story.

Although much less splendid and animated than the work of Hephaistos, it would not be too much of a stretch for the imagination to fit an ekphrastic passage like the lion attack of the *Iliad* to such a scene as that on the Burly oinochoe. A contemporary viewer might have speculated that the man went to hunt the lions, possibly because they had ravaged his herd or because he was on a heroic quest of some kind. He drew his sword to attack, but perhaps was surprised by the appearance of a second lion. He stabs one lion while both lunge at him. How the scene ends in the viewer's imagination depends on one's sympathies or the cultural context of the scene and the function of the object as a grave good.

Indeed, this points out an important fact, that the appearance of narrative imagery in the Geometric period is extremely limited. It appears almost exclusively in Attica and in a funerary context, either as vases buried as offerings with the deceased, often personal cups buried with the owner, or as markers in the form of monumental kraters and amphorae.[60] The actions are too formulaic or generic in nature to be regarded as illustrating actual episodes from the life of the individual in the grave, any more than they can be regarded as illustrations of specific mythological tales. They are, however, typical of the kind of heroic aspirations of the contemporary society. Narrative becomes a kind of eulogy on the character of the deceased; the inclusion of narrative on a cup placed in the grave is a belief, in the words of H. Hoffmann, that "the heroized dead will imbibe with the immortals."[61] Indeed, just as the visual narrative on the shield of Achilles recalls the heroic world, the appearance of pictorial narratives in funerary contexts may suggest that some kind of commemoration or heroization may have been an impetus for the development of pictorial narrative in the eighth century.

2.3 GENERIC NARRATIVE

As we have seen, Geometric scenes emphasize action and the type of agent that carries it out. In some cases, there is virtually no visual differentiation among the figures, even as to their gender, except by their actions. Although some pictorial elements, such as weapons or waterbirds, may serve as indexes or informants, these do so in the broadest manner, linking the action to types of agents or to a type of place. One of the arguments that has been mustered to support the existence of pictorial narrative in the Geometric period has depended on identifying some pictorial elements as more specific objects or figures. Their value as indexes transforms the generic nature of the action into a mythological story. In particular, two elements have received the most attention: first, the round shield with large, curved notches in its sides called the

"Dipylon shield" for its frequent appearance in works found in the Dipylon cemetery and a curious creature with a single torso but doubled arms, legs, and head. Although the debates over both are too long and intricate to explore fully here, they do for our purposes point out the importance of generic descriptions of action within the micro-structure of pictorial narrative and of the importance of generic narrative in Greek art generally.

On the fragmentary monumental krater from the Dipylon cemetery now in the Louvre one can find both of these proposed indexes for mythological narrative (Fig. 18).[62] Only one side of the upper part of the krater survives; this may be the reverse and on the obverse was a prothesis and procession. In the upper register on the left are two corpses beneath crossed circles similar to chariot wheels. Immediately to the right are four more corpses stacked vertically in a bird's-eye view. The rest of the frieze consists of a triad, a diad, and another triad of fighting warriors, with the warrior farthest to the right falling out of a chariot. The lower register is taller and features a procession of marching warriors bearing Dipylon shields moving from left to right. At the extreme left, another warrior facing leftward confronts the fragment of a Siamese twin, a figure with a single torso and four legs.

There are several questions that have been raised about the Dipylon shield that appears in many other prothesis, processional, and battle scenes in Attic Geometric art (see Fig. 15). Is it a special, heroic shield that traces its form back to the figure-8 shield of the Mycenaean period or is it a convention based on more contemporary notched shields like the Boeotian shield? Is it a mythic or real object? There is no exact archaeological parallel for the shield. Given the schematic nature of Geometric art, deciding what it represents compared to shields of other shapes is problematic. T. B. L. Webster first proposed a heroic explanation for the Dipylon shield. For Webster, the shield functions as an index, "an indication that the painter is depicting the heroes of the past."[63] Combined with parallels between Geometric combat scenes and funerals and Homeric descriptions of the same, the Dipylon shield shows the influence of Homeric poetry and the desire to show scenes from the heroic past. Webster's hypothesis has since caused a great deal of controversy, usually with critics outnumbering supporters.[64] Critics of the theory claim that the Dipylon shield is either fictional or derived from the Boeotian shield and does not have a special status; further, they argue that a Geometric painter like the Dipylon Master probably did not know the *Iliad* and that epic poetry did not provide the stimulus for creating what are really scenes drawn from everyday life.[65]

As Snodgrass has pointed out, both sides assume that epic poetry is the standard by which pictorial narrative is to be judged and that a painting is either *Lebensbild* or *Sagenbild,* but not both or some other alternative.[66] Snodgrass has proposed a category of "generalized heroic" for works in which a specific story cannot be identified but where a narrative of heroic theme and stature does exist.[67] The Dipylon shield becomes, then, a sign of this heroic but still generic situation, applicable on one level to the present and on another to the heroes of the past.[68] As the debate demonstrates, the Dipylon shield is too

ambiguous in its meaning to serve as a specific informant or index; even if it were to signify as an index the heroic/mythological status of its bearer, without further refinement or other attributes it cannot help a viewer to identify a specific hero like an Achilles or Hektor and transform the generic action of the nucleus into a specific mythological narrative. As an informant, it is at best effective in distinguishing one group from another within a nucleus, but since the group with the Dipylon shield is usually on the losing side (see the fallen Dipylon warrior on the right side of Fig. 18), one would guess that it was not a consistent symbol for triumphant Greek heroes.

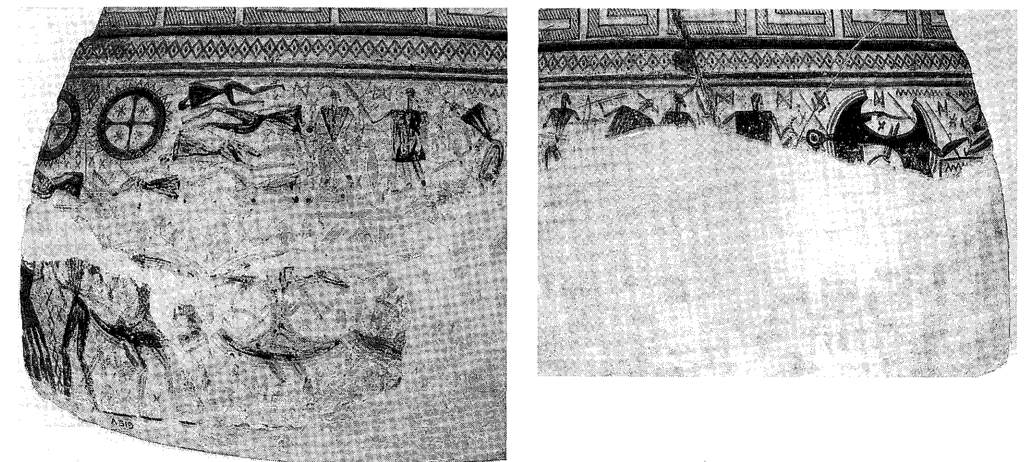
The second issue concerning Geometric mythological narrative is the frequent portrayal of the curious creature with a single torso, but two sets of legs, arms, and head on the lower left of the Louvre krater and at least eighteen other examples of early Greek art.[69] As with the Dipylon shield, there are both mythological and practical explanations for its appearance. A number of scholars identify these creatures as the twin sons of Aktor known as the Aktorione or Molione (after their mother).[70] These twins, according to Hesiod, shared the same body like Siamese twins.[71] Other literary references to them include two passages from the *Iliad* in which Nestor fought and raced against them and from Apollodoros and some fragments of Ibykos in which they fight Herakles. The unique form of the Aktorione in the literary sources has led proponents to regard the doubled nature of the figures as an attribute specific only to the Aktorione. Their appearance in scenes then makes these mythological episodes, such as the funeral games of king Amarynkeus or their combat with Nestor.[72] Support for this argument is found in the claims of a prominent Athenian clan, the Neleids, to be descended from Nestor, and so the narrative scenes become a kind of crest for the family.

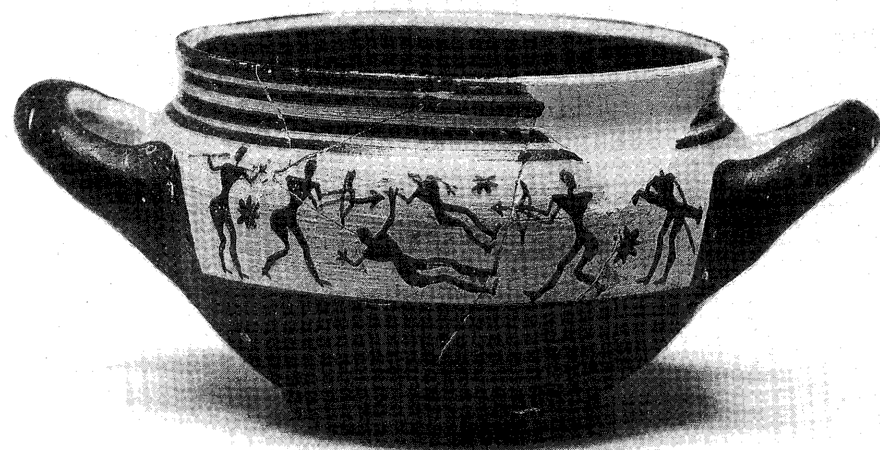
Skeptics have countered that Nestor is bested in this battle, and hence it would be unsuitable as a family emblem.[73] Indeed, it is puzzling why they would be used as an index/informant for Nestor when their most climactic struggle was with Herakles, and in some of the later metalwork examples from around 700 the hero that the Siamese twins face is more certainly identifiable as Herakles.[74] Further, as a sign for Nestor or the Neleid clan, the Siamese twins work counter to the way most informants or indexes function as a positive identification for another figure. For example, Herakles is often identifiable from the nature of his opponent, such as the Nemean lion or the hydra, or Perseus by the Gorgon. Almost always, however, the figure serving as a sign in this manner is defeated so that it also functions as a confirmation of the heroic status of the figure. Narrative is, in this sense, written by the victors. Nestor is never so clearly a victor over the twins, whereas Herakles is, making him the more likely candidate for signification. In summary, it seems unlikely that we can be so specific in identifying mythological content in works with the Siamese twins, but we should not dismiss them as lacking any kind of referential significance. Like the Dipylon shield, there is neither consistency in conception nor use to allow one certainty for its value as a specific informant or index.

Others see this motif of a shared body or shield with extra head, arms, and legs as a convention for showing two figures close together, as is done in depicting a two- or four-horse chariot team.[75] Such a convention, however, is a far rarer treatment of the human form than of the horse form, and goes against the far more standard treatment of isolating the individual figure against the ground of the vase. As a formula for doubling, the Siamese twins would seem to work counter to the effort by Geometric artists to portray individual actions. Battles, for example, are represented as dual or triple combats, not as the clash of large, unified forces, so that each figure's action and therefore each nucleus is very clearly described. In a pure silhouette style like the Geometric, overlapping would obscure the legibility of the figures.[76] Further, in several of the depictions of the twins, the chest is the same size as a normal individual, whereas in the doubling of horses, the breast is always lengthened like the hips to accommodate the extra limbs and a portion of the second, back torso appears between the necks.[77] S. Brunnsåker and C. King suggest more symbolic meanings for the motif, either "a general formula for inseparability" or a representation of "a team: perhaps ordinary twins, perhaps legendary twins." Such a suggestion implies a coordination of action for a common goal and an interdependence that the more simple suggestion of overlapping overlooks.[78]

To summarize, the efforts to find a more specific mythological subject in Geometric art are inconclusive, although that is not to say that they are without some referential value. As we saw in the last section, the criterion for the existence of pictorial narrative is not whether the action is performed by a specific, mythological figure or comes from a given tale, but that the type of action itself be open and a matter of decision, a hinge. It is the potential for causal connection between events that moves the depiction from simple action like ritual to narration. This points out a more enduring feature of Greek

18. Late Geometric Ia Attic krater by the Dipylon Workshop, ca. 760–750. Battle and marching scenes. Paris, Louvre, A519. (Photo: M. and P. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre Museum)





19. Middle Geometric II Attic skyphos from Eleusis, ca. 770. Land battle. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, 741. (Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Receipts Service [TAP Service])

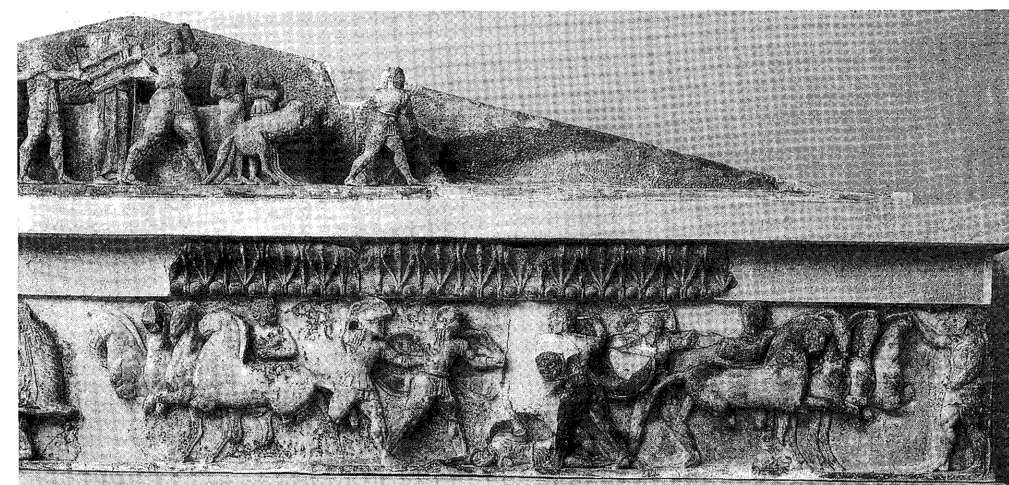
pictorial narrative and its micro-structure, and this is the reliance on what we may call "generic narrative."[79]

As an example of generic narrative, we might look at one of the hundreds of combat scenes with unidentifiable warriors. On the other side of the Eleusis skyphos, we see two pairs of warriors confronting each other with two fallen figures in the center (Fig. 19). In the center are two prone figures with overlapping or clasped hands, and to either side are pairs of archers and spearmen battling over the bodies.[80] The picture recalls several scenes in the *Iliad* in which fights take place over corpses, the prize being their armor, and in which spearmen protect archers with their shields. Since they are separated from each other by the corpses, we might identify each pair of archer and spearman as a nucleus in this picture. The corpses serve as catalysts, providing the pretext for this particular struggle. Two other elements play a role in the narrative. The spearman at the far right carries a huge, battering-ram-like object across his middle, and a sword hangs down from his side. This serves to differentiate the two sides, but to what purpose is uncertain. Perhaps this is some form of heroic weapon, such as the tree trunklike spear of Achilles, that will help to sway victory over to one side.[81] The leftward direction of the figure, however, is contrary to that normally found in later Greek art for victors, who attack from left to right while opponents face leftward.[82] The "spear" may therefore serve as catalyst, pushing the narrative in one direction, and as informant, marking out a singular heroic figure within the picture.

This picture is little different in its micro-structure from the combat found earlier on the Minneapolis amphora (see Fig. 13), except that there the absence of a corpse in the middle defines the nucleus as being earlier in the stages of battle. The lack of allies may also signify the individual rather than group nature of the combat. Closer to the Eleusis skyphos is the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (Fig. 20).[83] Here again we see two pairs of combatants fighting over the body of a fallen warrior. The interlocking arrangement of the figures and the coordination of action and reaction make this a more unified nucleus than on the Eleusis skyphos. The quadrigae to either side signify the importance of the figures as heroes. The subject of the frieze was long identified as the combat of Patroklos and Sarpedon resulting in the latter's death, due in part to the weighing of the Sarpedon's soul described in *Iliad* 16.527–675, an action featured in the adjacent scene of the gods on the same frieze. This identification of the combat scene is consistent with the literary source, but the pictorial scene is so formulaic in nature that it could apply as well to any number of other scenes from Greek poetry. Indeed, when V. Brinkmann's study of the frieze revealed the traces of the original painted inscriptions, it turned out that the warriors are Aeneas and Memnon (left) and Achilles and Ajax (right, not named) fighting over the body of Antilochos, whose father Nestor frames the entire frieze at the right.[84] Thus, we have an entirely different story but without any change in the core of the relief's micro-structure. The informants have changed, but not the nuclei or catalysts.

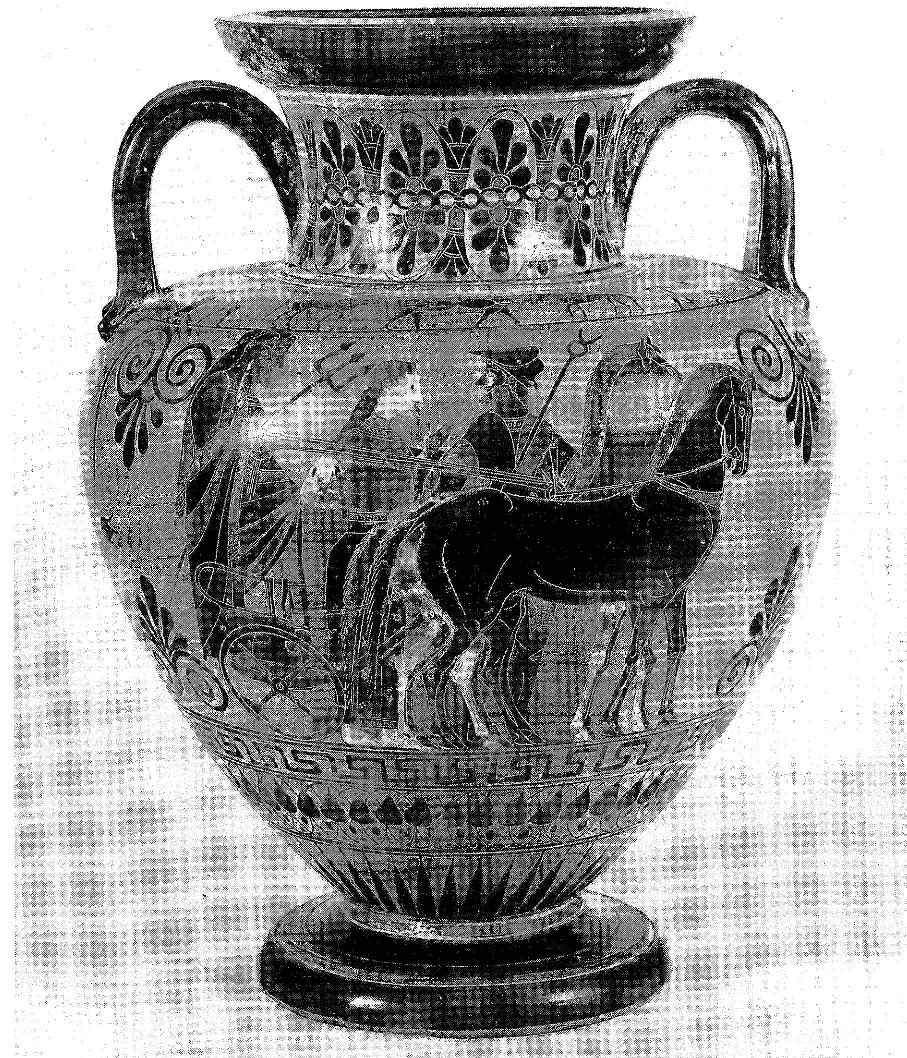
This is not to underplay the value of inscriptions as informants in pictorial narrative. Indeed, they are quite common in Greek art of the Archaic and into Classical periods and are frequently critical for identifying a specific subject. As F. Brommer points out of Herodotos's viewing of the statues of Kleobis and Biton, an inscription could be an invitation to recount a story.[85] However, inscriptions are smaller than figures and are not the first thing that a viewer would see, so that reading an inscription would follow perception of the work. Indeed, the inscriptions on the Siphnian Treasury would not have been readily apparent and legible to a viewer first approaching along the Sacred Way, so that the initial impression of the narrative would depend on recognizing elements of its micro-structure. For the Greek viewer, it is the recognition of the

20. East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi, ca. 525. Achilles and Memnon fighting over the body of Antilochos. Delphi Museum. (Photo courtesy of the École Française d'Archéologie, © EFA)



21. Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Vatican 359, ca. 530. Departure of warrior. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund, 57.1. (Photo courtesy of the MIA)

action, not the subject and agents of the story, that in many ways is the fundamental quality of the narrative. By representing the combat of Achilles and Memnon in a nucleus that is structurally equivalent to that of the Eleusis skyphos and hundreds of other combat scenes, the Greeks could emphasize the broader importance of the specific action and make the resulting meaning of the image at the level of discourse resonate as broadly as possible. By using a formula as a nucleus, the artist can set up associations that would otherwise get subsumed in the specific details of a given story. In other words, focusing the narrative image on its nucleus at the most basic level opens the door more



22. Attic black-figure amphora by the Painter of Vatican 359, ca. 530. Departure of Poseidon and Amphitrite. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund, 57.1. (Photo courtesy of the MIA)

readily for metaphor at a higher level of narration and allows the nucleus to act as an index in its own right.

We can see how this works by looking at the other images on the Minneapolis amphora (Figs. 21 and 22). On the body of side B, below the fight discussed before (Fig. 13), we see a warrior departing. There is no indication of time and place and no indexes or informants to identify the figures or story beyond the everyday. The warrior strides rightward holding his shield and behind him a mature man with beard and a woman raise up their left hand and hold out their right hand in a gesture of farewell. A youthful and beardless male

on the right observes. We might well have a family scene here, with grandfather and grandson flanking wife and husband as the latter departs for war. The scene is repeated numerous times in Attic vase painting, sometimes within a mythological story but more frequently not. On side A of the vase is a mythological scene. A bearded man and woman stand in the car of a quadriga; he holds a trident while she holds the reins of the horses. Behind the horses stands another bearded male, who looks back at the couple but is ready to walk in the same direction as the chariot. The female figure next to him makes the same gesture of farewell as the wife on the other side of the vase. Informants like the trident and kerykeion identify the male figures as Poseidon and Hermes, and the woman with Poseidon must be his wife Amphitrite, whose costume is virtually identical to the wife on the other side. The other female figure cannot be identified.

The nuclei of the two scenes both show figures departing, although their grandeur differs considerably.[86] On side B, we see the simpler version with a departure by foot; on side A, Hermes and the quadriga serve as catalysts to elaborate on the basic action of departure but without changing the substance of the nucleus: An important figure leaves home. Since we do not know the story in either case, the nucleus is very open-ended and leaves much to the imagination of the viewer; there is no question that it is a narrative hinge as it initiates a train of events that would otherwise not happen. In the mythological version, the unidentified female figure serves as a catalyst, pointing to the place being left, while Hermes leads toward the destination. So too on side B the other figures are catalysts elaborating on the departure, but here all represent to some degree the point of departure rather than the destination. The important point about the two scenes is that they show basically the same action of departure. The differences in them are attributable to the other narrative functions of catalysts, indexes, and informants. These give different flavors to the action and make different associations to stories or ideas of Greek culture, but at the level of the micro-structure, the scenes show the same core nucleus of departure with variations in the mode of transport. Rather than invent a new nucleus for each scene, the artist has chosen instead to offer variations on a theme. The artist could have shown Poseidon underway and used another figure as an index to refer to the idea of departure or have shown Poseidon walking to the waiting chariot. Both would have been nuclei in the same episode but would have been different moments and actions. Indeed, this is the key to the similarity of the nuclei on the vase in that they show the first step of departure, whatever the means of transportation.

What would have been the advantage of structuring the nucleus in a similar way for two scenes with different characters, places, and stories? Here one might consider more broadly the advantage of generic narration and its ability to create links or metaphors in the mind of the viewer.[87] Although the linkage itself belongs to the level of the macro-structure, as we shall discuss in the next chapter, the individual links are forged in the micro-structure. In the case of the Minneapolis amphora, the generic scene of departure establishes an immediate

parallel to the departure of the gods, one that is strongly reinforced by the repetition of essentially the same catalysts in the female figures. Style too, by showing female flesh in added white, draws the eye quickly to these figures as focal points and emphasizes the similarities between genre and myth. What we end up with is a picture of the ordered world of the Greeks, the gods going about their business with the same kind of solemnity and dignity that ordinary mortals muster. The combat scenes on the shoulder are also identical on the vase, with the exception of Hermes appearing on side B (see Fig. 13). Again, repetition of the nucleus but variation in the other narrative functions emphasizes the typical and common to both scenes and serves to strengthen the connection between the departure scenes. This equation of the actions of gods and humans, of the synchronization of the two worlds, achieves a nexus with the combat on side B in which a god, Hermes, observes the combat between two typical warriors. Hermes will probably conduct the soul of one in a new departure to the underworld, as he conducts the chariot of Poseidon. The use of such a vase in a funerary context, as many such were, creates another level of association with the theme of departure and the meaning of the actions of the deceased for family and culture.

Such a string of potential associations begins in the micro-structure. Identifying the narrative function that each pictorial element plays in the image allows us to sort out the ways in which the viewer perceives the action and to evaluate its role in constructing the narrative macro-structure.

Chapter 3

THE NARRATIVE MACRO-STRUCTURE

As seen in the last chapter, the tendency to consider elements such as symbolism, iconography, context, space, and time makes focusing on the micro-structure difficult. The narrative experience begins with these, and it is an artificial distinction to segregate the elements of the narrative discourse from the micro-structure. Just like a reader going through a text or a listener attending to a recitation, the viewer perceives the pictorial elements and comprehends them as objects, agents, and actions. Simultaneously, however, the audience of a narrative begins the process of discourse and interpretation, placing the details and perceptions into a larger pattern, what Eco has called macro-propositions that expand the narrative structure into a *fabula* or story.[1] As the reader/listener/viewer continues to perceive the narrative and takes in new material, he or she makes corrections to these macro-propositions and adjusts their mental forecasts of the course of events. Although we define this discourse as a different level of the narrative from the micro-structure, it is important to realize that the two are intertwined and are not sequentially structured.

This discourse is a process that will necessarily change along with the viewer and culture. Although structuralism and its foundation in linguistics are able to articulate a grammar of narrative, it proposes that at higher levels, actions can be grouped into clear and distinct types that take little account of the variables of the narrative experience. Theories such as reader response and poststructuralism help us to understand some of the dimensions of the narrative discourse, but the variables that make up the discourse between the artist, the object, and the viewer are wide-ranging and bring us also to questions of style and iconography. What I propose in this chapter is to discuss these variables and the ways of approaching them.

For ancient Greece, we have virtually no testimony from the artists as to their intentions or procedures; only the work has survived. For the viewer, however, testimony in the form of descriptions of ancient art and ekphrasis, literary descriptions of fictional works of art, does provide some evidence for the viewing process. This will be the first part of the macro-structure that we will consider (Section 3.1). The viewing context (Section 3.2) also has a direct impact on the experience of the narrative by the viewer, but it brings us also into the realm of the artist because of the limitations that context places on the work. Thus, we will see how the object and placement shapes the discourse between artist and viewer. Following this we will focus more on the artist by

examining the effect of composition on the narrative (Section 3.3). After this, we can examine the role that the integrative functions play in the narrative discourse, examining the depiction of space and time within a narrative and the role of the informants (Section 3.4) and the visual language in which informants and indexes play a crucial role (Section 3.5). Finally, we will look at the role of style in shaping a narrative (Section 3.6) and examine the effect of the narrative on the viewer in a discussion of mimesis (Section 3.7). Although this chapter seeks to examine each of these variables in its own right, one must keep in mind that these are not sequential or mutually exclusive elements. Frequently, the viewer is not aware of them individually unless its impact on the narrative is particularly noticeable. It is the cumulative and simultaneous effect of these variables that constitutes the narrative discourse.

3.1 THE VIEWING PROCESS

We can begin to examine the viewing process by turning to a situation in which a viewer tries to explain what she has just seen. In the opening of Aeschylus's *Eumenides*, the priestess has emerged from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, in which she had just seen a disturbing scene:[2]

> In front of this man slept a startling company
> of women lying all upon the chairs. Or not
> women, I think I call them rather gorgons, only
> not gorgons either, since their shape is not the same.
> I saw some creatures painted in a picture once,
> who tore the food from Phineus, only these had no
> wings, that could be seen; they are black and utterly
> repulsive, and they snore with breath that drives one back.
> From their eyes drips the foul ooze, and their dress is such
> as is not right to wear in the presence of the gods'
> statues, nor even into any human house.
> I have never seen the tribe that owns this company
> nor know what piece of earth can claim with pride it bore
> such brood, and without hurt and tears for labor given.

The audience cannot yet see the horrid creatures that it learns soon are the Furies, but it is the job of the priestess to make what she has seen manifest to them. Although the account is more description than narration, it reveals well the stages of the viewing process for narrative imagery. The priestess begins with a general description of the scene: "in front of this man slept a startling company." This is enough to create a visual image for the viewer: a man on one side and a large group of figures before him slumped over in sleep. There is then a simple nucleus that can be identified, but to understand the story that the figures represent, that is, how they got there and what it portends for the future, depends on more information. The next step is to identify the figures. From sleeping women, the priestess moves on to suggest Gorgons, but this is

not appropriate. She recalls a picture of the Harpies, but again notes a discrepancy. Finally, she settles on describing their awful appearance, abandoning the effort to make a positive identification. Undoubtedly, if she had recognized them, a simple label would have sufficed and she might have moved on to wonder about the relationship between them and the man, whom the audience learns is Orestes. In a sense, she begins to tell a story about what she has seen, but without understanding who or what the figures are, she cannot easily explain their presence in the temple. If we imagine for a moment that she had seen an image rather than the real thing (given the already fictional nature of tragedy), she begins her account by recognizing the nucleus of the work – the women sleeping near the man – and then tries to identify the nucleus more specifically by recourse to informants such as attributes and physiognomy. This is necessary for transforming a generic situation into a specific one, but it is here that the narrative discourse gets stuck, so to speak.

Before seeing how the same basic process unfolds in other literary accounts of narrative images, we need first to discuss the kinds of sources that are available. One category consists of descriptions, by which I mean accounts of actual works of art, usually but not exclusively based on some form of direct observation. For obvious reasons, these are the best evidence for the way in which a Greek viewer would have confronted and interpreted a pictorial narrative since they are the reactions of ancient viewers to ancient works. Unfortunately, the available accounts raise several problems. Virtually all of the surviving sources are not contemporary with the works that they describe. How similar, then, are the accounts of Pausanias, a second-century C.E. traveler and writer, to the reactions of viewers of the Archaic and Classical periods whose works he describes? Did viewing habits and pictorial language change to a degree that Pausanias is unusable?

Although these questions are not directly answerable with descriptions, it is possible to address them indirectly by looking at a second category of viewing accounts, ekphrasis. This is a description of a work of art, usually imaginary, found in literary works of poetry, drama, and rhetoric.[3] As a genre, ekphrasis does not receive a full discussion in ancient rhetorical handbooks until the Roman period, but its use in poetry goes back to the *Iliad*. The purpose of ekphrasis may vary from providing a summary of the poetic world of the hero, as with the Shield of Achilles, to providing a guide for an audience's response to the poem itself or to illustrate some point or argument. Given the imaginary nature of most ekphrastic works of art and the poetic or rhetorical motive for their creation, these literary accounts provide potential problems for the study of pictorial narration since they do not directly correlate with the world of real objects. Ekphrasis does, however, provide some crucial sources for the earliest periods of Greek art, and is therefore an important supplement to descriptions for the interaction of pictorial narrative work and its original audience.[4]

Generally, there are two issues that need to be addressed before using written accounts as guides to the viewing process. The first is the nature of the medium itself. Written or verbal description, whether in composition or in reception, takes much longer than the act of viewing, which proceeds in a staccato rhythm of movement and pause different from the pace of speech and words. Difficulties in describing in words visual elements that can be comprehended in a swift glance may force the writer to economize or pass over some parts of an image. The articulation of the passage of time creates another potential distortion in the move from verbal to visual communication. Time in a recital or written passage can only be unfolded in a sequence since the verbal process is itself sequential. Writers must decide where (when) to start, where to go, and where to end in both description and story simultaneously. The literary mode is also more self-conscious than the direct viewing experience, since the describer becomes a narrator and injects personal reactions, such an expression of marvel or admiration of beauty.[5] The result may be that the description has an artificial organization to it that potentially distorts the original viewing process. M. Baxandall concludes that descriptions of works of art usually represent the thoughts of the viewer after seeing the picture, a considered reflection, and are not sufficiently specific, analytical, and abstract to allow for the reconstruction of the picture.[6]

I would agree that one needs to be careful in defining the goal in using literary sources for the reconstruction of art or of the viewing process, but there is a measure of specificity and corroboration in some cases that allow us to use these sources as a guide. In terms of their usefulness for reconstructing ancient works of art, these sources are perhaps difficult to use, but there are cases where multiple sources or archaeological evidence can be used to verify at least in part the reliability of the account.[7] Our immediate purpose here is to use these accounts to understand the process of narration, particularly the viewing. As Eco has argued, even in experiencing a literary narrative, the reader selects details that seem of importance, forms macro-propositions as to the course of the story, adjusts them to later information, and so on.[8] Since each reader's response is inherently different to some degree from others, it would be impossible to reconstruct a short story on the basis of a reader's account like a book report, but it would be possible to understand the effect of the narrative and its interaction with the reader quite well. The viewing experience is a similarly selective process. If we look at the pattern of the viewers' responses in written sources, we can gain an idea of the viewing process for narration. A comparison of these accounts can reveal a common structure of the viewing process, despite variations in the type and period of the source.

The second issue is the comparability of ekphrasis and direct description of works of art. Ekphrasis can be rather more polished and detailed than firsthand observation. Its subject is determined by and is an integral part of a literary work, often serving like the shield of Achilles as an overview or summary of the world and figures described in the narrative. With imaginary works the writer is not limited to the conventions of a specific style or technique as is the artist, or to the limitations of a real picture in showing time, space, or the thoughts and motivations of the characters. Most of the works described in poetry are marvelous *daidala*, creations of Hephaistos, and are hence divinely crafted and

lacking the limitations of mortal works. I would argue, however, that these are differences of degree rather than of substance.

Justification for this view can be found in some of the rhetorical handbooks of the first to fifth centuries C.E.[9] Aelius Theon, for example, defines ekphrasis as "descriptive language bringing the thing being made manifest vividly before the sight."[10] In other words, the primary quality of the ekphrasis is its descriptive potential, for which two qualities are paramount: clarity and vividness. The style of writing should be straightforward and not call attention to itself, and there should be an avoidance of explicit interpretation. Ekphrasis can include the judgments and emotions of the viewer, the most appropriate of which is *thauma*: wonder, marvel, and so on.[11] Thus, personal reaction is permitted, but should not include too much in the way of explanation beyond what is necessary to allow the audience to "see" the picture for itself.

These theoretical features of ekphrasis translate more concretely in practice into a concentration on the physical appearance of a work: its color, texture, materials, the arrangement of its components, and the subject of its depictions.[12] All of these are elements that would capture the attention of someone like Pausanias in describing an actual work of art. A second feature of ekphrastic passages is the description of the referents, that is, the subjects shown on the work of art, as if they were real. As with any work of art, the ekphrastic object consists of a surface covered with shapes, colors, and textures. To describe a physical feature on a work of art as if it were, say, Perseus, is to create the illusion that both writer and audience are looking at a true human figure. In the words of A. S. Becker, the writer creates the illusion of "seeing pictures which faithfully and unproblematically capture their subject."[13] A description does the same thing. For example, in his description of the throne of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, Pausanias describes one of the paintings by Panainos on the surrounding barriers as follows:[14]

> from the labors of Herakles there is . . . Prometheus, who is still bound in chains, although Herakles has climbed up to him. For this story is told about Herakles, namely, that he killed the eagle which was causing Prometheus agony in the Caucasus and that he freed Prometheus from his bonds.

For all intents and purposes, Pausanias names Herakles and Prometheus as if they were real; he does not say "an image of Herakles has climbed." Viewer and reader alike buy into the reality of a fictional narrative world.[15]

If one compares to real works the media of ekphrastic works, their subjects, their treatment of the figure, and their style, one finds sufficient similarity to justify the view that ekphrasis has its roots in the art of its own time. A reading of the ekphrasis contained in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Shield of Herakles*, and Euripides's *Ion* shows that the poets describe their works of art consistently in terms borrowed from the world around them, even if exaggerated in splendor, technique, or scale.[16] For the shield of Achilles and the cup of Nestor in the *Iliad* and the brooch of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, the poet describes inlay and forging techniques that are consistent with objects of both Mycenaean and later

Iron Age manufacture.[17] Although the divine and intricate craftsmanship of Hephaistos with these materials far surpasses mortal capability, it is not hard to imagine a real object, a relic of the past, a work of Near Eastern manufacture, or even a contemporary work that might have served as the starting point for the poet's imagination.[18] This continues to be true beyond the Classical period. For example, the wooden cup described in Theokritos's *Thyrsis* or Moschos's basket of Europa have parallels in the techniques and subjects of Hellenistic art.[19] The even later paintings described by Philostratus or Lucian might well have come from the walls of a house like those found in Pompeii or Ostia. In other words, the poets do not describe a subject, medium, style, or technique that is beyond the realm of the real world; it is only in the proficiency of their creators and the animation of their subjects that they exceed mere human works.

Turning back now to the excerpt from Pausanias and looking ahead to several other examples, one can see that description and ekphrasis concentrate on a relatively small series of elements. The first stage in the viewing process is the identification of the general subject of the narrative. For example, Pausanias begins with "from the labors of Herakles" and then mentions the specific labor with a short label such as "Prometheus." This is certainly a way of orienting the reader or listener to what will follow, but the consistency of this approach also suggests it as the first step that a viewer would take when initially confronted with an image. The priestess at Delphi in the opening of the *Eumenides* did the same thing, but resorted to general descriptive terms since her effort to make a more specific identification failed. In terms of the narrative process, the viewer identifies the action or story as a foundation or starting point for the narrative discourse. The second stage generally continues this narrative discourse through a more detailed description of the agents and their actions. Several keys help the viewer to identify the figures: attributes and costumes, attitude or situation, expression, and inscriptions. The basic action is usually identified in a broad way – marching, climbing, striking, mourning, and so on. The seemingly instant recognition of some subjects, without further elaboration or description, suggests that in addition to single universally recognized figures, there can be an indexical value, like a hieroglyph, to an entire composition that is shared by describer and audience, as we shall discuss in Section 3.5.[20]

In addition to figures and actions, descriptions sometimes focus on specific objects that may have a symbolic or referential value (index), such as the chains of Prometheus that Pausanias mentions twice. In this case, the object within the painting seems to function as a symbol for both the punishment of Prometheus and a reminder of his liberation by Herakles, a future event that is not actually shown within the picture. Sometimes space and setting are given special prominence, depending on the period of the artwork or their importance in the story, such as the rock for Prometheus. Finally, the composition or arrangement of the parts is sometimes mentioned in descriptions. In the case of Prometheus, Herakles is placed below and away, which is important in setting the moment at which the narrative takes place, before the killing of the eagle and the freeing

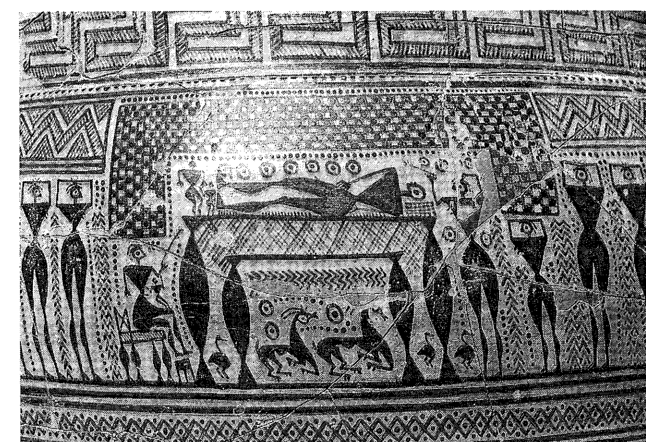
of its victim. Not all of these elements appear in every description, but they do occur repeatedly as we shall see and seem to be the more important aspects of an image for the ancient viewer. Thus, story, action, figure, symbol/objects, space, and composition should figure into the framework of any model of pictorial narration, since these seem to be key elements in the discourse between viewer and work of art. Although most descriptions and ekphraseis do not go into this depth, the process allows the describer to make the unseen visible in the mind's eye.

The earliest descriptions of works of Greek art, real or imaginary, belong to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and are contemporary with some of the oldest narrative images of the Geometric period (see Section 2.2 in Chapter Two).[21] In the ekphrasis describing the shield of Achilles in book 18 of the *Iliad*, the poet recounts in abundant detail the decoration of this shield made by Hephaistos. The poetic shield is a work of the imagination and of divine creation, so that its description far surpasses in richness, technique, style, and other formal qualities any contemporary work of eighth-century art. Nonetheless, the same points of general subject, figural description and attitude, actions, objects, and composition are the poet's focus. For example, in the section describing the law court scene, we hear:[22]

> But the people were crowded together in the agora. And there a quarrel had arisen, for two men were arguing on account of the penalty of slaying a man. The first had been swearing to have made full atonement [by] making declaration to the people; the other had declined to accept. But both then had sent forth the issue to an arbitrator to decide.
>
> But the people were shouting for both sides [and] helping on both sides. The heralds then kept back the people. But the elders were sitting in the sacred circle upon [the bench] of polished stone, and were holding in their hands the staves of the heralds who lift up their voices. With them thereupon they leapt to their feet, in turn they were passing judgment. Then in the middle were sitting two talents of gold, to be given to him among them who should speak most justly.

Although no such scene has been found in Geometric vase painting, it is not difficult to imagine a composition consistent with that time such as the prothesis from a krater in New York (Fig. 23, "New York prothesis").[23] As is typical of the period, there could be a tripartite composition with the spectators in the two side parts and a herald before each group separating it from the center, like the chorus of mourners and their leaders in the prothesis scene. In the center, where we see the body, grave offerings, and chief mourners in the krater, we can imagine the gold on the ground, two standing figures for the disputants, and some seated elders.

In the law court scene, the poet begins with a general account of the story, the people gathered in the agora, and then proceeds to identify and describe the actions of the principal figural types: the two disputing men, the people, the heralds, and the elders. It is important to note, however, that the poet does not attempt to identify the figures other than generically by their action or by



23. Attic Late Geometric Ib krater by the Hirschfeld Painter, ca. 750–735. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.14). (Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum)

a simple informant such as a herald's staff or a seat. Despite the elaborate detail of the description, such as the benches of polished stone, nowhere does the poet describe a detail that is beyond the realm of Geometric art. Internal anatomical details such as eyes and ears or details of costume such as belts or patterns are utterly lacking. Almost never is a specific figure named or a specific story evoked in the Shield of Achilles; rather the themes are drawn from the activities of everyday life like the scenes on Geometric vases.[24]

It is clear, however, that the *ekphrasis* describes a story that has past, present, and future actions. The dispute arises over the killing of a man; apparently, the offer of compensation to the victim's family was refused, leading to the appeal before the city. The arguments are over and judgment is beginning: The spectators clamor for a popular verdict while the elders in turn pronounce their individual verdict. The gold will apparently be paid according to whomever makes the most just decision, although this aspect of the proceedings is vague. Visual elements such as the talents of gold could have served as indexes for future events, just as the grave offerings in the prothesis scene, while the nature of the action, particularly the two disputants, stimulated an explanation of the past actions. The viewer here, then, begins with the general situation and action, moves on to a description of the figures and the objects and elaborates on the story as he or she takes in more details of the mental image. Fundamentally, the viewing process described in the *Iliad* is little different from that in Pausanias centuries later. It is also important to note that the details of the ekphrasis are not inconsistent with the art of its time.

This last point becomes clear in the consideration of a later ekphrastic shield found in the poem entitled the *Shield of Herakles*.[25] The poem, attributed to Hesiod but certainly not by him, was composed probably in the first quarter of the sixth century. This shield is also made by Hephaistos and includes many of the same scenes as the shield of Achilles such as the cities at war and peace, processions, and pastoral activities. There are also some significant differences

from the earlier ekphrasis, like a large number of named gods and personifications and specific stories like the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs and Perseus fleeing the Gorgons (*Sc.* 216–36):[26]

> There, too, was the son of rich-haired Danaë, the horseman Perseus: his feet did not touch the shield and yet were not far from it – very marvelous to remark, since he was not supported anywhere; for so did the famous Lame One fashion him of gold with his hands. On his feet he had winged sandals, and his black-sheathed sword was slung across his shoulders by a cross-belt of bronze. He was flying swift as thought. The head of a dreadful monster, the Gorgon, covered the broad of his back, and a bag of silver – a marvel to see – contained it: and from the bag bright tassels of gold hung down. Upon the head of the hero lay the dread cap of Hades which had the awful gloom of night. Perseus himself, the son of Danaë, was at full stretch, like one who hurries and shudders with horror. And after him rushed the Gorgons, unapproachable and unspeakable, longing to seize him: as they trod upon the pale adamant, the shield rang sharp and clear with a loud clanging. Two serpents hung down at their girdles with heads curved forward; their tongues were flickering, and their teeth gnashing with fury, and their eyes glaring fiercely. And upon the awful heads of the Gorgons great Fear was quaking.

Unlike the Shield of Achilles, we have here a mythological scene that is similar to depictions of the story in contemporary art, such as the dinos by the Gorgon Painter (Fig. 24).[27] This appearance of mythological stories in the poetic work of art corresponds to the widespread development of mythological scenes in Greek art beginning in the seventh century. Not only is the description keeping pace with changes in subject matter, but the amount of detail that the poet gives about the figure also reflects the more intricate style of Archaic art. Perseus has his winged sandals, a sheathed sword hung across his shoulders on a bronze belt, a silver and gold purse on his back containing the head of Medusa, and the cap of Hades giving him invisibility. These are details of clothing that are not mentioned for figures in the shield of Achilles, nor do they appear in Geometric art due to the limitations of its silhouette technique. Most of these do appear in the illustration here of Perseus, and the bag with the head of Medusa is also found on the metope from Thermon discussed later on (see Fig. 28). The same can be said of the Gorgons, whose details confirm their unspeakable appearance.

Despite this change to a mythological subject, the poem follows the same basic viewing process in the earlier shield of Achilles. It begins with a broad identification of the subject as Perseus. Given that the episode of the slaying of Medusa is by far the most common theme for showing Perseus, this shorthand identification was probably sufficient for a contemporary to deduce that the story was Perseus and the Gorgons. The poet then moves on to describe the action or nucleus of the composition – Perseus running or, rather, flying – and then moves on to details of Perseus. Most of these would probably serve as indexes for earlier moments of the story when Athena helped him get the necessary equipment for the adventure. It is noteworthy that these articles

24. Attic black-figure dinos by the Gorgon Painter, ca. 590. Perseus fleeing from the Gorgons. Paris, Louvre E 874. (Photo: P. Lebaube, courtesy of the Louvre Museum)

enable Perseus to approach unseen, to cut off the head, and to get away quickly, all of which would serve as nuclei in narrating verbally the entire episode. Following the details concerning Perseus the poem describes the complementary part of the nucleus – Gorgons chasing. From the details of their appearance it is quite clear why Perseus is retreating.[28] Such details of anatomy, however, only begin to appear in art in the seventh century, so that the poem is in a real sense keeping pace with the changes in images. Despite the wealth of details, the basic elements of the viewing process have not changed: general identification of subject, description of action and figures, and references to objects indicative of other moments of the story.

This viewing process is not limited to period or to medium, as we can see in another ekphrasis that moves us closer to the realm of real art. In Euripides' *Ion*, the chorus describes some of the images that it sees when it visits the entrance to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Although the details of this late fifth-century ekphrasis do not correspond directly to the remains of the late sixth-century pediment figures found in the excavations at Delphi, Euripides is generally true to the narrative qualities of the sculpture:[29]

> Here too on this temple
> of Leto's son shows
> The bright-eyed beauty of twin facades . . .
> [Several other scenes are mentioned before they turn to the pediment itself.]
> See! The battle of the giants
> On the marble walls.

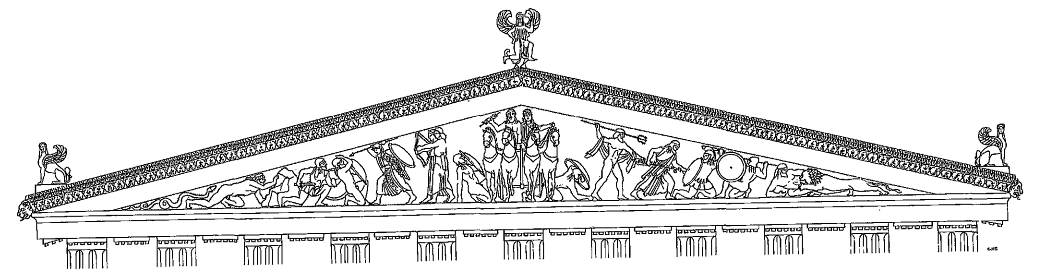
Yes we are looking.
Can you see her, brandishing
Her Gorgon shield against Enceladus – ?
I can see my goddess Pallas Athene.
Oh! The terrible thunderbolt
With fire at each end which Zeus holds
Ready to throw.
Yes I see. Raging Mimas
Is burnt up in the flames.
And Bacchus, the boisterous god,
With unwarlike wand of ivy is killing
Another of Earth's giant sons.

This description generally corresponds to the limestone west pediment of the Temple of Apollo (Fig. 25).[30] The chorus begins by stating the general subject, the battle of the gods and giants, a common subject in both Archaic and Classical art. Once they name the subject, however, they do not then proceed to describe each figure. Rather, they pick out figures from the crowded combat, examining and remarking on them, and then move on to describe another figure. Given the physical constraints of looking up at a high pediment without clear divisions or framing elements to process and order the images internally, such a selective strategy is understandable. Looking at the actual pediment from Delphi as a reference point, one sees the three named figures occupied different sections: Athena to the left, Zeus in the central chariot, and Dionysos (Bacchus) to the right. The chorus ignores Apollo and Artemis (left) and Poseidon (right), but does name two of the giants, including Mimas who burns up in flames from Zeus's thunderbolt.

Like other ekphrasis, the passage in *Ion* maintains two levels, one describing the subject as if real, the other reminding the listener of the viewer's presence. Indeed, as F. Zeitlin has elucidated in her discussion of the passage, the viewing act is an important theme throughout the play: ". . . the act of viewing, especially when the object represented depicts an event of the past, elicits the narrative impulse to tell the story."[31] The reference to stories heard while weaving also point out the importance of the oral tradition in guiding the viewer's response.

In moving into an examination of the figures and their actions, the chorus names first not the figure in the center (Zeus), but one to the side (Athena). In contrast, Pausanias when viewing the Early Classical pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (5.10.6-8) begins in the center and moves outward in either direction:[32]

> Turning to the pediments, the one in front [east] represents the struggle of Pelops and Oinomaos in chariot-racing, just about to get under way, with both sides still involved in the preparation for the actual race. An image of Zeus is placed in the center of the pediment, and to the right of Zeus is Oinomaos who has a helmet on his head, and by him is his wife Sterope. . . . On the very end is Kladeos reclining. . . . To the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, the charioteer of Pelops, the horses, and two men. . . .



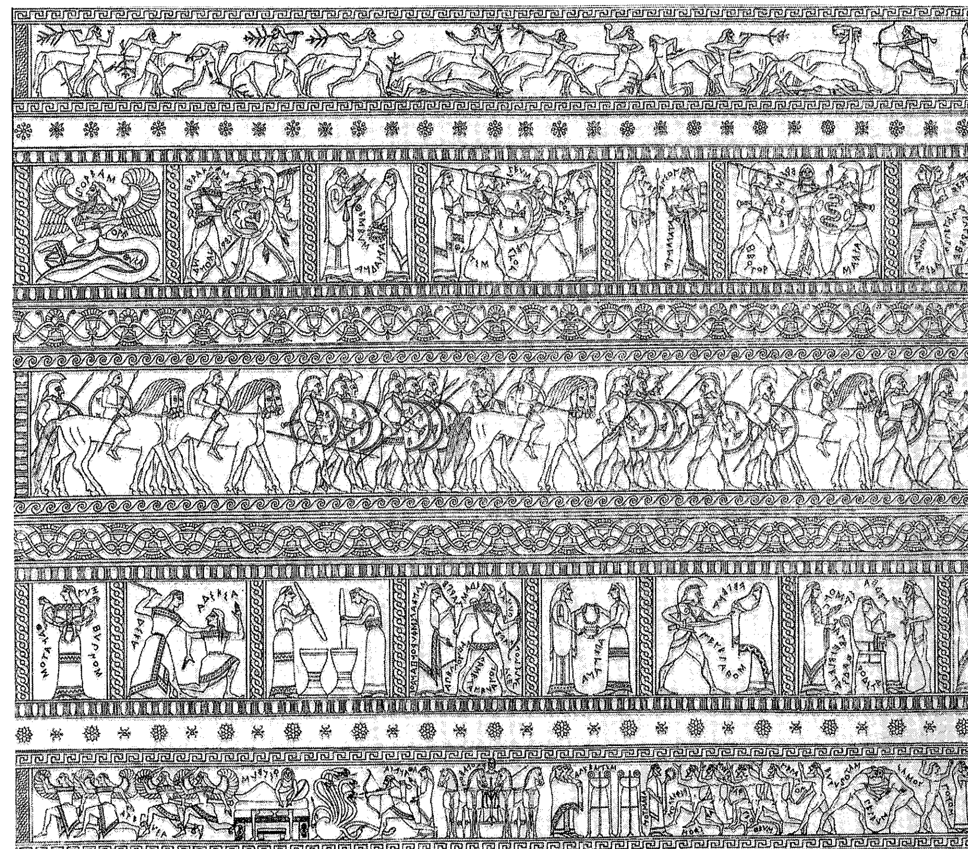
25. West Pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, ca. 510–500. Gigantomachy. Reconstruction drawing by Candace H. Smith, after Stewart (1990), fig. 200. © Candace H. Smith. (Photo courtesy of Andrew Stewart)

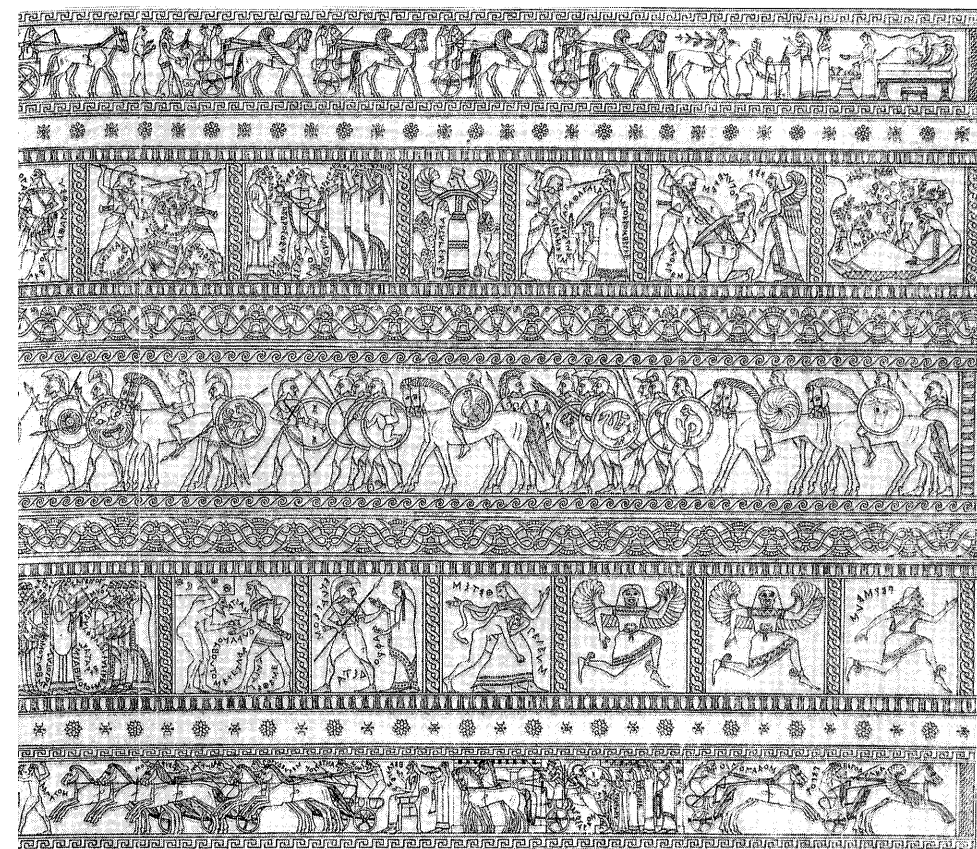
It is important to note, however, that both descriptions of pediments begin in the same way with a statement of the general subject. Pausanias's "title" is longer, but this is perhaps due to the rarity of the subject in Greek art compared to the Gigantomachy. Once the general subject is established, the viewer/reader/listener has a first macro-proposition that forms the foundation for further exploration of the narrative. Both passages then move on to specific figures and details about their appearance and actions. The fact that each passage begins at a different point and follows a different pattern of moving through the pediment does not reflect a different narrative process, but rather illustrates the flexibility that a viewer has in selecting and arranging details. A viewer can be meticulous in identifying each figure, or can be more selective; the difference is one of degree rather than of substance. The chorus in *Ion*, coming from Athens, picks out figures important to their home – Athena, Zeus, and Dionysos – and it is possible, perhaps likely, that a viewer from another part of Greece would have picked out a different set and in a different order if given the chance.

Another illustration of the viewing process can be found in instances where the viewer does not know readily the subject of a narrative. This happens several times in Pausanias's description of scenes on the sixth-century Chest of Kypselos, on which some of the scenes are not identified readily by inscription or composition:[33]

> The uppermost area – for they [registers] are five in number – offers no inscription, and one is left to guess at the meaning of the reliefs. To proceed then, there is a cave, and in it a woman is sleeping with a man upon a couch. I guessed that they were Odysseus and Circe, basing my guess on the number of servant women who are placed before the cave and on the things they are doing. For there are four women, and they are engaged in the tasks which Homer mentions in his epic.

The subject (see top right in Fig. 26), if correctly identified, is unique among representations of Odysseus and Circe, and it is understandable that Pausanias would not readily recognize it without a widely known visual model. Without a clear idea of the specific subject, Pausanias's first step is to describe the general





26. Chest of Kypselos, reconstruction drawing by A. von Masslow (1916).

scene and to focus particularly on the types of agents and action. The indication of a cave is unusual and attracts Pausanias's attention as an informant. Apparently in this scene, there were six figures, four servants and a couple, and Pausanias clearly identifies the interacting figures as the nucleus of the composition. Their lovemaking alone, however, is not sufficient to identify the figures, and their nudity for that activity would preclude attributes.[34] Nor is placing the lovemakers in a cave sufficient for identifying the scene. The other figures are clearly secondary and serve as catalysts, establishing the action as taking place within a household and not in a wilderness spot. The catalysts also serve as a collective index, for the domesticity of the scene provides a clue for identifying the context of the lovemaking. For Pausanias, this is confirmed by the correspondence between picture and epic in the actual tasks that are performed: laying aside the bed covers, setting up the table and chairs, mixing the wine, and bringing in the water for the bath (*Od.* 10.345–59). What we see here is an illustration of the process of viewer engagement in narration, that as viewers absorb more details of the image they correct or reformulate the macro-propositions that they have already established. Although in some cases this may serve to elaborate, here it serves to correct the earlier generic formulation.

The disadvantage of accounts of the viewing process is that they usually describe fictional works or real works, like the Chest of Kypselos, that no longer exist. Using them to understand specific, surviving works involves an extrapolation, particularly in that we can only guess the details that would attract the attention of an ancient viewer. Nonetheless, they do tell us that the nucleus of an image was the key factor in describing the story being told and could also serve as an index for quick recognition of the subject matter. An unknown subject would initiate a process of examination to identify the work, seeking to name and tell the story simultaneously. Unusual features would also attract attention, although these might not have a strong impact on the viewer's understanding of the narrative.

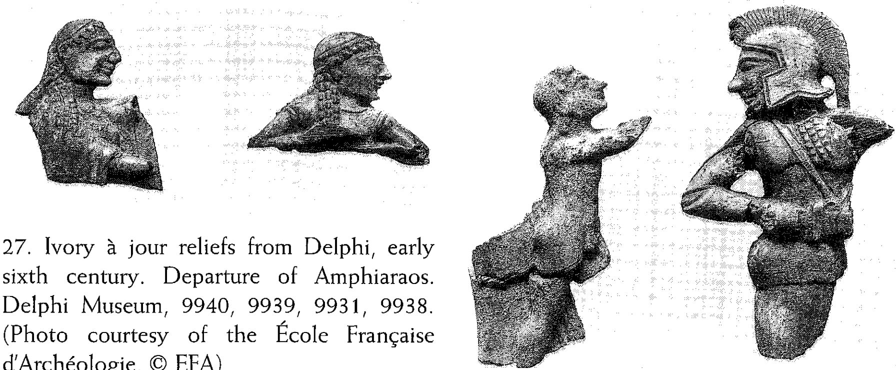
These accounts also help us to identify a shift in the pattern of viewing when confronted with Archaic and Classical works. Archaic ekphrasis like the shield of Achilles and the shield of Herakles limits itself to a description of action and identification of the agents. So too in other testimony of the Archaic period or in later descriptions of Archaic art it is the action of the figures that draws the attention of the viewer.[35] Although the action may be vivid and in itself suggestive of a certain state of mind, there is virtually no articulation in the

viewer's response of emotions in the figures such as joy, anger, consternation, confusion, lust, and so on. The chorus in *Ion* provides vivid descriptions of the Gigantomachy pediment and the animation of the figures on the poetic shields is remarkable, but there is no mention of the character or emotions of the figures. With only one scene on the chest of Kypselos does Pausanias speak of an emotion, when he says of Amphiaraos that he "has already placed one foot up on the chariot, but he holds an unsheathed sword and, having turned around toward Eriphyle, is so beside himself with anger, that he just barely restrains himself from striking her."[36] The description matches closely several depictions of the scene in Archaic art (Fig. 27; see also the second scene from the right in the bottom register of Fig. 26).[37] Although Amphiaraos is feeling anger, it is certain given the Archaic style and his full armor with helmet that Pausanias was not reading facial expression but was inferring his anger on the basis of his action. The scene itself is a departure like those that we examined in the last chapter (Figs. 21 and 22). Unlike these, however, the violent nucleus of man drawing a sword while turning back toward his wife is unusual and goes counter to the more generic formulation of this type of action. The discrepancy between a generic pattern and the specific representation is what gives specificity and discreteness to the departure of Amphiaraos as a mythological story. It is this discrepancy too that probably prompts Pausanias's mention of the subject's anger, for it is at odds with what one would expect from such a scene. This moves us into questions of visual language rather than the viewing process, but the point is that the emotion described is an interpretation of an unusual formulation of a typical narrative scene; it is based on the characteristics of the nucleus and not upon other elements.

In contrast, emotions and character are more frequently mentioned in descriptions of fifth- and fourth-century works of art. This is part of a broader change in terminology for art that emphasizes values of simulation and imitation.[38] As F. Zeitlin has shown, this is true of description in literature generally.[39] For example, in the *Phoenician Women*, Euripides describes the figures before the gates like a painting, using their attitudes to express internal qualities of character. In contrast, Helen in the *Iliad* provides names and deeds of the Achaian heroes but without sense of their location in space or their individual appearance and demeanor.

In his early fourth-century *Memorabilia* (3.10.1–5), Xenophon constructs a dialogue between Socrates and the painter Parrhasios as one demonstration of the worth of that philosopher to society. When Parrhasios at first denies that painting can represent the character of the soul because it cannot imitate what has not proportions, color, or visibility, Socrates pushes the idea of mimetic correspondence:[40]

> "Well," Socrates said, "is it not natural for a man to look at certain things with either affection or hostility?"
>
> "I suppose so," he (Parrhasios) said.
>
> "Therefore this much must be imitable in the eyes?"
>
> "Yes, certainly," he said.
>
> "And does it seem to you that people keep the same expression on their faces when they behold the good and evil fortunes of their friends, so that people who are concerned behave just like those who are not?"
>
> "No indeed," Parrhasios said, "for they beam with joy at their good fortune, and they display a sad countenance at their evil fortunes."
>
> "And is it not possible," Socrates said, "to imitate these?"
>
> "Yes, of course," he said.
>
> "And likewise grandeur and liberality as well as lowliness and illiberality, moderation and thoughtfulness as well as insolence and vulgarity – these too are revealed through the expression of the face and through the attitudes of the body, both stationary and in movement."



27. Ivory à jour reliefs from Delphi, early sixth century. Departure of Amphiaraos. Delphi Museum, 9940, 9939, 9931, 9938. (Photo courtesy of the École Française d'Archéologie, © EFA)

Later (3.10.8), Socrates also concludes "that the sculptor must represent in his figures the activities on the soul." What is of interest in these general discussions of mimesis is that it is not simply the physical action of the figure that is important for Classical art and its audience, but what the physical appearance of the figure tells us about his or her character or *ethos*, a subject that we shall examine further in Sections 3.7 and 5.3.

We find a similar distinction between the description of Classical and Archaic narrative images in the accounts of Pausanias. In describing the paintings of Polygnotos at Delphi, for example, he notes the emotions of several figures apparently on the basis of attitude, gesture, gaze, and facial expression. Of Peirithoös, for example, he says that Theseus "holds both Peirithoös's sword and his own, while Peirithoös stares at the swords [see Fig. 84]. And you would that was angry with the swords because they were useless and of no avail in their adventures."[41] Elsewhere, he says of Paris and Penthesileia that the former "is clapping his hands just the way some rude country fellow would clap them. You will say that Paris appears to be calling Penthesileia to him by the sound of his hands. Penthesileia is also there looking at Paris; she seems by the toss of her head to look on him with disdain and to treat him as of no account" (see Fig. 86).[42] Although action is important, we should note that the action

reflects the character and emotion of the individual in a way that is not found in descriptions of Archaic narrative.

This contrast between action and emotion/character in viewer reactions to Archaic and Classical art, respectively, leads us to a distinction in the objects of narration that is the subject of the last chapter. For our purposes here, however, it is important to note that although it marks a difference between Archaic and Classical pictorial narrative, the viewing process remains basically the same. The manner in which this distinction is conveyed is one that needs to be explored among the other elements of the discourse between artist and viewer.

3.2 THE VIEWING CONTEXT

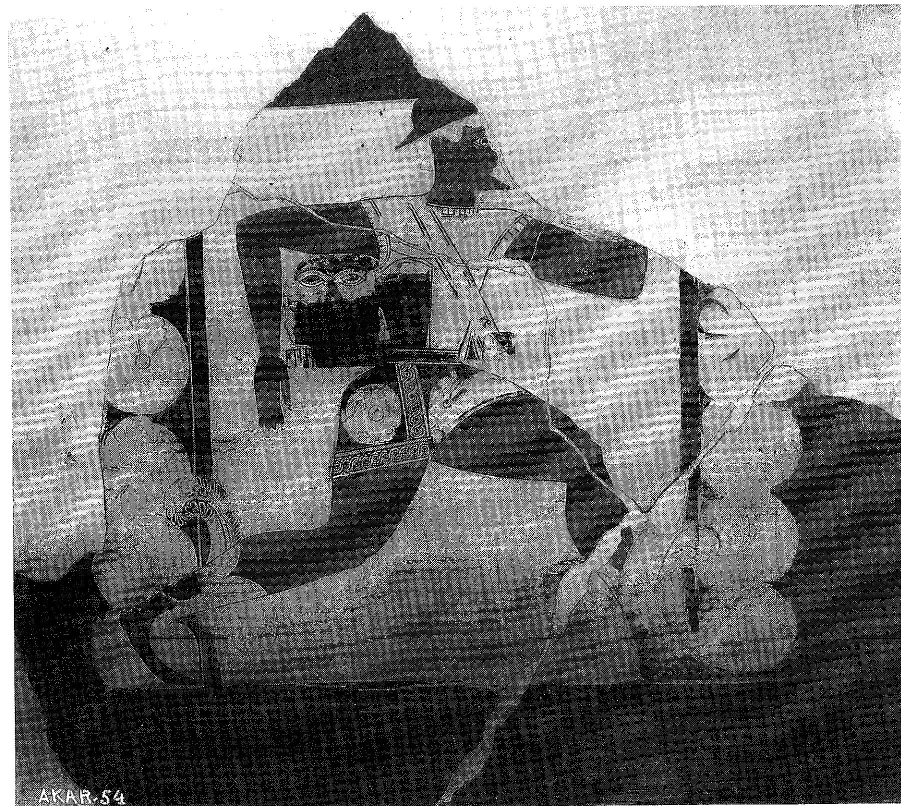
The viewing context can be generally described as the circumstances that shape the viewing process, what a viewer will see and when. The context has three broad aspects that we will discuss in this section – first, the physical nature or architecture of the narrative image, including its scale, the field of view, the viewing angle, and the shape and framing of the picture field; second, the place of the image, particularly whether it is public or private; and third, the purpose of the narrative work, whether votive, grave good, public commemoration, or domestic use.

For obvious reasons, the scale of a work is an important element to consider in the viewing process. The larger that a work, is the more visibility it has from a distance and the greater likelihood that it will be noticed by a viewer. For example, the figure of Perseus on the dinos discussed before (Fig. 24) is a little over 13 cm (5⅛ in.) tall. At this size, the narrative would be identifiable within the confines of a room in a house or tomb, but beyond a distance of four or five meters none of the details that was mentioned in the description of Perseus on the shield of Herakles – boots, hat, sword, and so on – would be readily discernible. In contrast, the slightly earlier metope from the Temple of Apollo at Thermon (Fig. 28) is about 80 cm (ca. 31.5 in.) square, with a painted field about 56 cm (ca. 22 in.) in height.[43] This is over four times taller than the Perseus on the vase; the large scale means that the works would be viewable from a distance, both from below and away from the entablature. Despite the difference in scale, the figures are very broadly painted. Since the metope is not visible from up close due to its location, there is no real need to paint extra details in the figure. Although photographs frequently distort the differences in scale between objects, as Figs. 24 and 28 do, they curiously have a leveling effect in terms of understanding the images' impact on the viewer.

The same can be said for a miniature scale such as the figures on the Huntsmen aryballos (Fig. 7) or on an aryballos by the Chigi Painter in Berlin (Fig. 29, "Chigi aryballos").[44] Found on the island of Rhodes, it features an elaborate plastic mouth in the form of a lion, two female heads facing sideways, and a handle in the shape of a crouching lion. The vase is only 7.0 cm (2¾ in.) high, but contains no less than four figured friezes. Immediately below the shoulder are clashing groups of hoplites, less than 1.6 cm (<⅝ in.) high. Below the main frieze are chariots racing leftward. On the third frieze are sphinxes, boars, a lion, and a bull. Most face leftward, but some march in the other direction, breaking up the frieze into smaller groupings. At the bottom is another frieze with continuous leftward motion, six dogs chasing a hare. Despite the intimately small scale, the details of the figures are articulated through incision with a great degree of precision. Much of the color has worn off the figures, but originally equipment was painted in a purplish color and exposed flesh in a yellowish brown, further helping to distinguish figures and details. At such a scale, however, the only way in which a viewer can experience the narrative is by holding the object close in the hand, either by the handle or at the pointed base. This means, however, that the viewing experience was much different than that for a public monument like a temple or even for a large vase used to hold wine for a symposion, in that the viewer must be a more active participant in the viewing process if he or she is to see the entire narrative.

The Chigi aryballos raises a second issue of the viewing context, and that is the field of view. With the Thermon metope, the viewer is able to see the entire picture at a glance. So, too, on the Gorgon Painter's dinos the figures of Perseus and the pursuing Gorgons are readily visible if one stands facing that side of the vase. The dinos, however, raises the point that the field of view changes with the position of the viewer and that one cannot assume that a viewer will always be in the proper place. In the case of a small three-dimensional object like the Chigi aryballos the combination of small scale and small diameter of the vessel means that only a fraction of the surface is visible at any one time, as can be seen in comparing the drawing of the vase and the role-out of the frieze in Fig. 29. A field of view that is less than the narrative composition will automatically fragment the viewing experience in a way that may make the viewer scan for more information before being able to identify or describe the action. This creates a situation analogous to that when Pausanias cannot readily identify the scene of Odysseus and Circe on the upper register of the Chest of Kypselos.

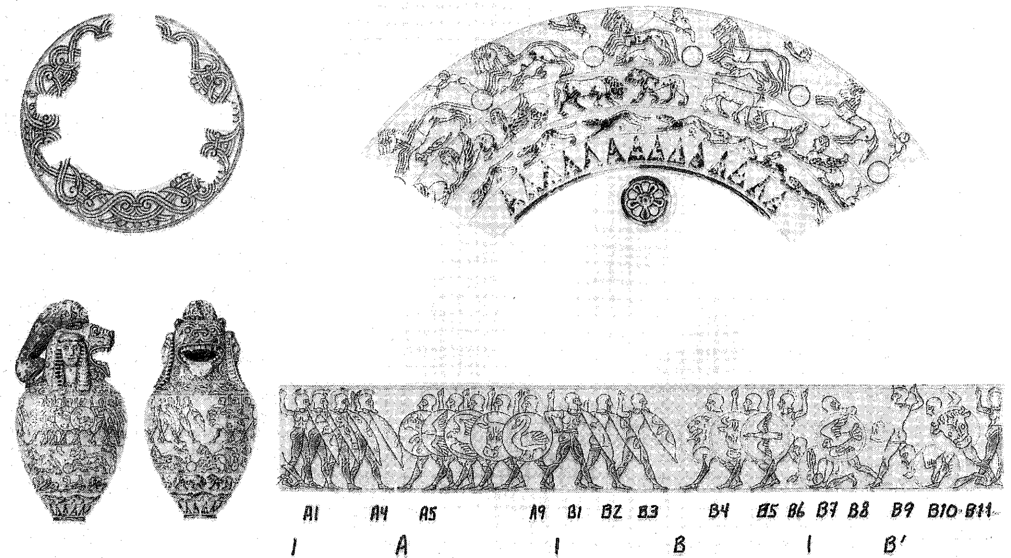
An examination of the narrative micro-structure of the Chigi aryballos reveals a careful coordination of the vase's architecture with the composition of its multiple friezes. Along the front axis of the aryballos, directly under the mouth of the lion, there is a nucleus consisting of two confronting groups of three warriors (figures B1-B6 in Fig. 29). The warriors on both sides are similarly outfitted and are distinguished only by their shield device and by the placement of the shields on the left in profile view and those on the right in frontal aspect. The regular spacing of the figures and the intersecting diagonals of their legs draw the eye to the space between the two groups where the battle is about to commence. The importance of this nucleus for the narrative is confirmed not only by the fact that it just fills the viewer's field of vision when seeing the front of the vase, but also by the fact that the motifs of the other friezes and the plastic decoration of the vase align with the nucleus and draw the viewer's



28. Metope from Temple of Apollo at Thermon, ca. 630. Perseus fleeing. Athens, National Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

eye to it. In the third frieze a bull and a lion confront each other; the open mouth of the lion mimics that of the sculpted lion's mouth spout above. In the second frieze two chariots flank the central axis, but the charioteer on the left turns his head back to look at his pursuer, an action that knits the two teams into a group flanking the central axis.

The remainder of the main frieze can be divided into two sections that meet along the back axis under the handle; each fills about a third of the frieze like the first nucleus and fills the entire field of vision. To the left of the frontal axis is another nucleus of confronting armies (A1-A9). The configuration is basically the same as the frontal group, except that the warriors are more tightly packed together and there is a slight asymmetry in number, with four warriors to the left and five to the right. The other, right side of the vase shows more variation (B7-B11). Near the handle in the main frieze is a spear-bearing hoplite driving two falling warriors to the ground before him (B7-B9). Behind him another warrior thrusts his spear above a stumbling warrior (B10-B11). There is, then, a relationship between the field of vision and the division of the frieze into three different nuclei. The first (B1-B6) would be seen probably in the situation of going to pick up the aryballos, since in storing the vase, a person would most

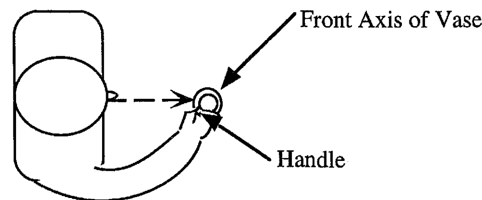


29. Late Protocorinthian pointed aryballos by the Chigi Painter, ca. 640. Battle; chariot procession; animal procession; dogs chasing hare. Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 3773. (After Washburn [1906] Tafel 2)

likely orient the lion's mouth spout out to take advantage of the motif (the second lion forming the handle would also be facing the viewer). The other two nuclei, however, would only be visible when holding the aryballos. If we assume that a viewer picks it up with the right hand to hold the vase before the body and face, then the figures B7-B11 would be most visible and A1-A9 would be hidden from view by the hand, as can be seen in Fig. 30.

To summarize, in the main frieze of the Chigi aryballos, we have three nuclei that correspond to three separate fields of vision, each matching a different situation of the viewing experience. One of them, A1-A9, is actually obscured by the viewing context and could only be seen when rotating the vase by its base or holding it in the left hand.

What is the relationship between the three nuclei in the main frieze? I would suggest that group A constitutes an independent scene, and groups B1-B6 and B7-B11 are related but stand alone in the viewing context (hence, B and B'). The two scenes, A and B/B', are then best understood as two actions from the same episode. In support of such a link, one can first observe that there is a general equivalence in numbers for each side in A and B/B'. In A, four warriors face five; if one counts B4, B5, B6, B7, B8, and B10 as one side of the battle, then five face six, with the greater force again deployed to the right. This ratio of N vs. N + 1 is also true of B' itself, where two face three. Second, the shield of B8 (bearing an eagle) falls in line with the rhythm of shields B4-B5-B6; if B7 were standing in formation an unbroken and regular shield wall of five warriors, B4-B8, would be formed. This grouping is maintained also by the consistent overlapping moving steadily inward from B8 to B4. B10 could also belong to

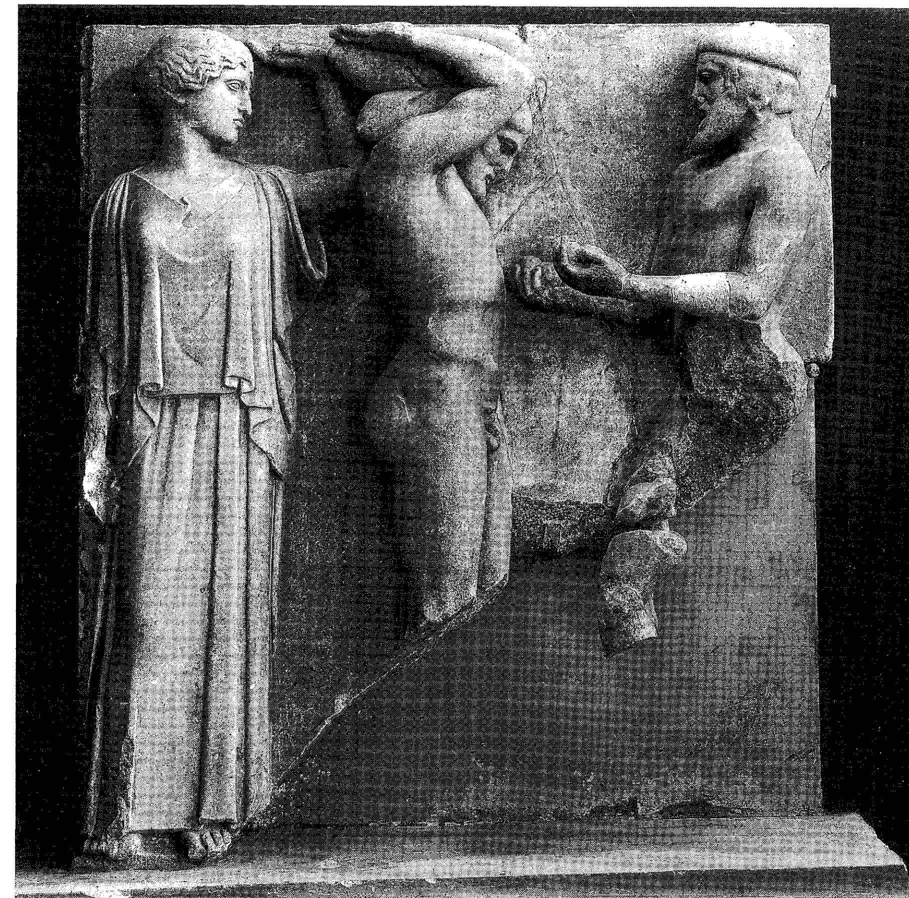


30. Diagram of figure holding an aryballos (Author).

this series, but clearly the great gap between him and B8 signifies that he has fallen out of formation a few moments before, since his comrades have marched on and opened up the gap. This careful placement of the figures creates a sense of space and depth in the picture and serves to unite B and B' into the same general scene. B9 and B11 belong to the same group as B1-B3, but are now inside the shield wall of their opponents as is confirmed by B8 overlapping B9. This essentially constitutes a flanking attack, and B9 must belong to the same side as B1-B3. B11 stands outside the shield wall, closest to the viewer, thus indicating that a flanking attack has the corner of the enemy phalanx, which has now begun to collapse. Since the orderly arrangement found in A has in B' begun to collapse, one might conclude that A represents an initial deployment and B/B' the successive clash. The repetition of shield devices such as eagle, goose, and bull's head creates indexes linking the two armies and suggesting that the groups are related. Since the devices are not repeated in the same order or even on the same side in A and B/B', this would suggest that either two different moments or points on the battlefield are being represented. The ordering of figures in space and rhythmically along the frieze clearly allows the viewer to sort out the order of battle in a way that was only suggested in the Huntsmen aryballos earlier (see Fig. 8).

How, then, do the scenes combine as the viewer examines the vase? B' or B would be the most prominent visually because of their position on the vase; their relative priority in viewing would depend upon how the viewer first saw the vase. In viewing B first when approaching the vase, one would start with the initial confrontation. In picking up the vase to pour from it, the decisive nucleus that shifts the battle's outcome to the one side would become visible (B'). In A, hidden from initial view, we see the full armies facing off at an earlier moment in time. In B, only a smaller number are visible, the reason being that some of the left side's hoplites have split for an attack on the flank of the right group. Such a coordination of viewing context in the field of vision is not unique to the Chigi aryballos, even if it represents a more complicated and subtle pattern than is typical, especially considering the size of the vase. The Parthenon frieze, as R. Osborne has shown, similarly coordinates the field of vision with the obscuring of the relief by the columns, creating a series of vignettes that unfold the narrative.[45]

This brings us to another, related dimension of the viewing context – the viewing angle and point of view. An illuminating example can be found in one of the metopes from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia showing Herakles, Atlas, and Athena (Fig. 31).[46] Herakles bears his labor of holding up the heavens with obvious exertion, but he does not bend under the ordeal and his brows concentrate on his task and on the apples that Atlas holds.[47] Athena stands almost impassive while aiding Herakles; she and Atlas look at Herakles and each other.



31. Metope from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, ca. 470–458. Herakles, Athena, and Atlas with the Apples of the Hesperides. Olympia, Archaeological Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

It seems that the story is at a stasis, with Herakles unable to move to retrieve the apples. When seen in a museum setting, one is virtually on a level with the figures, but in the original setting, the viewer would have been looking sharply upward from the porch below, seeing the underside of Athena's chin. From this point of view, Herakles's face and expression become quite clear and it seems that he looks down and outward to the viewer (Fig. 32). Athena and Atlas from this vantage point operate on almost a different plane. The key point is that adjusting for the original point of view, perhaps by lying down on the museum floor to look up at the metope, changes the relationship among the figures, making Herakles more detached from the other figures and more directly appealing to the viewer, engaging him or her more directly into the narrative.[48] With the placement of this metope directly over the entrance into the temple, Herakles looks down on one of the primary viewing areas of the metope cycle.

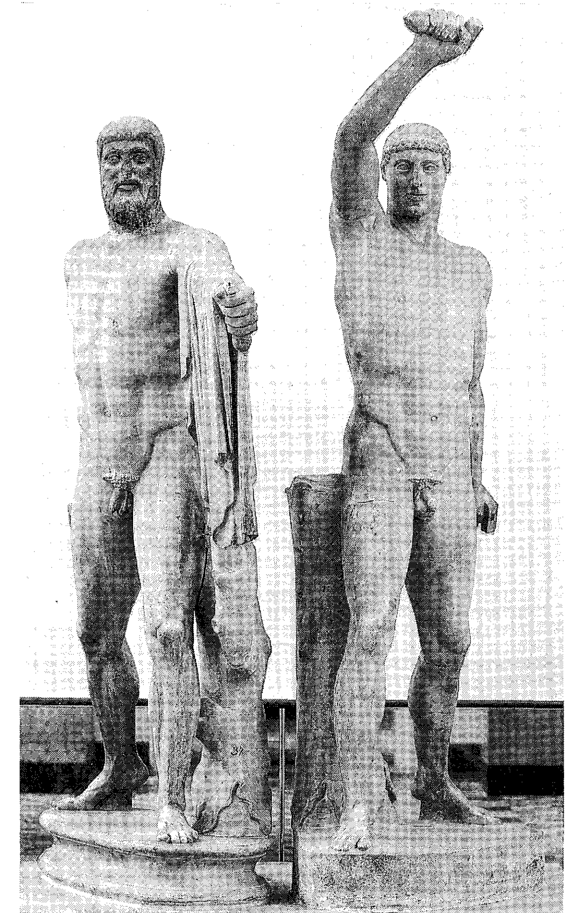
The change in the perception of a narrative as a result of the point of view can also be seen in the statue group known as the Tyrannicides of Kritios and

32. Detail of Fig. 31: Herakles. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

Nesiotes (Fig. 33).[49] Placed in the Agora around 477, they show Harmodios and Aristogeiton about to slay Hipparchos. Although the original statues are gone, reproductions in sculpture and painting provide a good idea of the original composition and its nucleus. Aristogeiton, with the beard, holds forth his scabbard and draws his right arm holding his sword back for a stabbing blow; Harmodios holds his sword over his head for a slashing blow. In the photograph reproduced here, the viewer stands in the position of Hipparchos, thereby standing in for the missing victim of the narrative. That the victim was understood by the viewer can be seen in a free adaptation of the statue group on a stamnos in Würzburg, in which the two figures are pulled apart to surround and slay Hipparchos (see ahead Fig. 35). A profile rather than frontal view is favored by painters of the scene, such as the depiction on a fragmentary oinochoe in Boston (Fig. 34).[50] While these figures are clearly shown as statues standing on a base, the artist has placed them more in a line than side by side, and by the overlapping of Aristogeiton's cloak over the arm of Harmodios, reversed, perhaps unintentionally, their position in space. The separation introduced by the painter clearly displays the action of each figure, although the overlapping that would have been a more accurate reproduction from the profile view would have obscured one of the figures.[51] This profile view also conveys a sense of forward movement better in a two-dimensional medium than a frontal depiction would have.

It is likely that the primary point of view would have been in front of the statues, as seen in Fig. 33.[52] The difference between profile and frontal points of view is significant. In the former, the viewer is a witness to the story, one of the crowd that saw the original event. In the latter position, the viewer becomes part of the action, the victim. This changes the involvement of the viewer in the narrative significantly; the space of the viewer and of the image become connected and, in a sense, more real. The shift clearly can change the discourse between the work and the viewer and the meaning of the narration.

One additional element of the physical nature of the viewing context needs to be discussed, and that is the shape and framing of the visual field. Since many narratives are painted on an object or structure that serves another purpose, such as a temple, vessel, or jewelry, the architecture of the object plays a determining role in the shape of the narrative. A pediment poses different compositional problems on the artist than a frieze or metope (compare Figs. 20 and 25); a circular field like a gem or the interior of a cup necessitates a different arrangement of elements, especially in the corners, than a square (compare Figs. 9 and 10). A long frieze necessitates a more spread-out or crowded composition than a square metope depending on the subject (compare Figs. 13, 20, and 29). So too a frieze that carries all around a vase, as in Fig. 29 or 7, has no defined side and in a sense continues without interruption in an endless loop. Given the nature of the object, the artist will have to adapt the pictorial narrative so as to fill the surface and fulfill the decorative intent of the imagery as well as its narrative purpose. In some cases, like the Thermon metopes, the opposite may happen with a composition being forced to spread over several metopes in order to accommodate the necessary elements (compare Figs. 24 and 28).[53]



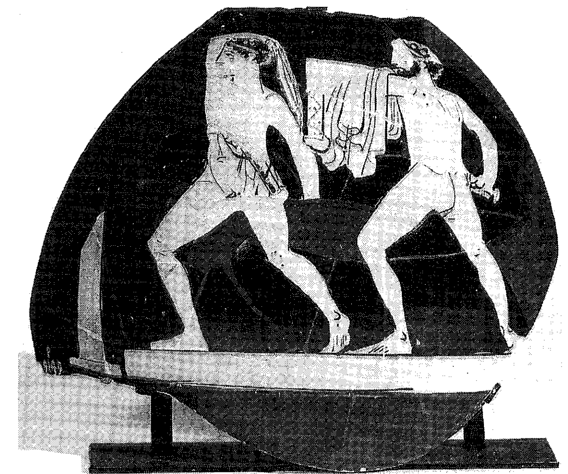
33. Harmodius and Aristogeiton (Tyrannicides), Roman copy of Greek original of ca. 477 by Kritios and Nesiotes. Naples. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

These considerations of the physical qualities of the viewing context lead us to two other dimensions: the place and purpose of the narrative work. As we have seen, some works are very personal in nature and would have been seen in a private setting such as a household or, more figuratively, within a tomb. Others like the Tyrannicides were public works, some with a notoriety of their own that led to their reproduction in other contexts such as vase paintings or small reliefs. The place of the viewing context may well have an influence on the choice of subject, since explicitly erotic themes are less suited to public monuments than are epic struggles like the Centauromachy or Amazonomachy, but in many cases, the same subject can appear in a variety of places as the discussion in Section 2.1 of the abduction of Europa showed. Public vs. private seems to have had little impact on the nucleus of the micro-structure, but it may be the impetus for the change to a frontal face of the bull in the Selinus metope (Fig. 9). Although a relatively subtle shift and one that does not alter the basic story or action, it does engage the viewer directly in a

way that the other, more private representations do not, just as the change in viewing point with the Tyrannicides and its reproductions showed before. The difference, although minor in the dimension of the narrative action, does set up a potentially different meaning. In the case of the Selinus metope, its position on a temple may have meant that it was a manifestation of Zeus, showing the power and action of the god in the world. On the mirror cover, the imagery is more sensuous and the acquiescence of Europa in the act is emphasized.

Such a shift correlates with the third dimension of the viewing context: the purpose of the image.[54] These, it should be pointed out, are different from the function of the object, such as container, drinking cup, pourer, metopal covering between beams, pediment or gable within the roof of a building, and so on. These factors belong to the physical nature of the context, and not the reason behind their creation, which we shall distinguish as the purpose of the work. Among the objects that we have examined, we can identify a number of different purposes: votive offering, personal adornment, monument/commemoration, grave good, domestic equipment. Although the physical aspects of the viewing context can have a strong impact on the structure of the narrative, the purpose of the work has a more subtle role and looks toward the meaning of the work. The use of a work for a grave may have an impact on either artist or buyer in the selection of a theme, but in most cases, it is the function and architecture of the object itself, rather than its purpose, that determines the structure of the narrative. For example, a silver alabastron formerly in the Metropolitan Museum is similar in size, shape, and purpose to the Chigi aryballos discussed earlier.[55] The representations of the clashing armies along the front axis of both vases are virtually the same. The difference in medium, silver and vase painting is not without significance, but it has less to do with the structure of the narrative or its discourse with the viewer. The silver alabastron would have been more valuable because of its material, although the Chigi aryballos would have been more expensive as a commodity than a plain or more simply decorated pottery vessel. After the Geometric period too, it would have been more likely that a pottery vessel would have been used as a less expensive substitute for precious metals as a grave good, but it would also have served as a less expensive votive offering as well. The point is that grave goods, like domestic goods, are conceived as fulfilling a similar purpose so that they have the same shapes and arrangement of imagery, thereby creating a similar physical context for narrative while having quite different purposes. Basically, it is the architecture of the vase, its function, and the position of the viewer that effect the narrative discourse, and less issues of the purpose of the work.

To conclude, the viewing context of a pictorial narrative can have a profound impact on the viewer. The physical qualities of the context – scale, field of view, point of view, and the function and architecture of the object – control the circumstances in which a viewer will experience an image. In formulating the narrative to fit the context, the artist may make changes in the micro-structure from what he or she would fashion on a different kind of object or in a different context. These, then, are the factors that regulate what the artist can do and what the viewer can see; they mediate between artist and viewer. Other aspects of the viewing context, place and purpose, do have a role, but one that is more limited in the narrative discourse. They may help in the selection of the subject matter and certainly play a role in the meaning or intention of a narrative, but they have less impact on the image itself.



34. Fragment of Attic red-figure oinochoe, ca. 400. Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 98.936. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

3.3 COMPOSITION

Although the viewing context can be seen as dealing with the shape of the discourse between the work and the viewer, the composition of a narrative governs its internal structure. Essentially, the arrangement of nuclei, catalysts, indexes, and informants controls and directs the flow of the pictorial narrative for the viewer. To articulate this component of the macro-structure, it is helpful to draw on some of the methods and terminology of formal analysis. In the broadest terms, I would name the following aspects of the composition as most critical: (1) configuration, (2) containment, (3) rhythm, (4) movement, and (5) density.[56] To illustrate these aspects, we can review some of the works discussed in earlier sections of this chapter.[57]

Configuration can be defined as the arrangement of the flow of action within a composition. Configuration can be labeled as directional, flowing from one end of the pictorial field to the other, symmetrical or centrifugal, where equal masses pivot around a focal point, or static, with virtually no internal movement at all and usually symmetrical.[58] An example of the directional configuration can be seen in the Gorgons chasing Perseus on the Gorgon dinos (Fig. 24) or in the departure of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the Minneapolis amphora (Fig. 22). A symmetrical configuration can be found in the front view of the Chigi aryballos (Fig. 29). Finally, the arrangement of roosters on the top frieze of the silver aryballos, although not strictly a narrative, represents a static and symmetrical configuration. Frequently, different types of configuration can be found in the same composition. The Delphi pediment (Fig. 25) has an overall symmetrical configuration, but within each wing there is a strong, outward directional movement. The result is a balanced but more energetic composition.

The different results between configurations for narrative can be seen briefly in comparing the frontal view of the Chigi aryballos (Fig. 29, figures B1-B6) and the oblique view (figures B7-B11). As noted earlier, the latter nucleus, B', represents the collapse of the flank of one army and pushes the narrative toward

a resolution. The unidirectional configuration of the composition, leading the viewer leftward, ties this nucleus to its complement B as double and simultaneous actions. Were B' to move rightward or be symmetrical, the visual link between it and B would be severed and would lead the viewer to see it as an independent action that may be occurring at a different time.

Another example of the impact of configuration can be seen in the Tyrannicides. The sculpture group (Fig. 33) clearly has a strong directional configuration, a configuration that is maintained in the painted reproduction of the group despite the spreading apart of the figures in the profile view (Fig. 34). On a stamnos in Würzburg (Fig. 35 "Würzburg stamnos"), another painter was also inspired by the sculptural group and added the figure of Hipparchos to complete the action of the nucleus.[59] This painting is no longer a reproduction of the sculpture, but the change goes beyond simple rearrangement, addition, and adjustments in the positions of figures' arms. The Würzburg stamnos has a symmetrical composition that focuses attention on Hipparchos as the victim. Although both Aristogeiton and Harmodios have basically the same movement as in the sculptural group, the arrangement cancels rather than amplifies the strongly directional flow of the individual figures. This has the clear effect of closing the viewer out of the composition, making him or her a detached witness. The original use of a strongly directional configuration, focused on the primary viewing point, had the opposite effect of engaging the viewer into the composition in the role of victim or close associate. The narrative gains or loses in drama and impact with the change in configuration.

A second compositional aspect is *containment:* Is it closed (contained or circumscribed by the border of the picture surface), open (with the border cutting off the view of a figure or being violated by a figure, suggesting movement or the extension of space beyond the picture), or continuous (wrapping around on itself, as on a frieze that completely encircles the body of a vase)?[60] In cases in which there are no clear borders, one needs to determine if the action is sustained within the field of view or pushes out of it. An example of a closed composition is the Olympia metope (Fig. 31) or the Würzburg stamnos (Fig. 35). Clearly symmetric or static configurations favor a closed composition, but it is possible that a directional composition will also be closed, as in the departure scene on the Minneapolis amphora (Fig. 21) or the departure of Amphiaraos on the Chest of Kypselos (Fig. 26) or the Delphi ivories (Fig. 27). Examples of open composition include the fleeing Perseus on the Thermon metope (Fig. 28) or the Berlin Europa (Fig. 11). Continuous compositions include the friezes on the Chigi aryballos (Fig. 29) or the Huntsmen aryballos (Figs. 7 and 8). A continuous composition presents particular problems in that it is not entirely visible at once, since it must double back upon itself, and so may be divided into smaller compositions like the battle scenes. A continuous composition allows multiple points of entry into the narrative, but is actually self-contained, whereas an open composition has a limited point of entry but by its nature leads to other images.

The nature of the composition's containment, or lack of it, visually expresses

35. Attic red-figure stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter, ca. 470. Harmodios and Aristogeiton slaying Hipparchos. Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, L 515. (Photo courtesy of K. Oehrlein)

the picture's relationship to the world around it (compare Fig. 49 to 28). A closed composition would tend to evoke a greater sense of narrative closure to the viewer, that each episode or action is distinct and complete. Open compositions break beyond the space of the picture and visually provide greater means for connecting an individual composition to others. Continuous compositions do not connect so easily to other compositions, since they form closed circuits, but the degree of movement within them and that of the viewer in looking at them creates a more active dynamic than in a closed composition.

A third aspect of the composition is its *rhythm*. Does the picture contain mostly equivalent or disparate visual elements, and is there a repetition in their arrangement or a variation between one section of the composition and another? Formal qualities such as shape and color may also play a decisive role in creating a rhythmic pattern, or a lack of one. A strong repeated rhythm, like the warriors on the front of the Chigi aryballos (Fig. 29), leads to a relatively stable and measured viewing experience, whereas a disruption or irregular

rhythm draws the eye to it, as can be seen in the rolled-out view of the battle frieze. Rhythm can strongly reinforce or alter the visual cues provided by the configuration and containment of a composition.

By *movement* within the composition I mean the formal elements that lead the eye around the composition. The surface arrangement of the lines used to construct the forms of the figure also leads the eye of the viewer along in the picture, as for example, in the lines of shields and formerly spears in the Chigi aryballos (Fig. 29).[61] Diagonals create a more dynamic movement in a composition than horizontals or verticals, as a glance at the New York prothesis confirms (Fig. 23). Actions, too, should be considered under the category of movement, since they imply something that is acted on and a vector of force or movement. Whether or not it is present in the picture, a figure thrusting a spear or sword is viewed as having a target and a viewer would naturally look in the direction of the action for it (Fig. 34). Direction can also be important for indicating the outcome of a narrative, for generally heroes/victors move rightward and victims leftward in a composition.[62] This, however, is not universally true, as the Naples Iliupersis (Fig. 6) points out, and may be subject to considerations of context or other factors.

Lastly, I would turn to the *density* of the composition, that is, how the figures are deployed across the picture surface. Is each figure separately articulated and silhouetted against the background of the picture, or is there overlapping or interlocking of the figures, making a much higher density? The contrast between these two ends of the density scale is readily apparent in comparing the battle scene on the Minneapolis amphora (Fig. 13) with other battles employing overlapping and denser concentrations of figures (Figs. 20 and 29). The effect of a denser composition will be to slow down the movement of the viewer within the composition, as he or she untangles one form from another and comprehends their interrelationships. A denser composition like that on the Naples Iliupersis (Fig. 6) lends itself to a greater complexity of interaction within the narrative, but can also work conversely to obscure the elements of the narrative, making it to some degree less legible.

The importance of considering the composition as a dimension of the dialogue among the viewer, object, and artist is severalfold. First, it is an element that the artist controls within the constraints of the viewing context. Through the composition, the artist can focus the prospective viewer's attention, either solely on the narrative at hand or beyond it. In the latter role, the composition becomes a key element in the extensional level since the direction and openness of a composition can point the viewer to another image and so extend the episode or story (see Section 4.1 in Chapter Four). Elements of the composition can also guide the viewer to the key elements of the narrative within a single image. Although the micro-structure of a narrative might be basically the same, as in the example of the copies and adaptations of the Tyrannicides, the composition plays a key role in creating a different version of the story with a quite different impact upon the viewer.

3.4 SPACE AND TIME

Space and time are elements of the macro-structure that are most closely related to the informants of the micro-structure, telling us when and where an action took place. At the level of discourse, space and time take on an important role in the way in which the space and time of the viewer corresponds to that of the story. Essentially, there are three layers to keep in mind here. First is the space and time of the story, that is, the original events that the narrative depicts. Second is the space and time of the viewer. Third is the space and time of the narrative itself, which is an extension of the first two but by fact of being a narrative exists independently of either. By its construction, the narrative space and time link the viewer and story; once constructed, however, the narrative can reestablish the link with new viewers long after the narrator/artist is gone. How space and time work in a narrative can create a different narrative result, all other factors being equal.

We may begin by looking briefly at space. Setting, figures, and actions all imply conceptually a minimal degree of space in which the events take place. Although this space is fictional and only constructed in the mind of the viewer, it must exist in a minimal degree for the narrative to function as a description of events or situations.[63] That ancient viewers would see in a flat surface covered with shapes the illusion of a space filled with masses is seen in the way in which both descriptions and ekphrasis approach an image as if the viewer were seeing the events themselves (see Section 3.1).[64] It would be too much to suggest that a picture, at least before the fifth century, was regarded as a window into another world, and in ekphrasis, one is reminded of the existence of the object itself through the praise of the craftwork or its materials. Still, the illusion of some kind of space filled with acting figures is a natural part of the narrative discourse.

In the fifth century and afterwards, great changes take place in the construction of space within a picture. Polygnotos is said to have placed figures on multiple levels in an effort to create a ground plane rather than a ground line (see Fig. 76 and following). Later artists developed a more systematic perspective in conjunction with the theater (*skenographia*) that essentially made the space of the picture an extension of the space of the viewer.[65] This change can be seen in sculpture too. The viewer becomes part of the space of the statue group. He or she can walk through a narrative scene, like the group of Greek heroes casting lots to fight Hektor that stood near the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, or become part of the narrative itself by playing the victim in the Tyrannicides (see Fig. 33).[66]

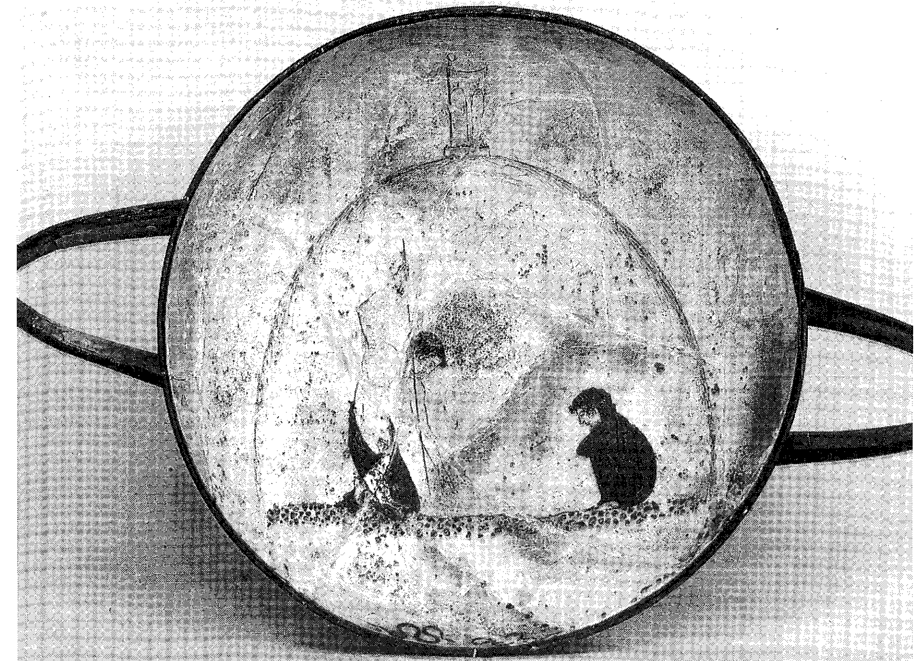
Greek artists could also create a pictorial space through the illusion of mass or volume. By giving a figure or object the appearance of three-dimensionality, a space is implicitly created immediately around it. The ancient convention of profile head, hips, and legs with frontal chest conveys a minimal amount of three-dimensional substance by its combination of viewing points. Foreshort-

ening is a much more optically convincing means for suggesting a three-dimensional mass, as is the effective use of shading and highlights.[67]

A good example of the development of both space and mass in Classical art can be found on the interior of a white-ground kylix by the Sotades Painter (Fig. 36, "Polyeidos cup").[68] The cup belongs to a set of nine pots coming from an Attic tomb, and certainly the delicate nature of the work on the cup precludes them from having been used in daily life. The themes of the three mythological cups in the British Museum, of which only this example is certain, are appropriate for work intended as grave goods; all deal with death and/or rebirth and transition and are surely intended for use by the deceased in an eternal banquet.[69]

On the interior of the Polyeidos cup, the Sotades Painter has shown the seer Polyeidos and the child Glaukos inside a beehive tomb, seen in a sectional view with a tripod on its crest. The edges of the tomb wall are filled with a dilute wash that fades gradually into the whiteness of the ground in what surely is intended as modeling to indicate the curved and receding wall of the tomb. This effort to depict a receding plane in space breaks with the linear and silhouette treatment of forms characteristic of vase painting, but is similar to the more illusionistic treatment of mass and volume recorded in the literary sources about contemporary wall painting. So too the ground on which the figures rest is no longer a line, but is now a plane of pebbles that recalls the sandy beach of Polygnotos's *Iliupersis* at Delphi (see Fig. 77).[70] The pose of Polyeidos is complicated and shows a three-quarter view with a slight torsion as he raises a staff to strike at a snake. The snake itself appears not on the pebbly surface, but farther down at the rim of the cup, where it moves toward a second snake that lies dead. Where the snakes are spatially in relationship to Polyeidos and Glaukos is ambiguous. The slight return of the curve defining the tomb wall where it meets the ground plane suggests, at least to a modern eye, that the bottom rim of the cup continues the sectional edge of the tomb, but now projecting forward as the edge between floor and wall as if it were a perspectival, cutaway diagram. If a viewer (deceased, but imagined as using the cup) were to tilt the cup toward him or herself, then the lower side of the cup would become the floor of the tomb, the side walls its projecting surface from the sectional line, and its center the receding surface. If this were the case, then the snakes are near the edge of the tomb forward in space, and Polyeidos and Glaukos are near the tomb's center.

The depiction of space on the kylix is extremely unusual, but it represents a way of reconstructing narrative space on a hard surface. There is admittedly no way of confirming this linkage of the physical shape of the cup and the space of the viewer's world and the construction of space within the narrative, but it is at precisely this time that painters begin to experiment with space and the relationships that it creates among subjects and between them and the viewer. In the *Iliupersis*, Polygnotos used the wall of Troy to divide his painting into two distinct areas, a beach scene and a city scene, and may have utilized the corner of the room to coordinate this change in setting and spatial construction (see Fig. 79).[71] What is new in the Classical period is the construction of a space in which the figures act, a space that is anchored by planes and not lines and that can extend in all directions.



36. White-ground kylix by the Sotades Painter, ca. 470–460. I: Polyeidos and Glaukos in the tomb. London, British Museum, D 5. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

One might argue that the narrative would be more effective if the snakes were moved up closer to Polyeidos, perhaps at the bottom edge of the pebbly surface. Here, however, the viewing context can help to explain the construction of the narrative and its experience by a hypothetical viewer using the cup. According to the story, Glaukos, the son of Minos, was drowned after falling in a pot of honey.[72] Polyeidos was locked in the tomb with the boy after correctly interpreting signs that led to the discovery of the body. His only hope of escape was, then, to revive Glaukos. A snake came into the tomb, which Polyeidos killed, but a second snake, its mate, found it and brought a leaf to place in its mouth. The first snake was revived, and Polyeidos used the leaf to revive Glaukos. The moment of the story shown on the cup would seem to be the point at which Polyeidos is ready to strike the second snake as it appears, fearing it like the first, but now pauses in observation of its unexpected actions.[73] Glaukos squats beside him, wrapped in all but head and feet. Glaukos is surely dead, and his lack of animation compared to the extended pose of Polyeidos confirms a contrast in their state of being. In a moment, then, the live snake will reach the dead one and the solution to Polyeidos's troubles will become manifest.

There is, then, a consistency of time and place within the narrative, although signs like the tripod, tumulus, dead snake, and crouched and covered Glaukos allude analeptically as indexes to earlier moments of the story.[74] Dramatically, however, the viewer's experience is somewhat more fragmented. Holding the cup level at chest height hides the snakes mostly from the viewer's sight behind the rim of the cup. It is only when tipping the cup, hypothetically as if to drink, that the snakes are clearly revealed to the viewer, only to be obscured by the movement of the liquid.[75] This revelation acts much like a discovery, because before the appearance of the second snake with the leaf, Polyeidos's situation seems hopeless (on discovery and reversal, see Section 5.2 in Chapter Five). Thus, the revelation to the viewer is, in a sense, one to Polyeidos as well. The pregnant implications of the moment are caught once more by the hesitation in his pose. He is poised to continue his action and land the blow, but his sharply bent elbow indicates a poise and hesitation that allows for the flash of illumination. Symbolically, the illumination is also one for the viewer, for tilting the cup to drink also places the snake with the reviving leaf at the mouth of the drinker, and promises rebirth to her or him.[76]

The ability of Greek art, particularly painting, in creating the illusion of mass and space finds expression in the anecdotal accounts of paintings that trick the eye, of birds attempting to peck the grapes within a painting or Zeuxis thinking that a curtain covering a painting was real.[77] Other than anecdotes like these, however, there is very little direct evidence in literary sources for the effect of spatial illusion on pictorial narrative. When Pausanias describes the paintings of Polygnotos and other Classical painters in Athens and Delphi he does mention details of the setting, such as the pebbly beach and the city wall at Troy, the water and shore of the Acheron and the fish swimming in the river, and the topography of the battle at Marathon, including the marshes.[78] In none of these cases, however, does the setting seem to have a signal impact on the viewer's understanding of the narrative, unless it is to affirm the general believability of the action, enhancing but not fundamentally altering the viewer's willingness to regard narrative figures as representations of people and actions. Since indications of space and place belong to the informant function of the narrative micro-structure, it is not surprising that the nucleus has priority in the viewer's mind.

As we saw in the Polyeidos cup, time is also an important element in the narrative discourse. As we saw in Section 3.1, elements of a narrative image could trigger associations in the viewer's mind with other moments and actions of the story. Indeed, the area of viewer-picture interaction that has received the most attention from scholars is that of time. Their focus has been on the time within the picture, especially as to whether more than one moment of a story is shown in a picture or not. The structure of time in pictorial narrative is, however, more complicated. Although the ability to view at a glance a single picture in its entirety differs dramatically from the long unfolding of a story through poetry, where events and figures have to be described successively, this does not mean that viewing time is instantaneous and singular and irrelevant to

the narrative discourse. In viewing a narrative, time may be interrupted, or the quality of the narrative experience may vary from one moment to the next depending on the attention of the viewer to the whole or to details of the image or on extraneous elements altogether, such as the obscurity or clarity of the image. Nevertheless, the viewer's experience of a narrative is as a sequence of images and impressions. The same may be said for the events of a story. Actions and experiences, whether historical or fictional, take place as a series of successive moments in a specific place. Actions may occur simultaneously in different locations, but the story takes place with the same kind of order as the viewer's normal experience of time. A narrative depiction, however, falls between these two experiences of time – viewing and story – and creates another ordering of time within the picture and between it and the viewer. The correlation between these layers of time covers a wide range of variations that need further elaboration. By borrowing and adapting from discussions of narrative time in literature, there are a number of categories that we can establish to cover these variations of time in the narrative interaction.[79] In this section, we will consider only the variations that are possible with a single picture; other categories will come into play with the consideration of multiple pictures in Section 4.3.

First, we may consider broadly the flow of time for the viewer and within the narrative. If the flow of time in the narrative follows the same sequential ordering as the time of viewing so that two parallel tracks are established, the experience of time in viewing can be seen as concurrent even if not identical with the time told in the story. Such a relationship may be defined as *synchronous* (*synchrony*).[80] On the contrary, if the events shown in a pictorial narrative jump around, the flow of time does not mimic the sequential order of viewing and the relationship between the two is *anachronous* (*anachrony*). Applying these concepts to single pictures requires some adaptation, since both the elapsed viewing time and the depicted events may fall within a very narrow, even instantaneous span. Two possibilities exist, however. First, a pictorial narrative may show a single moment in the story, a kind of snapshot excerpted from the main story. Other moments exist in the story, of course, but the painter has depicted only a single frame. The other possibility is that multiple moments have been condensed into the picture by the inclusion of multiple nuclei. Both methods permit the use of specific visual elements as indexes to other actions and moments in the story; what is of concern here is the structure of time within the nucleus or nuclei of the picture.

The differences can be seen by looking at two representations of the confrontation between Odysseus and Circe. The first is on a red-figure calyx krater by the Persephone Painter (Fig. 37, "Circe krater").[81] In the center of the upper frieze, we see Odysseus leaping out of a chair, his sword drawn. Behind him are two men with animal heads and tails, his sailors whom Circe had metamorphosed with her potion.[82] To the right, Circe flees from Odysseus while turning back to look at him, her hand held out in a gesture of astonishment. A wand and skyphos fall to the ground behind her. The scene accords well with

37. Attic red-figure calyx krater by the Persephone Painter, ca. 440. Odysseus and Circe. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Amelia E. White, 1941 (41.83). (Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum)

the account in *Odyssey* 10.307–35, in which Odysseus comes to Circe's house (already immunized to her transforming potion thanks to Hermes), drinks the draught, and draws his sword as if to kill her. The nucleus here is Odysseus threatening Circe, who reacts in astonishment. The transformed sailors are catalysts as well as indexes to the earlier episode when the sailors had come without their captain to her house. Their inclusion does deviate from the account in the *Odyssey*, since in the poem they were moved to a sty, but their presence here is not inconsistent with the nucleus and merely points to the pictorial narrative as a variation on the same basic story used by the *Odyssey*. The skyphos and wand refer to the same earlier episode, as well as the action of Circe serving Odysseus the same potion. That Odysseus is different from his

38. Attic black-figure kylix by the Painter of the Boston Polyphemos, ca. 550. Side A: Circe, Odysseus, and companions. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 99.518. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

sailors indirectly reminds the viewer of Hermes' intervention with the antidote.

We see in this example a single nucleus. There is no informant indicating time of day or season, but the nucleus itself does indicate at least the time frame within the story, a moment close to the end. Other visual elements like the dropped skyphos and the sailors serve as indexes to refer to other moments and actions, but they also serve as catalysts for the nucleus and belong logically with it, even if they are inconsistent with our literary source. This consistency of time and place within the picture led Weitzmann to label this kind of narrative scene *monoscenic*, a term we will continue to use here as signifying a single moment and a synchronous relationship in the narrative discourse between the story and viewer. The other possible type of time structure within a single picture is anachronous, which I shall label, following A. Snodgrass, *synoptic*. In contrast to monoscenic, it represents multiple moments within a single picture that are inconsistent with one another as simultaneous events or actions.[83] Two types of anachrony may exist within the image: *prolepsis*, a future-looking glance or anticipation from the main narrative nucleus, and *analepsis*, a retrospective movement in time.[84]

A good example of synoptic narrative can be found in another depiction of Circe and Odysseus on the kylix by the Painter of the Boston Polyphemos (Fig. 38, "Circe kylix").[85] This cup has figured prominently in discussions of pictorial narrative, and so it will also serve as a convenient way of summarizing some of the issues of time here.[86] Side A shows a surprisingly nude Circe mixing her transforming potion in a kylix, held over a sitting dog. She is flanked on both sides by Odysseus's sailors, who have human legs and torsos but animal heads and arms. To the right Eurylochos runs rightward away from the scene, turning his head backward to observe the sorcery. At the left, Odysseus comes charging

into the center, his sword drawn. The image compactly illustrates several successive stages described in *Odyssey* 10.203–335: Twenty-two men under Eurylochos come to Circe's house, where she transforms them into animals by serving them a potion; Eurylochos flees to tell Odysseus, who sets out to confront Circe; Hermes gives him herbs making him immune to the potion; Odysseus drinks the potion, then charges Circe with his sword; she mollifies him and they go to bed.

The narrative on the Circe kylix makes more explicit reference to the different actions in the story than the krater and uses not only indexes but also multiple nuclei in the process. The main nucleus of the Circe kylix is Circe and the sailor who still has human arms and hands. This nucleus is placed in the center of the kylix and the symmetrical, basically closed, and almost heraldic composition draws the viewer to it. By leaving the sailor with hands, the artist shows the others as having been more human before and connects the appearance of his animal head to the kylix in Circe's hand that he also holds with his left arm. The artist has shown Circe as mixing the potion, which she presumably did before the sailor began to metamorphose. She could be understood as replenishing it, not unlike a servant pouring more wine into the cup of a symposiast, but the nature of her action and the object she holds also serves as an index to an earlier moment in the story before the transformation when she first prepared a refreshing drink for the visiting sailors. The additional sailors serve as catalysts, amplifying the scope of the action, which again belongs to an early moment of the story.

Whereas the main nucleus with the static figures of Circe and the sailors deals with the present moment (and through indexes with the past), the more dynamic, moving figures of Odysseus and Eurylochos belong to the present and future. Eurylochos realizes the danger and runs off out of the picture. His fleeing constitutes not so much a catalyst, given the decisive and open nature of his action, but a second nucleus. Structurally, he could serve as a substitute for the first sailor, but demonstrating a different reaction to Circe, flight instead of drinking. This nucleus would correspond to a slightly later moment of the poetic account, but within the picture could also be understood as a simultaneous reaction to the event in the center. Balancing this second nucleus of Circe-Eurylochos is a third on the left side, Odysseus charging Circe with sword drawn. It is almost as if the viewer is to understand that Eurylochos has run back to camp, at the backside of the cup, and that Odysseus returns to confront Circe. That Odysseus does not come from the same direction as Eurylochos flees, however, suggests a spatial disunity in that conception of the picture. There is also a temporal disunity here too, since Odysseus only comes after talking to Eurylochos and only draws his sword after he has tried Circe's elixir. In the context of his charge, Circe's nudity, quite rare in depictions of the female form in Archaic art, is an index to the final resolution of the episode when Odysseus finally puts away his sword and goes to bed with Circe, a scene that appeared in the top register of the Chest of Kypselos (see Section 3.1). Since she has her back to Odysseus, however, she cannot really be regarded as

fully part of the third nucleus, since her reaction to Odysseus is not commensurate as it is on the Circe krater.

In this scene, then, we have four units that figure in the narrative as parts of one or more nuclei: Circe, the sailor partly transformed, Eurylochos, and Odysseus. To understand the syntagmatic combinations of these figures, one might draw an analogy to sentence structure in which the verb is the action of a figure, the subject the figure carrying out the action, and the object the figure receiving the action. In an image, each figure can potentially serve as subject or object and their action as the verb, and can serve different roles in different combinations that together create an episodic treatment of the story. For example, Circe and the sailor combine to create one nucleus representing the metamorphosis of the sailors. Circe is clearly the subject and the sailor the object of this action that takes place in the present and immediate past. A second nucleus consists of Eurylochos and Circe, with Eurylochos now the subject who flees from the object, Circe. That he waits so long to flee, however, introduces a potential discord in the narrative. Odysseus constitutes a third nucleus, now with Circe as the indirect object and Odysseus as the subject/agent of the action. Thus, Circe serves as both agent and object in three different actions. Elements like her mixing the potion and her nudity, though deviating from temporal consistency, facilitate the process of multiple combinations. Her nudity especially allows her to be the object of Odysseus's attack, for the formula of striding warrior with sword threatening a nude or seminude female is known in Archaic art from representations of the rape of Kassandra and other stories.[87] Even though separated from and not facing each other, a viewer would readily connect them as two parts of a nucleus.

The distinction between the Circe krater and the Circe kylix, then, is one in which the nuclei within a picture, each representing a specific moment in time within the story, are either consistent (or singular) or inconsistent with each other. In the former case, one has a synchronous relationship with the viewer, and in the other, it is anachronous. That is not to say that both types may not use indexes to refer to other moments and that these can also be either proleptic or analeptic. Nor is it impossible that a monoscenic, synchronous representation could have a succession of moments in it due to the viewing context. On the Chigi aryballos, for example (see Fig. 29), the groups B and B' belong to the same scene and as a cluster of multiple and repeated nuclei are essentially monoscenic/synchronous. Since the viewer cannot, however, see both parts simultaneously due to the curvature of the vase, to see them he or she must turn the vessel, marking a progression of viewing time. Since the two groups show two distinct types of actions, it is possible for the viewer to see them separately and come to the conclusion that B is an initial state and B' a later state of the same battle. Depending on the order of viewing, B-B' or B'-B, the viewer would experience either a proleptic narrative or analeptic narrative respectively. It would still be, though, a synchronous relationship and not synoptic.

3.5 VISUAL LANGUAGE AND MEANING

As we saw in Section 3.1, the first step in the viewing process was the identification of the general subject matter of the narrative image. This provided the fundamental macro-proposition that the viewer would revise in response to further observation of the work. In order for this process to be effective, the viewer must be able to recognize the subject quickly. Informants within the micro-structure such as labels are one way to achieve this goal, but these serve generally to identify figures rather than subjects.[88] Attributes, like the lion skin of Herakles, can also serve as informants to identify figures. But to identify the general subject of the narrative, it is equally important to recognize the action and thereby the basic story being represented. Since this involves tying the specific action seen in the image to the sequence of actions that constitute an episode, elements of the image must also work as indexes to evoke these other moments. In order for this to work, there must be a set of common pictorial forms or motifs shared by artist and viewer, in other words, a visual language.

Iconographic analysis has generally served to identify visual elements and their meaning by establishing a correlation between the image and what it represents. This similarity is based on an examination of sources and texts that provide a degree of substantial correspondence source and image, making the image in many ways an illustration and symbol, a "combination of visual detail and abstract concept."[89] This approach presumes a canon of correspondence between sign and signified that is shared by artist and viewer. The problem with this approach is defining the source and authority for the canon.[90] Model books are sometimes posited in ancient workshops as a means for defining this visual language, or monumental prototypes are sometimes proposed for consistent repetition of a basic formula.[91] An image, however, can have a web of meanings associated with it and can be redeployed in new situations that have little to do with its initial meaning. A semiotic/structural approach to meaning is based on the relationship between the sign/image and its referent.[92] Although this can include a relationship between sign and referent based on convention, it also includes relationships that are existentially or causally based or that are based on similarity. For example, Iolaos in a scene of Herakles fighting the hydra has a causal relationship to Herakles as a helper, in addition to his conventional identification based on mythology as Iolaos. Herakles' meaning in the picture is also based on the similarity of his image to other representations of a hero or even himself. In other words, the similarity in his appearance to certain images helps to create meaning in the work.

It should be kept in mind, however, that a visual language like a verbal language is subject to ambiguity. Attributes can change or multiply in their meaning; inconsistencies or ambiguity can undermine the effectiveness of a sign. Further, signs that we rely on for iconographical analysis may not have held the same importance or meaning for the ancient artist and viewer. An example can be found in Pausanias's description of the Chest of Kypselos, in which he states that "a man holding a sword is coming towards Atlas. This everybody can see is Herakles, though he is not mentioned specifically in the inscription."[93] Earlier, Pausanias mentions Herakles, who "is shooting at the hydra. . . . Herakles can be easily recognized by his exploit and his attitude [*schema*], so his name is not inscribed by him." In neither case does Pausanias mention a specific attribute such as the club or lion skin. These may well have been in the picture, but as important for his identification of the subject matter is the action and the general bearing and appearance of the figure. What the variations found in narrative depictions of the same episode point out is that the artists shared a basic understanding of the story as embodied in its nucleus as well as its informants and indexes, which yet allowed them to choose different moments or even attributes for their image. In other words, the visual language allowed them to tell the same story in different ways while still being understood by the viewer.

An illustration of the visual language in narrative is seen in two representations of Herakles fighting Nessos. The first is an amphora by the Nettos Painter (Fig. 39, "Nessos amphora").[94] It is large (1.22 m; 48 in.) and probably intended as a funerary marker. On the neck, the painter has reduced the composition to just two figures, Herakles and Nessos (inscribed in Attic dialect **ΝΕΤΟΣ**). Both figures have inscriptions serving as informants. Herakles is on the left, moving rightward to grab the hair of the centaur while planting his left foot in his back, and is about to plunge his sword into his side. Nessos also moves rightward, but his arms reach behind him toward Herakles' chin in a gesture of supplication. The torsos of the two figures form strong vertical elements that lean inward, while the horse body and the outstretched leg of Herakles form a counterbalancing horizontal element. Legs, hooves, and head interrupt the frame of the panel, emphasizing the dynamic character of the action as does the strong use of diagonals in the composition.[95] At the same time, the masses, actions, and lines are balanced around the central axis; the rightward movement of the composition turns back to the center with the gesture of Nessos, whose torso arrests the movement of the composition. Threat is met with supplication, its opposite, and the nucleus shows a hinge moment, just before the climax.

Given the wide variety of occasions on which Herakles fought centaurs, the inscribed names of both hero and centaur on the neck of the Athens amphora are critical for us in identifying the scene and interpreting the nucleus.[96] By concentrating on just Herakles and Nessos, the Nettos Painter has given up the unique element of the story, Deianeira, that distinguishes it from the hero's other fights with centaurs. Without attributes like the lion skin or bow and arrow that we usually associate with the story, we would not even be certain that the scene shows Herakles and Nessos. In other words, the modern viewer cannot rely on the uniqueness of the actions or figures to identify the story and then to interpret it. It was apparently not so difficult, however, for the ancient viewer. Among the many representations of this story, only four have inscriptions, and Herakles is frequently shown without a unique attribute like the lion skin.[97] Indeed, when comparing this very early Archaic representation of the

39. Attic black-figure amphora by the Nettos Painter, ca. 620–610. Neck: Herakles and Nettos (Nessos); body: Gorgons chasing Perseus. Athens, National Museum, 1002. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

story with later images, it is clear that there is a wide range in narrative moment, characters, and iconography. Yet an ancient viewer could readily distinguish between two different duels between Herakles and centaurs. On the Throne of Bathykles, for example, Pausanias states that there is a representation of "Herakles taking revenge upon . . . Nessos by the river Euenos" and elsewhere "the combat of Herakles with the centaur Oreios."[98] Given the probable metope format of these scenes, both were probably hand-to-hand struggles completely filling the picture surface like the Nessos amphora. Pausanias mentions no inscriptions in the reliefs, and it is probable that he relied primarily on the image itself for identification. What, then, would have made it possible for the ancient viewer to identify the subject of the Nettos amphora and other representations without inscriptions?

To answer this question, we might turn to a later black-figure kylix in Newark (Fig. 40, "Newark kylix").[99] Here Herakles is again on the left and chasing Nessos, who is now in the center of the composition. Nessos, moving rightward, turns his torso back while holding two stones in his hands, raising one of them threateningly at Herakles. Nessos has let go of Deianeira, who runs off rightward on the far side of the composition but turns her face back toward the center. The standing, mantled figures to either side do not participate in the action and may best be referred to as observers outside of the narrative situation itself. At first glance, there are many iconographic points of the kylix that are at variance with the Nessos amphora. Herakles carries a club on the Newark kylix rather than a sword; he has not closed with Nessos; Nessos takes on a belligerent rather than suppliant attitude. Deianeira does appear in the composition, helping to identify the scene in the absence of inscriptions.[100] Still other variations among Archaic representations of the leg-

40. Attic black-figure kylix, ca. 550. Herakles, Nessos, and Deianeira. Collection of The Newark Museum, Eugene Schaefer Collection, 1950 (50.279). (Photo courtesy of The Newark Museum)

end exist: Deianeira is frequently on the back or in the arms of Nessos, sometimes she greets Herakles, who can carry sword, club, or bow and arrows as weapons.[101] Sometimes Nessos supplicates, sometimes resists, and sometimes runs.

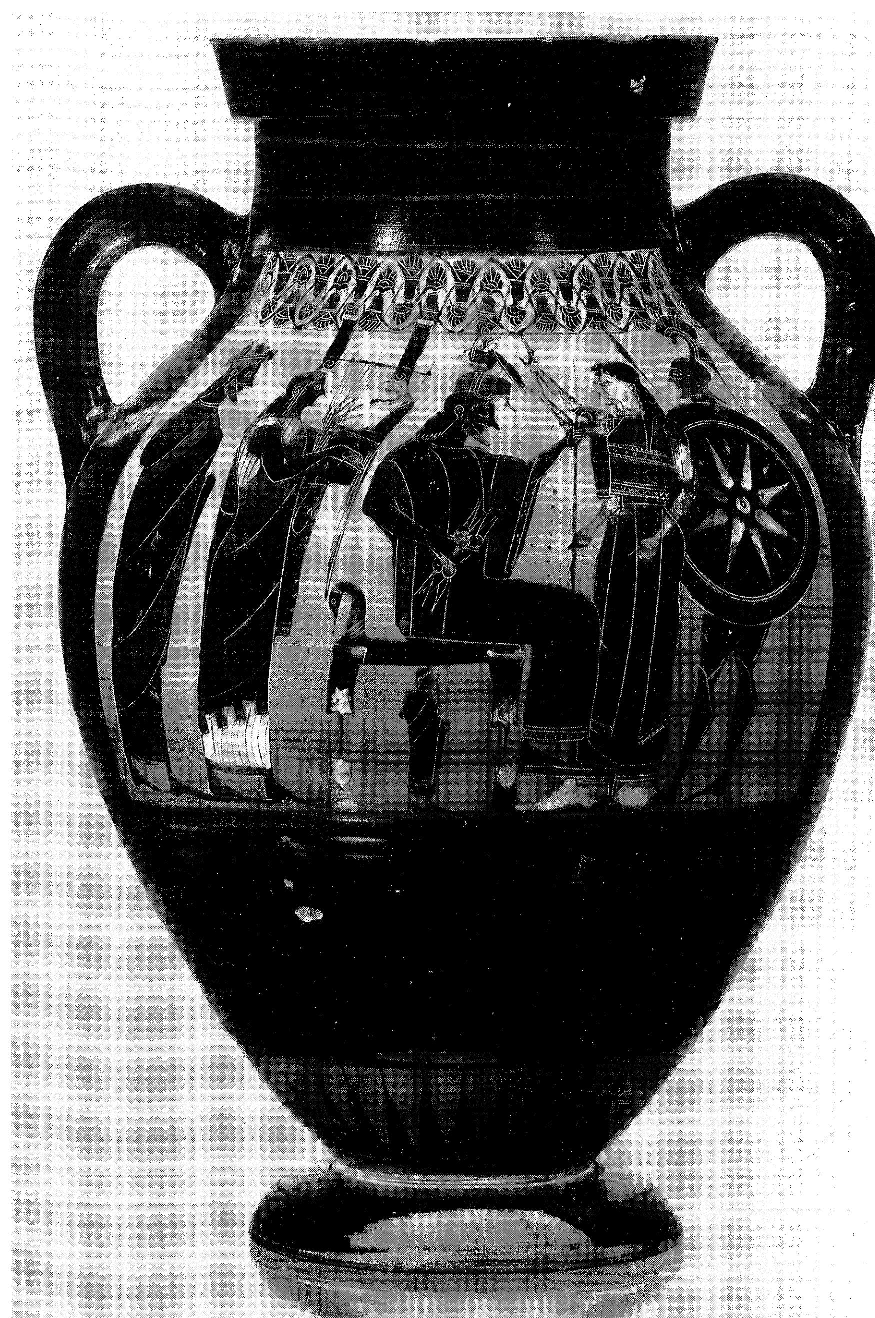
Despite the wide variations in the iconography of Herakles and Nessos, the structural consistency of the nuclei of the Nessos amphora and the Newark kylix links them more closely with each other than is at first apparent. In both versions, and in all but four examples of the scene listed in *LIMC*, Herakles moves from left to right, and not contrary.[102] Of even greater interest is the position of Nessos, who is consistently shown moving rightward but twisting his torso around 180° to face or reach toward Herakles.[103] The importance of the positions and movements of Herakles and Nessos as the core of the nucleus can be confirmed in the placement of Deianeira in Archaic compositions.[104] Occasionally, Deianeira will be between Herakles and Nessos, but usually she is on the other side of Nessos and farther away from Herakles, as in the Newark kylix. Deianeira serves as a catalyst and index, supplying the cause and context of the main struggle, but does not affect the action. When running away, her pose is incidental to the main action of pursuit and response; when she appears between the two combatants, there is no real effect on the action. Whatever the details, Herakles and Nessos always act on each other as two halves of the nucleus, even when physically separated. This twisting motion of Nessos, fleeing and engaging simultaneously, and the relentless, pursing rightward movement of Herakles seem to be the fundamental components of the Archaic depictions of the Nessos story. That this formulation is basic for Herakles and Nessos can be confirmed by looking at the different compositions used for other centaur scenes with Herakles, in which the hero faces his opponents directly or confronts multiple opponents as in the Pholos adventure.[105] One does find the use of the Nessos formula in depicting Herakles' fight with

Eurytion, but as Fittschen has shown, representations of this story do not seem to develop until the fifth century, and may derive from the Archaic representations of Herakles and Nessos.[106]

The dependence on the nucleus for the creation of a narrative language in some ways confirms the wide variation found in the iconography of the Herakles and Nessos story as incidental to the story. Neither Herakles, Nessos, or Deianeira have consistent attributes; Herakles wears the lion skin or carries a club, but frequently wears only a chiton and carries a sword or bow. Although the presence of Deianeira herself serves as an index to identify the scene, she is not always present so that her presence is not critical in that identification. Frequently too, Herakles is not in the scene, but in most of these cases Deianeira is on the back of the centaur, who turns around to look at her or farther behind while still moving rightward, the same pose as when Herakles is shown in pursuit. This suggests two conclusions. First, the use of attributes as indexes to identify the scene is no more and perhaps less important than the characteristic features of the nucleus: Herakles moving forward with weapon and Nessos fleeing in the same direction but twisting around to face him. As mentioned before, Pausanias says of a scene with Herakles "shooting at the hydra . . . Herakles can be easily recognized by his exploit and his attitude." This statement can be applied equally to the Nessos story. Second, there may have been a wide range of attributes and actions for a single figure than is usually acknowledged, but these would not have hindered the identification of the narrative because of the importance of the nucleus for viewer recognition. Having a shared understanding between artist and viewer of the basic outline of a story and the ability to recognize it due to the force of convention, the artist may choose from a wider range of moments or objects to give a particular effect. Nessos can be more pathetic and suppliant, as in Fig. 39, or more defiant and belligerent, as in Fig. 40.

Another example of visual language and perhaps its development can be seen in depictions of the Birth of Athena. On an amphora at Yale by Group E, we see in the center an enthroned Zeus holding lightning bolts in his right hand and scepter in his left (Fig. 41, "Yale Athena").[107] Zeus is bearded and wears a long chiton; from his head springs a miniature Athena, wearing full armor. To the left, behind Zeus, are Apollo, identified by his lyre, and Dionysos, identified by the ivy wreath on his head. To the right are the twin Eileithyiai, goddesses of childbirth who hold up their right arms toward Athena, and finally Ares, identified by his armor. The scene is simply composed and the focus is clearly on the nucleus of Athena springing from the head of Zeus. The Eileithyiai participate in the nucleus, although in an enabling rather than performing role as their gesture indicates.[108] The other figures provide a divine context and emphasize the momentous nature of the event.

The uniqueness of the action serves to readily identify the scene but allows for variations even within the same workshop. Group E depicted the subject thirteen times, of which twelve scenes are completely preserved.[109] The basic core of the enthroned Zeus with miniature Athena springing out his head and



41. Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to Group E, ca. 560–540. Side A: Birth of Athena. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B.A. 1913, Fund, 1983.22. (Photo courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery)

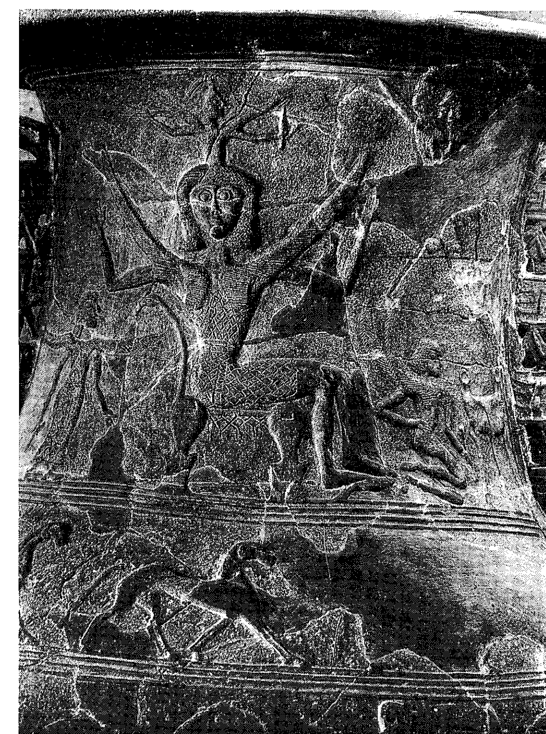
the attending Eileithyiai is rather stable, but there are both minor and major variations, including a frontal pose for Zeus, Athena standing on his lap, and the deployment or either one or two Eileithyiai.[110] The Eileithyiai are usually in front of Zeus and facing him, but in one vase, they are moved to the other side in favor of Hera, identified by her crown. The witnesses are much more variable, but reveal some strong preferences. Ares, identified by his armor, appears ten times, and always on the right side of the panel in front of Zeus and Athena and facing them. Apollo and Hermes each appear seven times, and always behind Zeus on the left side of the panel, looking toward the center. Hermes usually is behind Apollo.[111] Other figures appear less frequently, including Poseidon (four times), Hera (three times), Hephaistos (two times), and Dionysos (one time), in addition to two unidentified male and two female figures. Their reactions are generally of astonishment or perhaps greeting, expressed by upraised hands, or simple observation.

Clearly, the artists both of Group E and more generally of the Archaic period felt free to introduce variations into the basic nucleus of the theme. Given the widespread variations around a single core theme within a single workshop (only three out of the twelve depictions are basically the same), it seems less likely that such a narrative code was transmitted through sketchbooks maintained by the workshops or circulating for other reasons. If sketchbooks were the source for imagery, one might expect greater conformity among the representations. Further, viewers or purchasers of the vases would not have had sketchbooks available as dictionaries to help them interpret the scenes. Rather, the basic stability of a nucleus, its widespread diffusion, and the placement of variations outside of the core would speak for a broadly understood visual language, shared by artist and audience and communicated through visible examples such as architectural decoration, dedications in public places, or wares in a range of media displayed in shops or in the home.

The consistent deployment of a group of onlookers at the birth of Athena raises a question about the potential symbolic role of the mythological "observer" in Archaic narrative.[112] The peripheral figures in the birth of Athena generally do little to support the action, other than to observe or exclaim upon it. Even the Eileithyiai here seem by their gesture to acclaim or exclaim rather than assist in the birth. Yet, within the choice and arrangement of the figures in Group E, there can also be seen a paradigmatic role for the figures in their role as indexes. Ares, for example, appears in ten of the twelve scenes, but always in a position of opposition to Athena, and like her, in armor. Both are gods of warfare, but are usually in conflict with each other, as at Troy or in the fight between Herakles and Kyknos. In comparison to Athena, Ares is a one-dimensional figure without the wisdom and craft that she possesses. Apollo with his lyre, although opposed to Athena in the Trojan conflict, is always shown behind Athena, and represents, in contrast to Ares, that element of wisdom and *techne* missing in his half-brother. Hermes, too, is known for his cunning and, at the edge of the composition, would be placed to bear the news of the birth swiftly. The contrast between Ares and Apollo functions paradigmatically to

represent a resolution by the combination of both wisdom and warfare in the birth of Athena. That Hephaistos only rarely appears, and never next to Zeus in Group E, reveals that this group of artists was less interested in that aspect of the story, and focused more on the working of Zeus through Athena.

Stability in a visual language, however, does not occur overnight. Although artist and viewer share a common knowledge of stories through oral traditions and other sources, there inevitably occurs a first attempt to visualize a story. Since there is at this point no established vocabulary, the artist must adapt other formulas or innovate. If such formulation takes hold, it is easier for later viewers to identify the scene, but in cases where a representation remains unique, either as the sole representation of a story or an example distinct and different from others, problems in identification result. We saw this earlier in Pausanias's identification of Odysseus and Circe on the Chest of Kypselos, which is the only known version showing them actually in bed together and was apparently unknown to Pausanias in that version (see Section 3.1).



42. Relief pithos from Tenos, ca. 675. Neck: Birth of Athena (?). Tenos Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens)

In the case of the birth of Athena we see an early and problematic representation on a relief pithos of the seventh-century from Tenos (Fig. 42, "Tenean Athena").[113] Found in a room of pithoi at the sanctuary of Demeter, the body of the vessel features friezes with bulls attacked by lions, a herder fighting a lion, a chariot procession, and warriors. It is the neck panel, however, that has caused considerable controversy because of its unusual iconography. In the center sits a large figure on a throne with its legs and pelvis in profile and its chest and head turned frontal to the viewer. Two wings and two arms extend outward from the shoulders to create a square compartment within the panel. The figure wears a short chiton and long hair piled massively around the head in an Egyptianizing style. The gender of the central figure is not entirely clear. The short chiton has led some to identify it as male, the longer chiton on the figure to the left being more typical of female figures, but this is not universally accepted. E. Simon's detailed observation of the work revealed a stubble beard on the part of the figure's chin belonging to the original fabric, a point accepted by some scholars but disputed by E. Condoléon-Bolanacchi.[114] In any case, a

beardless figure can be either male or female. From the head of this figure springs a miniature helmeted warrior holding spear in one hand and shield or staff in the other. The figure is also nude and has wings like the main figure. The "ripples" from the percussive force of the spring can be seen in the course of the seated figure's hair, clearly indicating an emergence and not simply a figure behind another. To the right are two more figures. Above is a fragmentary male who looks leftward toward the emerging warrior and holds his hands up before his chest. Below him is another figure who kneels before a tripod cauldron and holds a staff or piece of wood in his hand and tends the fire. Both figures are nude and winged. On the left is one more winged figure, this one wearing a long, patterned chiton and facing right with hands held down and outward. A knife appears in her right hand.

Structurally, the scene is fairly simple, but its identification has been more complicated for contemporary viewers. Explanations include the birth of Zeus from Ge, the birth of Athena from Metis, the birth of Dionysos, and the birth of Athena from Zeus.[115] Much of the problem has hinged on the identification of the central figure. Simon's extensive examination of the work does indeed suggest Zeus as the most likely figure, an identification that Condoléon-Bolanacchi also makes while disputing Simon's reasoning, including whether the figure is really bearded. As to the identity of the newborn, the figure's nudity and wings are troubling for Athena, although pose, armor, and position are those that will be found consistently in later Archaic scenes of her birth. Further, her wings are not unique among the figures, so that she has the same relationship to Zeus that she has on the Yale Athena. Based on these later versions, the figure of Hephaistos would be appropriate in the work and is probably one of the two male figures on the right.[116] Unlike later scenes, there is no ax for Hephaistos, although one might have appeared next to the missing left leg of the upper figure. Simon and Fittschen would identify this figure as Hephaistos on the basis of the inward-pointing and contorted feet, whereas Ahlberg-Cornell cites the splayed feet of the figure below attending the tripod as Hephaistos. If this figure is indeed Hephaistos, S. Morris would suggest Daidalos as the name of the upper figure.[117] The other figure behind Zeus is female and probably one of the Eileithyia. Her knife is for assistance at childbirth, although it is of little practical help.

The problem with these identifications of specific figures is that they are all based on parallels to later images, but as the wings of the figures make manifest, the iconography of this vase is quite experimental in nature. Morris points to an Egyptianizing seal with a winged god, suggesting the potential of Near Eastern models for some of the iconographic elements.[118] The result is a hybrid difficult to interpret because it is inconsistent in its visual language. Indeed, one of the features of images and narrative motifs, as W. Burkert explains, is that they become ambiguous crossing cultural boundaries and are understood differently or even entirely misunderstood. In such a case of hybridized iconography, the narrative nucleus becomes more crucial in understanding the story. Within

a Greek context, the Tenean pithos probably shows the birth of Athena because this is the only incident from Greek myth, in visual or literary form, that involves birth from a head.[119] The birth of Zeus from Ge, the birth of Athena from Metis, or the imminent birth of Dionysos attempt to deal with the ambiguity of specific figures and their identification, but the nucleus of the scene remains uniquely the birth of Athena. Although the wings sprouting from the front shoulders of the gods are highly unorthodox, they do serve as an effective sign of divinity and of the mythological dimension of the narrative. Clearly, attributes here are still tentative experiments, and the brunt of the visual language of the narrative is carried by the nucleus rather than the specific details of the figures. The stability of the nucleus and of attributes in later art and its variety in the seventh century suggest that a nucleic formula is being developed, at least in terms of the exploration of unique situations as a strategy for depicting narratives.

The codification of narrative depends on consistency in the treatment of the nucleus of the narrative. Codification implies a consistency in application across a culture, a visual language shared by artist and viewer that enables narration to take place. As Pausanias's descriptions of scenes from the Chest of Kypselos pointed out, identifying the subject readily was a primary step in the process of narration, so that ambiguous scenes deviating from a code would lose their narrative clarity and create extra steps for the viewer ultimately to interpret the work. This raises, however, a series of issues that concerns the discourse of viewer, image, and artist, or elements of the macro-structure. For example, what is the degree of innovation or tradition followed by artists and how is this affected by what might be called the artist's agenda or aims?[120] How does patronage or the format, shape, and size of a work affect the final narrative that is produced? Is the visual language, especially the repertory of stories, set once it is established, or is it like a spoken language, able to develop as time passes? Does the style of the artist, group, or period have a direct impact on the forms of the narrative, and are these part of larger currents in the arts? What are the sources of the visual language used by artists: artistic tradition, oral tradition, poetry? Ultimately, these issues are all aspects of the discourse between artist and viewer in the development of a visual language.

Some artists could be innovative in developing new scenes and subjects or in modifying formulas to the degree that they were creating a new nucleic core. Most vase painters, however, were not innovators and preferred, like Group E, to stick to a basic and tried repertory, introducing variations to the theme without altering the nucleic core. Whether an artist is an innovator or follower of tradition is determined, as R. Osborne has discussed, by the artist's agenda.[121] In both cases, there is a reciprocity between artistic conventions and the use of images to establish an agenda. Since individual artists would differ in their interests, not all would approach an image like Herakles and Nessos or the birth of Athena in the same fashion, and artists interested in wedding imagery or other generic action may not have been interested in mythological narrative

at all. Patronage may play a role in shaping this interest, in that a piece produced under commission for a specific individual or family might introduce innovations or subtleties to a narrative that a shop work painted for a broad audience might not. Through an artist's interest, he or she may then confirm an existing agenda, or may seek to put something onto the agenda, or some combination of these approaches. Once a culture accepts a narrative innovation as part of the agenda, artists can further shape it around its nucleus.

In choosing subject matter and narrative structure, however, the artist could not act with complete free will, if a sale and living were to be made.[122] The subject and narrative would have to be comprehensible to the public to be effective, and partake of a common visual language at some level. As J. Boardman summarizes, "vase scenes contribute to the corporate awareness of the community, of their shared interests and responsibilities, of their common patrons."[123] Some artists would seem to have specialized in the foreign market; certain shapes appear to have been favored in one market more than another, influencing the shape of narrative, and some subjects seem to have been particularly popular.[124] A foreign market might require a selection of scenes that were more readily understandable, and certainly did affect the choice of vase shapes by artists. The viewing context – size, shape, and function of the vessel, for example – would also determine theme and composition. In some cases, like Group E, this results in a rather formulaic quality. With another artist like Exekias, a clearer sense of artistic individuality emerges. Like the development of language, narrative in art seems to be affected by a variety of competing factors, standardization on the one hand and innovation on the other.

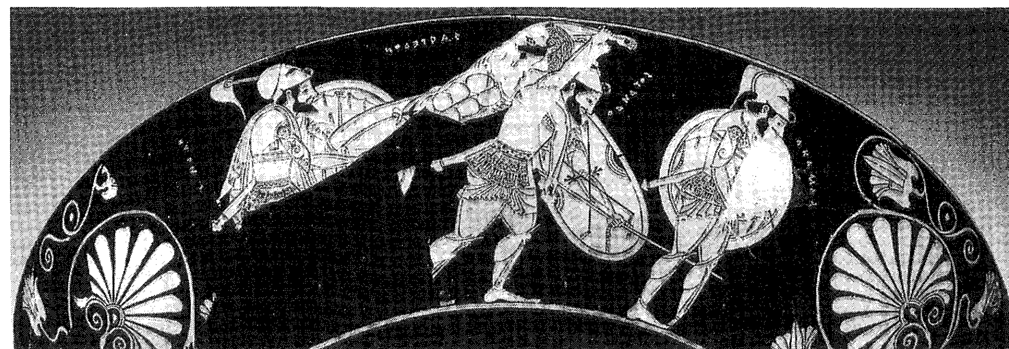
This double track of convention and invention has been amply illustrated in a recent study by H. A. Shapiro of the repertory of stories used by sixth-century artists.[125] In a survey of a wide range of subjects in Attic vase painting, he notes that some appear far more frequently before the year 560, give or take ten years, and another large set of themes first appears between 570–550 or later. These groups he refers to as "old" and "new" themes. In addition, there are some additional subjects that appear on either side of 560, a category of "overlapping" themes that includes the Judgment of Paris, several scenes with Achilles, Peleus and Thetis, Herakles and Nessos, and Herakles and Triton. Thus, in the work of the first generation of Archaic painters like the Nettos Painter and Sophilos (before 570), one finds only old or overlapping scenes. In the next generation, ca. 570–550, which includes Kleitias, we find old, overlapping, and new scenes. The following generation of Exekias and Lydos abandons the old scenes and depicts only the overlapping subjects or the new subjects. These changes are determined by two factors, a shift in Athenian self-perception and changing principles of composition and narrative. What Shapiro's study demonstrates is that on a broader level, there is room for both tradition and innovation in subject matter and additionally in narrative composition. Artistic choice, fashion, and patterns of patronage all play a role in shaping the narrative language of artist and viewer.

3.6 STYLE AND EXPRESSION

Finally, we need to discuss the role of artistic style in the interaction of viewer, work, and artist. Elements of artistic style have already been discussed under the heading of composition, but here I am referring to style as it constitutes a visual language connecting artist and viewer. Style begins with the artist and of all the elements of the macro-structure is the one most closely related to his or her individuality. From the Geometric period through the Classical period, Greek artists continue to modify existing styles or to develop new methods of depiction with the result that Greek art goes from a highly abstract treatment of the human figure to one that mimics the appearance of things and people in nature. Style is a convention by which the viewer understands that a form represents a figure that is three-dimensional and exists and acts in a space. As stylistic conventions change, the appearance of the pictorial narrative changes, as does the nature of the interaction among artist, object, and viewer. In order to illuminate the role that style can have on narrative, we will begin by comparing two representations of the same scene by the same artist, Euphronios (Figs. 43 and 44).[126] We will later see how different styles and artists can change the impression of a narrative by comparing two accounts of the death of Aegisthus (see Figs. 45 and 46). Finally, we will look at the role that different styles within a narrative image may play (see Fig. 47).

The early generation of red-figure vase painters known as the Pioneers, working in the last two decades of the sixth century, used the new, fluid drawing technique to experiment with movement and foreshortening, and in the work of Euphronios and several others, we get the exploration of states of mind as well.[127] This development can be seen in two of Euphronios's paintings dealing with the death of Sarpedon. In the earlier version, a kylix formerly in the Hunt Collection (Fig. 43, "Sarpedon kylix"), we see a procession of four figures.[128] Sarpedon's horizontal body is supported on the shoulders of Thanatos (Death), who also raises his right arm above his head to hold the left arm of the dead Lykian. His twin brother, Hypnos (Sleep), holds Sarpedon's legs in his right arm. Both wear full armor and hold shields on their left arms. The procession moves to the right and is led by the Trojan Akamas.

All of the figures are identified by inscription, and this is the earliest extant depiction of the scene described in *Iliad* 16, when Sarpedon is cut down by Patroklos, stripped of his armor, and then born away by Apollo, Thanatos, and Hypnos on the order of Zeus.[129] This version by Euphronios deviates somewhat from the literary account, in that Sarpedon's wounds have not been washed by Apollo, and Akamas, the son of Antenor, is killed earlier in the same episode by Meriones (*Il.* 16.342–50). Indeed, were it not for the inscriptions, the participation of any divine figures in the scene would not be apparent. The general composition and Sarpedon's nudity and wounds (which flow freely with blood as a graphic reminder of his death in battle) might provide enough information to identify the scene as the death of Sarpedon. However, earlier



43. Red-figure kylix by Euphronios, ca. 520. Side A: Death and Sleep carry Sarpedon. Private collection, formerly the Hunt Collection. (After Tompkins [1983], 55)

theories on depictions of this episode saw them as transpositions of the death of Memnon, a position that von Bothmer has effectively discounted but which points out the ambiguity of the scene as a literal depiction of the *Iliad*.[130]

These deviations are less to the point than the manner in which Sarpedon's death is an occasion for grief, as Zeus himself shed tears when the fate of his son was decided (*Il.* 16.459–61). As Robertson has noted, the tiny painting conveys a sense both of physical effort and of feeling.[131] Sarpedon's body is larger by comparison than the other three, and its lifelessness is conveyed by the way in which the limbs hang over in several directions. Thanatos's shoulders are stooped under his burden, and a sense of the physical effort is conveyed by the awkward, one-handed hold that he has on the body. Euphronios also combines several different viewing angles of Sarpedon's body, including profile, three-quarter, and frontal, making the difficult task of bearing the inert body all the more apparent. He has increased the use of lines within the silhouette of the figure to render more of the muscles of the arms, legs, and torso than in earlier painting, and these details, too, help to convey a sense of exertion in the bearers. The interlocking bodies of Sarpedon and Thanatos provide a sense of mass and effort.

The figures not only react to the weight of their burden, but also to the nature of their task. Thanatos's head is bent down under the heavy body of Sarpedon, but his downcast gaze is also seen in the figure of Akamas, who leads the procession. Thanatos, too, has lost the expressionless face or Archaic smile, and the line rendering his mouth turns down in a frown. Sarpedon's mouth too is drooping, and with the outturned lower lip gives his face an appearance of slackness, of being inanimate. Although his eyes are missing along a break in the cup, the narrowness of the remaining corner would suggest that they were closed (as they are on Fig. 44). Mouth and gaze combine to convey a sense of loss and grief, and the spread-out, slow rhythm of the procession give it a somber feeling that is now quite different from the earliest funeral scenes of the Geometric period (cf. Fig. 23).

Euphronios returned to this scene later in his career, perhaps a decade afterward. This version is found on a calyx-krater in New York, a shape that

44. Red-figure calyx krater by Euphronios, ca. 515–510. Side A: Death and Sleep lift Sarpedon. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Joseph H. Durkee, Gift of Darius Ogden Mills, and Gift of C. Ruxton Love, by Exchange, 1972 (1972.11.10). (Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

provides a much larger and uninterrupted surface for the painter (Fig. 44, "Sarpedon krater").[132] Here Euphronios has shown a slightly earlier moment, when Thanatos and Hypnos bend down to pick up the body. The wounds again flow freely, and Sarpedon is once more shown from a variety of viewing points, but now his profile head hangs down and his left foot is twisted into an experiment in foreshortening. His eyes, now replete with lashes, are closed, and his right hand trails along the ground as his body is lifted. Clearly, all animation is gone from his body, which is now a truly dead weight to be lifted and carried. The stoop of the twins' shoulders as they seek to lift the body is now obscured by their wings, whose addition signifies their daimon status. The fingers of Thanatos's left hand curl into the armpit of Sarpedon as he seeks to gain a purchase for lifting the giantlike figure. The right hand of Hypnos grabs hold in the middle of the thigh in a position that suggests the volume of Sarpedon's leg, but which looks less convincing as a hold. The mouth of Thanatos is almost a straight line and does not convey the same sense of despondency as on the kylix. In a sense, the sense of strain and reaction is replaced by a more delicate, supernatural operation.[133]

Although the core of the composition is perhaps more in keeping with the account in the *Iliad*, the presence of Hermes is not part of the literary tradition. Here, as Bothmer and Shapiro have pointed out, current religious conceptions of Hermes as *psychopompos*, bearer of the soul to the Underworld, probably dictated his substitution for Apollo.[134] This has the effect of making the picture more generally legible than if Apollo were added. The two warriors, inscribed Leodamas and Hippolytos, respectively, do not participate in the action, and act as catalysts in providing a more general funerary context for the scene, like the processions of shielded warriors on Geometric kraters. Their Lykian and Trojan nationalities may also serve, as Bothmer suggests, as informants to localize the scene.[135] They gaze straight ahead, without expression, and give no indication that they see the scene before them. Their vertical forms also serve to enclose the picture field and provide a contrast to the large number of diagonal lines in the central composition.

The rearrangement of the composition signals a change in the conception of the story by Euphronios and in the viewing experience of the scene from the earlier kylix. Here the composition is basically symmetrical and closed in form; in the cup, it is strongly (if slowly) directional. Although both scenes are framed at the sides by spreading vines and clusters of palmettes and/or lotus blossoms, in the kylix there is more of a sense of open composition than in the krater. It is as if one can turn the cup around in the hand and move with the procession, and then continue around to the other side of the cup (where there is a pyrrhic dance performed). The openness of the conception is also conveyed by the disappearance of the helmet crests behind the upper border, so that the procession could conceivably disappear behind the foliage around the handles of the cup. In the krater, the viewing point is limited to a range in front of the krater; the inward turning hoplites at either end further contain the composition. Despite the movement of the figures within the picture space, there is no real feeling of strong direction.[136] Clearly, the size, weight, and function of a krater make it more of a fixed feature in a symposion setting than a cup held in the hand. The reorganization and refocusing of the composition contribute to an increased sense of monumentality, and one has a stronger sense in the krater of a tribute to the heroic, youthful ideal typified by a kouros statue. This paradigmatic quality of the Sarpedon scene is in some sense confirmed by the more generic arming scene on the reverse of the krater.[137] Although these figures are named, they are not mythological nor are they identifiable with known citizens of Athens. The heroic sacrifice of Sarpedon becomes a model for their actions, whether broadly in defense of *polis* or more narrowly as a call against or possibly for the tyranny of Hippias. In contrast, the cup bears a greater sense of emotion and loss (as Shapiro sums up, of war as hell) conveyed through the actions of the figures and the humanlike appearance. The cup shows more personal reactions, on an object held by a viewer; the krater is a more stately and public depiction, on an object in the center of the symposion. In each case, Euphronios has rendered the space, movement, and reactions of the figures to fit the narrative context.

45. Red-figure krater by the Dokimasia Painter, ca. 470. B: Death of Aegisthus. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William Francis Warden Fund, 63.1246. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

We can further see the difference in effect that style can create by a comparison of two red-figure calyx-kraters that are nearly contemporary with each other and that both show Orestes slaying Aegisthus. The first of these is by the Dokimasia Painter (Fig. 45, "Boston Aegisthus"), who painted on the other side the earlier episode of the death of Agamemnon.[138] The second is by the Aegisthus Painter (Fig. 46, "Getty Aegisthus").[139] The nucleus of each work is basically the same. To the left is Klytaimestra, advancing rightward with a double-headed ax held above her head. She advances toward Orestes in the center, whose back is to her. Orestes grabs hold of the seated Aegisthus, and is in the process of slaying him with a sword. Also in both compositions to the right is a female figure moving leftward toward the center and closing off the composition; she is usually identified as Elektra, encouraging Orestes, but this

identification creates some problems. There is a great deal of variation beyond this basic nucleus on the two kraters, but both agree with other representations of the episode in focusing on the Orestes's act of regicide, rather than the matricide that is the second half of his double murder.[140]

The Boston Aegisthus has a more pared-down composition, using only four figures rather than the six of the Getty Aegisthus. Orestes appears in the center of the krater, wearing full armor and an Athenian helmet. Aegisthus, dressed in a himation, is set off-center to the right and is splayed out on a chair. His right arm and hand reach upward toward Orestes' chin in the conventional and futile gesture of appeal. Blood flows from a chest wound; his left arm falls toward the floor and holds a lyre. This instrument is rare among depictions of the scene, and combined with the informal attire of Aegisthus it perhaps emphasizes his "absorption in pleasant solitude," enjoying the fruits of his revenge against Agamemnon for the crime of Atreus.[141] To the right is a female figure who also gestures outward with her right arm and hand, and her left arm is bent and left hand seems to be lifting upward. Her attitude has been described as one of encouragement toward Orestes, and the contrast with the same female figure on the obverse, who raises her left palm fully upright in what a modern eye might describe as a sign for halting, would seem to indicate the different reactions of Electra to the deaths of her father and stepfather.[142]

The composition of the scene is energetic and the Dokimasia Painter makes effective use of the red-figure technique and an understanding of drawing the human figure to produce a more lifelike depiction than a High Archaic painting (compare Fig. 41). Yet, compared to the work of the Classical period, there is a stiffness and impassiveness about the figures that is more Archaic in spirit than Classical (compare Fig. 36). Orestes does not really have any expression, and the reaction of Aegisthus does not begin to compare for emotional quality to that of Priam on the Naples Iliupersis (see Section 5.2 in Chapter Five and Fig. 72). Indeed, the impassiveness of Neoptolemos on the Naples Iliupersis is much like the Orestes here, but with the Kleophrades Painter it seems to stand out in contrast to the other figures. As Shapiro has described it, the figures here have a manner and predictability that does not seem truly mimetic for all of the krater's originality.[143]

These qualities can be seen in comparing the Boston Aegisthus to the krater in the Getty Museum by the Aegisthus Painter (Fig. 46, "Getty Aegisthus"). As mentioned before, its narrative nucleus is basically similar to the other representations of the death of Aegisthus, but there are several important if subtle differences from the Boston Aegisthus. Among the common elements, one can note that Orestes is nude here whereas Aegisthus is fully clothed. Aegisthus sits on a throne rather than a chair, emphasizing his usurped regal position. There are additional figures in the composition as well. An older man grabs hold of Klytaimestra's ax from behind, restraining her. From inscriptions on a pelike by the Berlin Painter showing the same motif, he can be identified as Talthybios.[144] Between Orestes and Klytaimestra is a young woman holding a child. To the right is again a young woman rushing toward the center, but she

46. Red-figure krater by the Aegisthus Painter, ca. 470–460. A: Death of Aegisthus. Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, 88.AE.66. (Photo courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

claps her right hand to her forehead and pulls at her hair while her left hand is extended. This mourning action contradicts the usual representation of Elektra, and so may be another character. Around the back and more fragmentary side of the krater are more figures, including three standing males with himations and staves facing leftward and two running female figures heading rightward, toward the back of Klytaimestra. By using a continuous frieze, the Aegisthus Painter has essentially filled in both wings of the main scene, so that roughly half of the elements respond to different ends. It is, as Simon noted, like a chorus flanking the actors on both sides of a stage, here wrapped effectively around the vase.[145]

The Getty Aegisthus krater shows a greater interest in the interaction and character of the figures that is revealed in the drawing of its figures. Orestes, for example, is engaged in a more complicated action on the Getty krater than on the Boston Aegisthus krater. His left arm twists the left wrist and arm of

Aegisthus around behind, while he plunges his sword into Aegisthus's breast with his right arm. The position of the arm, with the elbow up, indicates that he is about to withdraw the sword, signifying a completion of the action. Orestes' head, however, is not turned toward his victim, but rather is turned backward to see the emerging threat of Klytaimestra. The added line for the upper eye and the open, slightly downturned mouth reveal a countenance that is not triumphant, but surprised and intent on a new action, an attack by and then on his mother. His contemplation would seem ludicrous were it not for Talthybios's restraint of Klytaimestra, buying Orestes both space and time for the next action to develop. In contrast, the Dokimasia Painter's Orestes is unaware of and only minimally protected from the raised ax of his mother. There is still in the Boston version an element of time conflation typical of synoptic narration, but the Aegisthus Painter is moving toward a unity of space and time that is more consistent with the action, an idea that Hanfmann called *eusynoptos*.[146]

The greater characterization seen in the Getty Orestes is matched by Aegisthus. Although the Boston Aegisthus is bleeding profusely from the chest, his grasp and movement are still vigorous. In contrast, the fingers of the left hand of the Getty Aegisthus are limply curled in, having lost their grip in the death blow, and the bent right arm shows that he did not have strength to deflect the sword of Orestes. His eyes are closed shut and his head slumps forward as he loses consciousness. On the other side of Orestes, Klytaimestra's face is missing, but her body is set in full stride and the weight is pushed forward, not centered over the back foot as on the Boston Aegisthus krater. The effect is to give her a true forward momentum, which is checked only by the two tensed arms of Talthybios, whose torso is still pulled forward from the exertion. His countenance too is consistent with his action, with his mouth set in a firm, straight, and slightly downward angle. His eyes and eyebrows too are straighter than those of Orestes, giving the effect of greater focus and intent for him and greater doubt and surprise for Orestes.

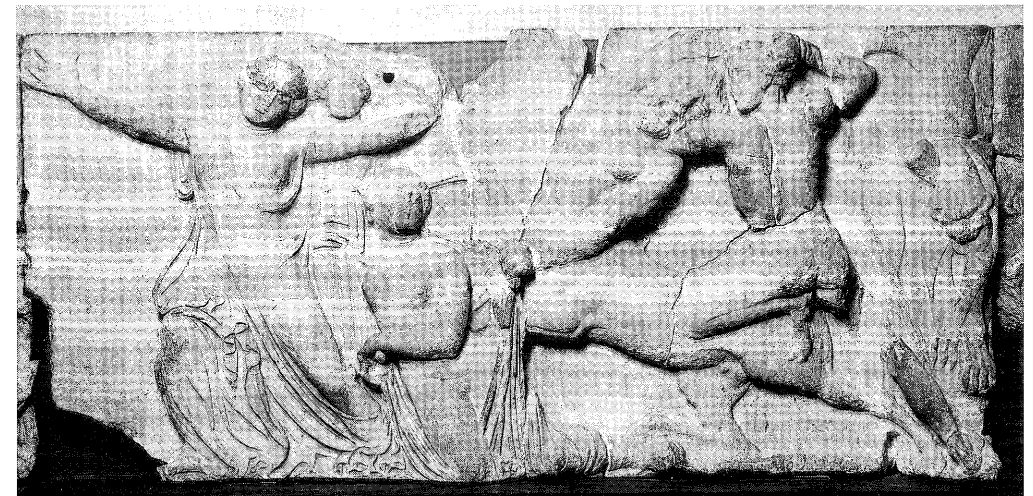
The differences between the two kraters are subtle, but they can illustrate the influence that style can have on the macro-structure of pictorial narrative. To summarize, the scene on the Aegisthus Painter's krater shows a wider variety of reactions, emotional and physical, among its figures. Although the basic nucleus of this scene and that of the Dokimasia Painter is nearly the same and both are dynamic compositions relying heavily on strongly directional movements and diagonals, the effect is quite different. The Getty figures act more as characters, their response simultaneously determined by and revealing their *ethos* (see Section 5.3). Orestes is clearly heroic, but not invulnerable or wooden, and the success of his endeavor would be in doubt without the assistance of Talthybios. This figure emerges as heroic on a smaller scale appropriate for a household retainer. Were Klytaimestra's face preserved, we would undoubtedly have yet another significant characterization, and with Aegisthus we see the lapse of character in the loss of consciousness. The idea is to engage viewers' attention and move their emotions in a way that the Dokimasia Painter's krater does not.

An illustration of the broad change from Archaic to Classical and the narrative value that style can have is seen in the reliefs from the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Fig. 47).[147] In the section showing the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs, we see two women on the left, one clinging to a small statue and the other gesturing in horror. To the right. a Lapith struggles with a centaur who has grabbed the garment of the kneeling woman. Although the detail and subtlety of these reliefs are not as high, there is still a discernible difference in the treatment of the centaur and Lapith. The latter's face is large and pulled down, his eyes and mouth sagging. A furrow in his brow adds to the effect of a strong current of emotion in him, especially compared with the smoother surfaces and more compact proportions of the Lapith. The face of the kneeling woman, too, shows emotions with the slight frown and upturned and twisted position of the eyes; the emotional nature of her face can be seen by comparing it to the impassive, symmetrical, and even treatment of the features on the small statue, whose stiff pose is meant to imitate the Archaic style of many cult statues. Indeed, the sculptor here is not only aware of a mimetic style as a means of expressing differences in emotion and character between figures, but also as a means of suggesting different kinds and purposes of objects.

3.7 MIMESIS AND DISCOURSE

The contrast between the Boston and Getty Aegisthus kraters and the figures within the Bassae frieze can be linked more broadly to the development of a more naturalistic style of representation and an awareness of the "archaic" or old quality of more abstract work.[148] This contrast is often seen as dividing the Classical and Archaic periods, but it should be emphasized that the dividing line between the two is not hard and fast. The increasing naturalism of kouroi

47. Frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, early fourth century. Detail of Centauromachy. London, British Museum. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)



during the sixth and early fifth centuries and the ability of an artist like Euphronios to show emotion and physical response indicate that the ability to perceive some images as more lifelike than others belongs to the pre-Classical period as well. To understand the impact of a more lifelike representation on the viewer, however, it is useful to examine briefly the concept of *mimesis*. Most studies have concentrated on the broad application of the term to the visual arts, especially their use of illusionism in the later fifth and fourth centuries.[149] Here I would like to look at the term more narrowly and extract those elements that can explain the value of representation for pictorial narrative and its potential impact upon the viewer in the narrative discourse.

The history of the cluster of words surrounding *mimesis*, including the noun form *mimos* and the verb form *mimesithai*, have been discussed extensively by G. Else and G. Sörbom.[150] The oldest attested use of the term *mimesithai* is the sixth-century *Hymn to the Delian Apollo* (*h.Ap.* 146–54), where the idea seems to be that the chorus mimics or speaks with the dialect of each of the visitors to the sanctuary. The idea that images, too, can imitate the appearance of the world is already a topos in ekphrasis, as we have seen, but the application of the concept to art continues to develop.

The word *mimesis* first occurs in the fifth century, most notably in the fragment of a satyr play by Aeschylus.[151] The first short passage mentions "portraits [*eikones*], wrought by superhuman skill." Who is speaking and what the portraits are is unclear, but presumably the images are in or on a temple. In the next section, a group of satyrs are speaking while they bring votive images to the temple of Poseidon:[152]

> This image [eidolon] full of my form [morphai], this imitation [mimema] of Daidalos lacks only a voice . . . I bring these [as] a well-worn ornament to the god, a well-made [painted?, kalligrapton] votive. It would challenge my own mother! For seeing it she would clearly turn and [wail] thinking it to be me, whom she raised. So similar is it [to me].

The nature of the *eidolon* is ambiguous, but it is at least painted. Whether it is a painted panel or a work of sculpture, which the term *eidolon* usually implies and which is the medium most closely associated with the work of Daidalos, is unclear. The antefixes of the temple, often in the form of satyrs heads, have been proposed as one solution for the reference.[153] Certainly, there would be an irony in actors wearing masks that look like the sculptural antefixes of a temple commenting on their similarities, in that works of art resemble works of art and not nature.

The use of the term here probably does not refer to an exact duplicate or clone, but, as S. Halliwell has argued of mimesis, "a form of correspondence in which some aspect of reality is reconstituted in a medium as close as possible in equivalence to the object."[154] Thus, the mimetic *eidolon* not only looks like a satyr, but like a particular satyr that a mother would recognize, for better or worse, as her own son. Not only does the image possess an individuality, but it also seems as if it were speaking, performing a real action like the figures of the

Tyrannicides (see Fig. 33). This conceit of living images is standard in *ekphraseis*, as we have seen in the passages on the shields of Achilles and Herakles, but there is a specificity here that is new. These mimetic images of the satyrs are not defined in terms of attribute or action or type, as were images in earlier literary passages, but in terms of their correspondence to a specific character and in their ability to evoke a sharp emotional reaction in the viewer. The use of a relatively new word group to describe this relationship of image and subject suggests that for the fifth-century audience there was a change in the nature of the reproduction so that it represented the forms of the figure itself, and less a generalized schemata as was typical in the Archaic period.[155] Although the *eidolon* of Aeschylus's satyr cannot truly speak any more than a kouros, it seems to have sufficient animation to make the possibility apparent to the viewer's imagination in a way that a kouros would not.

The concept of mimesis is developed further by later authors, in particular Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. As we saw earlier in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (see Section 3.1), Socrates convinces the painter Parrhasios that a painted image can represent the soul by "the expression of the face and through the attitudes of the body, both stationary and in movement."[156] The implication of this in terms of pictorial narrative is that such representation gives pleasure to viewers and allows them to experience the fortunes of the subject in the same way that they feel joy or sadness with their friends. In other words, the importance of mimesis in terms of narrative is that it creates a more vivid and sympathetic emotional response in the viewer than was possible in earlier art. Although the passages from the shields of Achilles and Herakles or descriptions of Archaic works like the Chest of Kypselos often betray a sense of wonder (*thauma*) or treat the figures as if they were animate, one does not get a sense that the images cause a deeper emotional response in the viewer.

This ability of mimesis to affect the viewer or listener was of great concern to Plato, whose lack of enthusiasm for the role of the arts in an ideal state has been widely noted.[157] Mimesis, as it concerns narrative, figures more directly in Plato's discussion of poetry and art in *Republic* 3.[158] Plato states that "any story or poem narrates things past, present, and future" and that "it employs either simple narrative (*diegesis*) or representation (*mimesis*), or a mixture of both" (392D). Mimesis here takes the form of impersonation of appearance and of direct speech, whereby poet or performer speaks as the character and not as self (392C). Indirect speech and narrative (*diegesis*), defined as a simple account of events, are not mimetic modes. Later on, Plato classes poetry by its mode, with tragedy and comedy being only mimetic, lyric as being narrative, and epic as a mixed mode, combining descriptive passages (*diegesis*) with direct speeches (*mimesis*) as in the *Iliad* (394C). The danger of mimesis is that it can provide bad examples of behavior and that acting out the traits and words of bad characters leads to their assumption by the citizens (395D). As Woodruff has stated, Plato's concern is that the audience will be seduced by mimesis "into becoming performers" and "of taking deception as our aim."[159] Since one form of learning in Plato's time is reciting poetry, a student must necessarily imper-

sonate bad characters in mimetic poetry. Therefore, only goodness of character shown through beauty of form and good rhythm will be permitted in the poetry of the state (400D). This limits poetry to hymns to the gods and paeans to good men, to the exclusion even of Homer (607A). Plato's reference to the visual arts in the *Republic* is less concerned with the arts themselves than in using them as an added argument against poetry, but the implication for pictorial narrative is clear.[160] Mimesis in visual narrative would reveal all too strongly the nature of actions and character, and when characters are flawed, the emotional effect on the viewer would be detrimental. Just as literature should consist of hymns and paeans, art should consist more of honorific and votive works and not narrative.[161]

Aristotle also discusses mimesis extensively in his *Poetics*, but in a different manner than Plato. Mimesis is discussed more narrowly in terms of the art and as a "commonly accepted notion of art in general."[162] The moral imperative for art is yet strong in Aristotle, but he is more sympathetic to the expressive and pleasurable aspects of art than Plato. For Aristotle, mimesis is not quite the idea of replication or impersonation that we saw in Plato, but rather arises "from some inclusive, if schematic, intuition of the patterns found in experience."[163] Unlike Plato, Aristotle allows for the possibility of fictional accounts to move or persuade an audience of the ethical dimensions of an action, as long as the action is both probable and necessary. According to Woodruff's analysis of Aristotle's work, the mimetic arts deal with rhythm and action, both of which are categories of motion that, "when perceived, set up corresponding motions in the mind of the audience," with the result that mimesis has "the power of engaging our attention and our emotions almost as if it were real." Therefore, Woodruff offers a definition of mimesis as follows: "M is a mimema of O just in case M has an affect that is proper to O." Mimesis, then, is about the arousal of emotion and the depiction of character.

The importance of mimesis for the narrative discourse is that it can engage viewers more directly in the action and in the responses of the figures and agents of the action. Viewers can sympathize with characters, experiencing their joy or sorrow themselves, just as viewers would the emotions of a friend or family member. Viewers can also become part of the action itself by the coordination of time and space, so that they become Hipparchos or his associates and experience firsthand the act of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The important point to remember about this influence of mimesis, however, is that it is a matter of style and expression and that these have a definite influence on the manner in which a narrative engages viewers. This is, however, only one variable governing the narrative discourse and it is important to remember that other factors link archaic and classical narrative together.[164]

3.8 CONCLUSION

We can summarize this discussion of the macro-structure of pictorial narration by examining one last object, a Boeotian skyphos of the late fifth century (Fig.

48. Boeotian (Cabiran) black-figure skyphos, late fifth century. Odysseus and Circe. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G.249. (Photo courtesy of the © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

48, "Cabiran skyphos").[165] Approaching this object as an ancient viewer, the first task is to identify the subject. As we have already seen, the nucleus of a woman stirring a cup with a wand is typical of Circe and her potion for metamorphosing Odysseus and his sailors (see Fig. 38). Even when the woman has dropped the cup, as she has in Fig. 37, the element of a man with drawn sword is also typical of the scene. This cluster of elements – cup, wand, sword, woman serving man who threatens her – is sufficient to identify the narrative, whatever the precise stage of the action or whether the metamorphosed sailors are included. These elements at least would be consistent with the visual language established for this scene and so initial identification is not problematic. So, too, space and time are fairly straightforward, and the inclusion of the loom to the right marks the domestic setting for the action, as does the chair in Fig. 37.

At the next stage of the viewing process, however, some discordant elements would emerge as the viewer scrutinizes the figures and their specific actions. Circe presents no problems in terms of her actions, but Odysseus does. His position at first is like that of someone who is sitting in a chair, and frequently Odysseus is represented sitting in a chair or getting up out of one (see Fig. 37).[166] However, there is no chair here and in fact Odysseus is falling backwards in a position usually associated with a falling, defeated warrior (see Figs. 64 and 74). This would certainly be an element of surprise for the viewer, based on the typical visual language of the episode, as would other elements of Odysseus's demeanor. The large pot belly and erect phallus are atypical of Odysseus and a heroic physique. Indeed, Circe's squat proportions and distorted facial features transform her and Odysseus into parodies rather than paragons of heroic beauty

and strength.[167] Other anomalies present themselves in terms of the composition and style of the cup. Circe and Odysseus here face each other, creating a basically closed composition, but one that because of his falling position has a slight leftward direction generally. Typically, however, Odysseus and Circe move or face in the same direction, as would be appropriate for one figure fleeing another (see Figs. 37 and 38). In these cases, the composition has a distinct rightward direction, opposite that of the Boeotian skyphos. The frontal face of Odysseus also breaks with the conventions for the scene and makes the viewer engage more directly with the figures. Thus, we see that as a viewer begins to examine the figure of Odysseus, he or she would be confronted with a series of contradictions in visual language, style, and composition from the typical rendering of the scene. Odysseus is represented in a very unheroic form and his position and the composition convey the impression that it is Circe who poses a threat.

The viewing context helps to explain some of the peculiar features of this and several other representations of the scene in Cabiran ware.[168] The style of the cup is typical of this Boeotian group of black-figure wares that is usually called Cabiran ware for their association with the Cabiran sanctuary near Thebes. Although the nature of the Cabiran mysteries and the identity of the deities are obscure, there was an opening of the cult to viticulture in the late sixth and fifth centuries and the erection of buildings for symposia.[169] Numerous cups were dedicated at this time and by the later fifth century, there was the introduction of Cabiran ware as offerings. These cups, whether they depicted ritual or mythological scenes, are all characterized by the use of caricature and the black-figure technique, which by this time was not widely used in vase painting. The use of black-figure may be a conscious choice because of its Archaic associations, just as Panathenaic amphorae continued to be produced in black-figure down to the Hellenistic period in Athens.[170] Ritual may also play a role in the caricature style of the vases, particularly if the theatrical performances associated with the rites were comic in nature. The cups themselves would reflect the general eating, drinking, and other festive activities that followed the rites, whether the actual cup was used on such occasions or was a momento of participation by the donor. It is also clear from some of the votive offerings at the sanctuary that fertility was a concern of at least some of the devout.

The general religious context behind the creation of the work helps to explain some of the elements of the pictorial narrative. The festive nature of the proceedings and the concern for fertility may explain the ithyphallic condition of Odysseus, which is perhaps a reflection of the celebratory activities of some among the devout. Such an episode may have been performed at the sanctuary as a comedy, lending to its popularity. However, it should be emphasized that the epic account itself actually encourages this kind of parody, for it is clear from Odysseus's account in the *Odyssey* that he is feigning threat. Given that they go to bed immediately afterward, the erotic currents are now transformed into a focal point of the action. The frontal face of Odysseus with its

distorted features also resembles a comic mask, and it seems as if the figure is speaking, *sotto voce*, to the audience, commenting upon the action as he participates in it.[171] The nature of Circe's threat, her potion, remains; this is the weapon that has pushed Odysseus down just as the pestle of Andromache in the Naples Iliupersis (see Fig. 74 and Section 5.2 in Chapter Five on reversal). Since the cup that she holds is the same as the actual object, it becomes an index referring to the context of its function of drinking wine. Wine can perform the same kind of transforming experience as Circe's potion, placing the drinker under a spell. In this light it is noteworthy that on the Circe kylix (Fig. 38), the kylix that she holds is identical to the kylix that holds the narrative. The narrative, then, becomes a comment upon the activity or function of the art object. The character of the two narratives, however, would argue a different intent. The Circe kylix would seem to suggest the negative powers of an excess of wine, whereas the humor of the Cabiran skyphos makes the situation seem not too dire.[172]

There are other comments that can be made on the subject, but the point to be made here is that pictorial narrative is a discourse built on the micro-structure of the image and engaging the viewer and artist through the object. The result is that every act of narration is in some way unique. In some cases, such as a cup placed in a grave, artist, object, and intended viewer are frozen in time, but in the case of monumental art like temple reliefs the artist and work will remain relatively constant, but the viewer will change constantly. Although the viewing process is fairly regular in its stages, deviations from a common visual language can lead the viewer in unexpected directions. Viewing an object in an artisan's shop and at home at a party can alter the reaction of the viewer to the story. Even when one artist depicts a story a second or third time, other factors can bring about changes in the narrative and lead to different reactions in even the same viewer. Seeing a centauromachy on a temple or at home on a drinking cup may create two different kinds of meaning, one public and one private, that are not exclusive. Narration, whether literary or visual, is a broad and fundamental activity and not one that is simply reducible to categories of space/time structure or to iconographic traditions.

Chapter 4

NARRATIVE EXTENSION

4.1 NARRATIVE EXTENSION FROM THE MACRO-STRUCTURE

From the eighth century onward, one can find many works in a variety of media that have more than one scene on them, from the smallest scale (witness the Chigi aryballos in Fig. 29) to the monumental. So, too, the imaginary objects like the shields of Achilles and Herakles are crowded with scenes, to the point that it is hard to imagine how they could have fit together. Since a viewer can only identify one scene at a time, even when the scenes are close to each other and within the same visual field, the issue of how he or she is meant to comprehend the connection between the multiple scenes is an important one for pictorial narrative.

Indeed, this has been one of the focal points of much scholarly study. The traditional model envisioned the separateness of each picture until the Classical period, allowing for the combination of multiple scenes from the same story at that time but especially in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (see Section 1.1 in Chapter One). More recent studies have extended the chronological and typological range of multiple-scene narratives. These studies, however, only deal with multiple images within the same story, whereas many works have multiple stories as well as multiple images. Borrowing terms and concepts from structural analysis, A. Stewart has already turned to the terms *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic* to define broader categories of narrative combination.[1] As we have discussed earlier in Chapter Two and Section 3.5 in Chapter Three, syntagmatic relationships are those that admit the possibility of combination in a sequence of successive scenes from the same basic story. Examples of syntagmatic relationships include a series of episodes that develop the same story chronologically or progressively, such as the life or deeds of a hero like Hercules or Theseus. It could also include a set of connected but more different stories, like the exploits of the members of a family that still follow a mostly linear development of time. Paradigmatic relationships are those based on the principle of substitution and similarity, along the lines of analogy or metaphor. Hence a set of images would be selected from different stories, but would all involve the same kind of action, theme, or other form of similarity. For example, a series of wedding scenes, the loves of Zeus, combat duels, or heroic deaths from different battles or wars would be examples of a paradigmatic relationship.

A model for pictorial narration must allow for both types of narrative com-

bination, since the process of viewing is the same whether the images belong to the same story or not. Just as it is through the elements of the micro-structure that the dimensions of the narrative discourse take effect, it is mostly through the elements of the macro-structure that the extensional level works. In terms of paradigmatic combinations, we need to examine how multiple images work together as a larger narrative cycle, or whether they need to at all. In terms of syntagmatic combinations, we will define how images fit together based on the macro-structure so that we can apply consistent definitions to the narrative types that have been proposed for this category. In doing so, we may be able to discern patterns in the deployment of both types of narrative extension in Greek art.

Before examining these two areas, however, we shall look at the general features of the macro-structure that set up the potential for narrative extension. Two main areas of the macro-structure enable the viewer to make the link between individual scenes, viewing context and composition. Additionally, the role of indexes within the micro-structure, especially through the use of repeated motifs and actions, creates the visual cues that guide the viewer.

Beginning with the viewing context, the linkage of different scenes within the same architectural framework, whether a building, a vase, or other object, immediately suggests to the viewer the potential for a common ground among the different narrative scenes. Although this may seem obvious, it is important to remember because the context can also suggest to the viewer a priority or sequence of looking at the scenes or the strength of combination. For example, a series of metopes or a frieze that continues around the corner to another side of the building establishes a potential for some kind of link. To draw on a well-known example, the metopes of the Parthenon show the Amazonomachy, the fall of Troy, and then the Gigantomachy as one approaches and goes around the building. The visual equivalence of the metopes allows the possibility of a link in the mind of the viewer, in this case, a series of struggles symbolizing on a paradigmatic level the wars of the Greeks against the Persians. The pediments of the temple, by contrast, are a more distinct space and are more indirectly connected with each other, both visually and thematically. So, too, on the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, the two friezes, Amazonomachy and Centauromachy (see Fig. 47), wrap one into the other, making them both equivalent and susceptible to the same kind of paradigmatic linkage. In some cases, the context also allows for a connection between scenes that cannot be viewed simultaneously. For example, the Minneapolis amphora discussed in Chapter Two shows scenes of departure (Figs. 21 and 22) on opposite sides of the vase. The creation of a continuous field and borders that interrupt but do not halt the scenes suggests the possibility of equivalence and connection. Before attempting to draw and determine the strength of connections between two scenes, then, we need to consider how much the visual context helps or hinders the process of extension.

The Minneapolis amphora also points out another important foundation for extension, the composition (see Section 3.3 in Chapter Three).[2] The Yale

Athena amphora (Fig. 41) has a closed and basically symmetrical composition with a modest directional movement from the sides toward the center. The viewer's eye is led to the center of the composition, so that combined with the strong boundaries created by the panel framework, there is not a strong impetus to combine this scene with another. The Minneapolis amphora, in contrast, has a stronger directional movement in the departure of the warrior, although it is closed off at both ends by inward-facing figures. The departure of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the other side is also unidirectional and open at one end, creating a visual cue leading toward the other side of the vase.

The use of open and directional compositions aids the viewer in linking scenes and even into combining separate pictures into a single narrative. For example, the metope from Thermon showing Perseus fleeing with the head of the Gorgon (Fig. 28) stands well alone as a nucleus. A fragment from another metope shows the leg and foot of a running figure like Perseus, but with the flesh painted white, indicating a female figure and very likely one of the pursuing sisters like that seen on the dinos by the Gorgon Painter (Fig. 24).[3] Either one or both of the Gorgons may then have appeared on an adjacent metope(s) to the left, forever chasing but separated from Perseus in physical as well as narrative terms. The figure probably shared the same extended, diagonal form as Perseus, violating again the metope's border and emphasizing the figure. The use of a repetitive series of such open and directional compositions would help to break the physical barrier of the intervening triglyphs and to link the individual panels together.[4] The separation of the figures by the triglyphs, then, mimics their separation in the pursuit, close together but in a line, a version of a unified narrative as we shall see in Section 4.3. The repetition of the same basic form and composition links the separate panels visually into a common nucleus. This linkage would be further enhanced by the contrast between the brightly colored metopes and the darker triglyphs, drawing the eye over the latter. Thus, the artists seem to have dealt with the problem of limited surface space by extending the composition over a series of panels. The narrative takes on a more staccato and simple rhythm than in a continuous frieze like that on the dinos, but the viewing context and composition in either case links the viewing experience.

On another metope from Thermon, the artist moves away from the one figure to one metope formula to concentrate the entire narrative on a single panel.[5] On this panel, we see two facing female figures who are bent over, the one on the left holding the head of a child who is mostly missing in the center of the metope (Fig. 49). The subject would be indecipherable but for a retrograde inscription in the upper right: CHELIDFON (XEΛIΔϝON). The word means swallow, and refers to the legend of Philomela and her sister Prokne. The latter was married to Tereus, king of Thrace, and had a son by him named Itys. When Philomela was sent to Thrace after Tereus reported falsely Prokne's death, he raped her and silenced her by cutting out her tongue. The sisters exacted revenge by killing Itys, which is apparently the moment shown here, and then feeding him to Tereus.[6] Afterward, the sisters were transformed into a

49. Metope from Temple of Apollo at Thermon, ca. 630. Aëdon and Chelidon (Prokne and Philomela). Athens, National Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

nightingale (Prokne) and swallow (Philomela). The inscription thus serves to identify the characters of a story that is relatively obscure compared to Perseus. The inscription, however, does more than identify in this case, because the use of the word swallow rather than the name of the character, Philomela, brings to the viewer's mind a later episode and the ultimate conclusion of the story. The inscription thus acts as an index and proleptic reference.

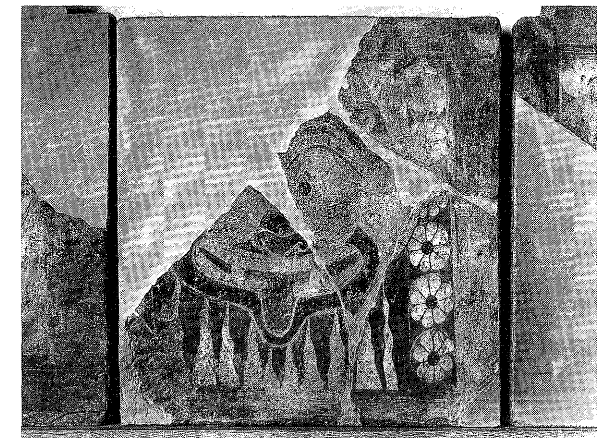
Unlike the Perseus narrative, the artist has placed the entire story into this single composition. Since the composition of this panel is symmetric, static, and closed in on itself, it is difficult to imagine that there were any related metopes.[7] The killing of Itys is the climactic moment of retribution and consequence, and so would not need other panels for earlier events, once the viewer is aware by means of the inscription of the episode's subject. The nature of the action and the choice of moment do not require the open and directional composition of the Perseus metope, and result in a closed and symmetrical composition here. By using a mixture of compositional types over the series of metopes – frontal, symmetrical, and directional – the painter provided a varied

rhythm to the viewing of the metopes and could create long or short series with punctuation breaks between them.

Composition can also punctuate a series in other ways. Another metope from Thermon shows a *gorgoneion*, staring frontally with enlarged eyes and mouth and protruding tongue (Fig. 50). This form of the *gorgoneion* follows a canonical type known from numerous examples of the later seventh and early sixth centuries.[8] Although strictly speaking not a narrative panel, the metope may have formed part of the Perseus sequence, appearing at either its beginning or end. The leftward movement of the Perseus metope and one or two running Gorgon metopes creates a strong directional flow that encompassed at least parts of two intercolumnations. If placed at the end of the series (moving from left to right), the frontal, symmetrical composition of the *gorgoneion* would halt the quick leftward movement of the Perseus panel and terminate the sequence visually, much like the period at the end of a sentence. The frontal aspect of the head, not unlike a trophy hanging on a temple wall, would also engage the viewer directly in the story. Placed in its own metope, it is as if the viewer is called to witness a tangible remain of the story, making the *gorgoneion* a highly effective index for the entire story. Alternatively, it could have appeared at the beginning of the series as an index for the earlier moment of the decapitation. In either case, the *gorgoneion* would serve as a symbol for the Perseus story as a whole, an example of the source of order and protection in heroic confrontation. It is the narrative behind the symbol that transforms the motif into an effective apotropaic device.

This discussion points out the importance of the index within the micro-structure for creating either paradigmatic or syntagmatic links between different scenes. In the case of the Thermon metopes, the repetition of the same running pose or Gorgon's head from one metope to another acts as an index linking the two images in the viewer's mind, independent of their actual subject. Here the nucleus doubles as index to create a larger narrative extension. The generic theme of departure on the two sides of the Minneapolis amphora also serves as an index to strengthen the connection suggested by composition and context between the scenes. This linkage is further enhanced by the repetition of the same subject on the shoulder of both sides of the vase, a combat between two warriors (see detail in Fig. 13). Clearly, scale and context suggest that these scenes are less important than those on the body, but the repetition serves as an index linking the two departure scenes more strongly together.

Other elements of the micro-structure, particularly repeated motifs and characters, can serve as indexes linking scenes that at first glance do not seem related. On a hydria by the Antimenes Painter in Minneapolis, for example, we see on the body Athena holding the reins of a chariot, and on the shoulder, we see Herakles fighting Kyknos (Fig. 51).[9] The repetition in both pictures of Athena with aegis, helmet, and spear on a vertical axis on the left side, accentuated by the added white of her arms and face, creates a link through indexes between the two scenes. The repetition of a bearded figure wearing a cloak loosely over both shoulders also links the scenes, but it is less clear if they are meant to be the same figure. On the shoulder the figure is Zeus, intervening in the fight between Herakles and Kyknos, while below the figure acts more like



50. Metope from Temple of Apollo at Thermon, ca. 630. Gorgoneion. Athens, National Museum. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

an attendant holding the head of one horse while others attend to the chariot.[10] One other figure, behind the horses but in the center of the composition, has the same curly fringe on the back of his head as the lion helmet of Herakles above. He is the only one with such a hair style; all others are smooth. While Athena links the shoulder and body, the chariot ties the main scene to that on the mouth, which features a race of six chariots between two posts. All of the compositions on the hydria are somewhat directional, with the majority of elements moving rightward across the shoulder and body. The chariot race, being a continuous frieze, moves both rightward near the handle and leftward though upside down near the front of the vase.

Are these scenes linked syntagmatically or paradigmatically? Although the subject on the body of the hydria can only be identified with certainty as Athena in a chariot, some elements found in this picture are also typical of the apotheosis of Herakles in which Athena takes him to Olympos on her chariot.[11] Given the linkage between this scene with that on the shoulder, it is possible to infer that the nude figure behind the horse is Herakles although he is without attribute. An explanation may be that being dead he has no need of his weapons and attributes in Olympos. The charioteer also wears a hat like that of Hermes, who traditionally accompanies the dead and may indicate a change of status for Herakles from the shoulder picture (cf. Fig. 44). We might then see for a syntagmatic link between these two an earlier deed of Herakles on the shoulder and his apotheosis on the body, the latter being the more important because of its scale. The chariot race around the mouth becomes a game celebrating his funeral and apotheosis, establishing a sequence of shoulder-body-mouth for narrative sequence.

One could also argue that the chariot scene is not the apotheosis of Herakles, although such allusion may have been intended. In this case the scene may be viewed more generically as processional, a theme of departure like that on the Minneapolis amphora (Fig. 22). The chariot race on the mouth can yet be funerary in nature like the games for Patroklos in the *Iliad*; a funerary theme

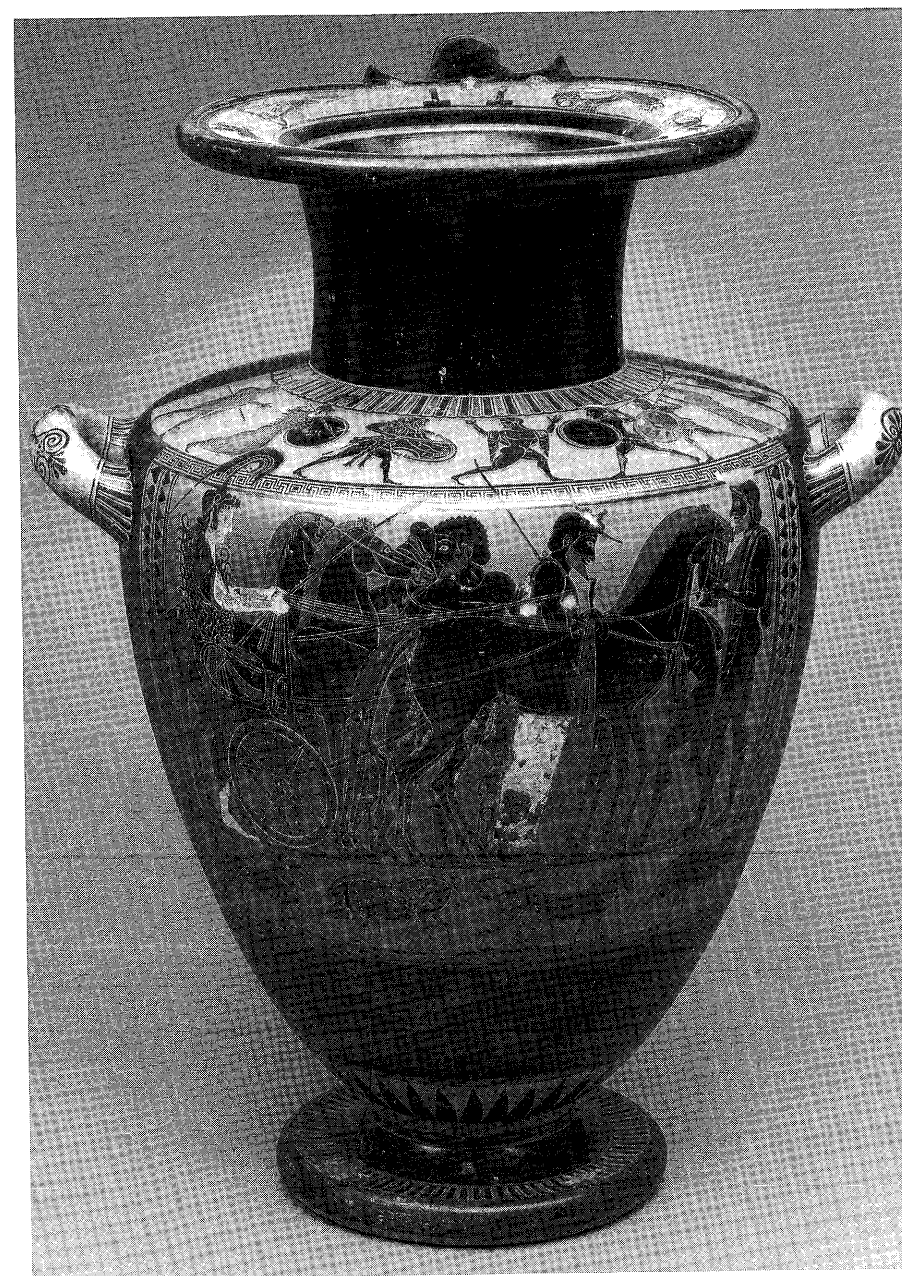
would make the main chariot, which has driver but no passenger, symbolic of a procession for the deceased like that of Achilles around the tomb of Patroklos (*Il.* 24.14–17). A paradigmatic extension of the three scenes may then revolve around the commemoration of the heroic dead, whose paragon is Herakles on the shoulder. Athena might then symbolize divine recognition of *arete* and everlasting fame for the deceased, whose passing is marked by the games on the mouth. The allusion to the apotheosis of Herakles may be intended as a reference to the apotheosis of the hero. In this order, we move from mythological (shoulder) to generic (mouth) subject, with the main chariot a generic scene given more specificity by the appearance of Athena. The chariot scene then becomes a mediating narrative between myth and everyday life.

These two interpretations, it must be stressed, are hypothetical. Nevertheless, they illustrate that paradigmatic and syntagmatic combinations are not mutually exclusive and that the foundation for narrative extension lies in elements of the macro-structure and micro-structure. In both cases, several key components of the macro-structure (context, composition) and the micro-structure (indexes) suggest linkage of the scenes, whether syntagmatically or paradigmatically. Which and whether such links must exist are questions to be addressed; in the next sections of this chapter, we examine both of these types of narrative extension in more detail.

4.2 PARADIGMATIC EXTENSION

As mentioned earlier, paradigmatic extension is based on the principle of substitution and similarity, along the lines of analogy or metaphor, so that there is an equivalence between two or more narrative images. It is the task of the viewer to determine the nature of the equivalence or metaphor, if it exists, when confronted by multiple images. The efficient functioning of paradigmatic extension depends on proximity in the viewing experience and quick identification of the stories in order for the viewer to begin finding common ground. This type of extension, then, depends heavily on indexes as keys linking the scenes and on the development of a visual language within the culture that assigns certain values or meanings to the story. To return to the example of the Parthenon, the themes of its metopes – Amazonomachy, Iliupersis, Centauromachy, and Gigantomachy – all involve on one level struggles against forces disrupting the social order. So, too, the three themes on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos, the Centauromachy, and the labors of Herakles all involve the working of *dike* or justice through the oversight of the gods.[12] That is not to say that each of the stories always had that meaning or that the meaning that a culture assigns to these stories does not change over time, but that at that time these stories had these common values that allowed a paradigmatic extension between the different stories on these temples.

Frequently, it is the generic quality of many narrative scenes, even those that

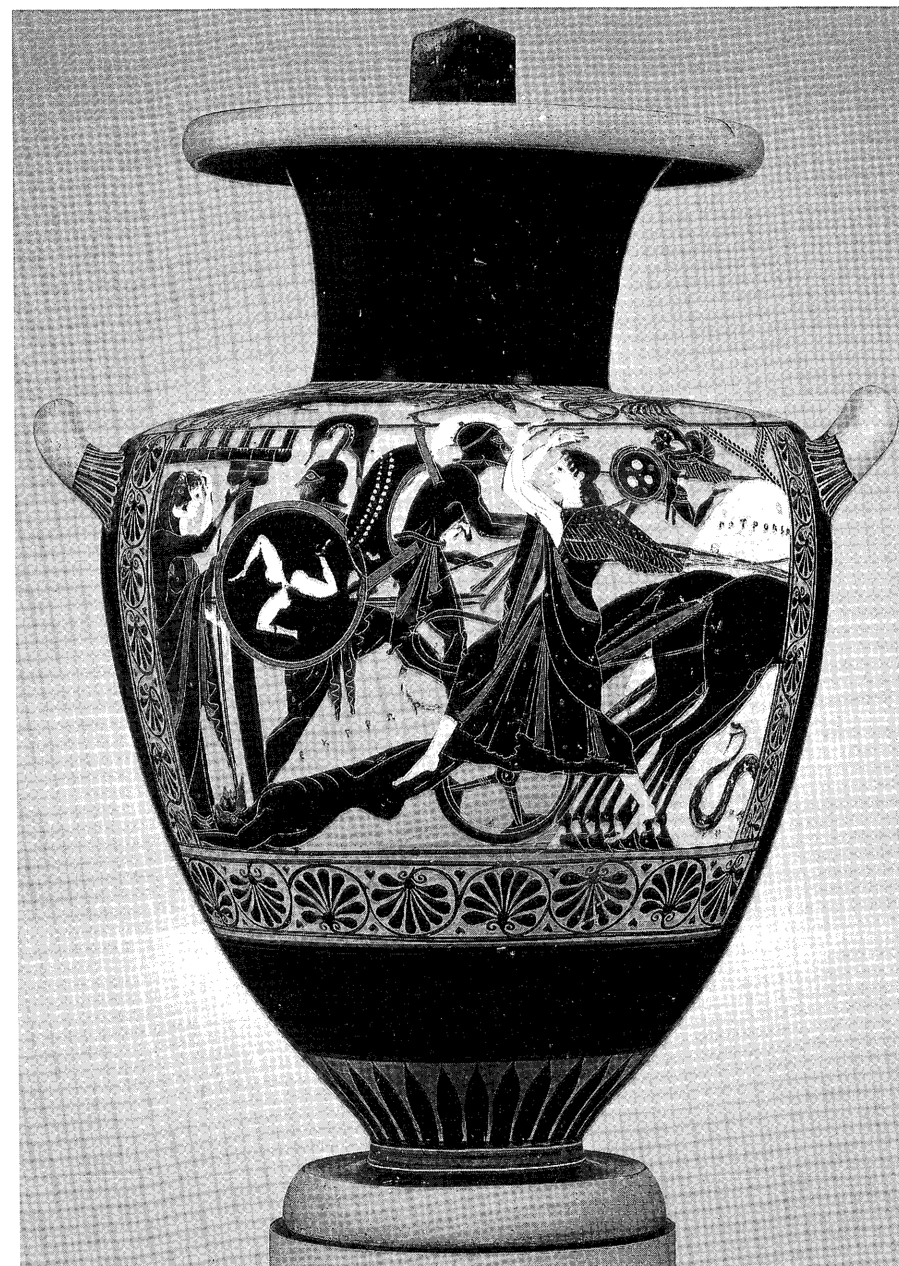


51. Attic black-figure hydria by the Antimenes Painter, late sixth century. Shoulder: Herakles and Kyknos; body: Departure for Olympos. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, John R. VanDerlip Fund, 61.59. (Photo courtesy of the MIA)

have specific characters, that permits this paradigmatic extension to take place more readily. For example, on a hydria in Boston we see two scenes, on the body Achilles dragging the corpse of Hektor at Troy and on the shoulder the combat between Herakles and Kyknos (Figs. 52 and 53).[13] The main scene is a prime example of synoptic narrative, with the painter compressing a number of nuclei and moments into one panel. We see, for example, both the initial dragging of Hektor around the walls of Troy and that later around the tomb of Patroklos by the placement of the house with Priam and Hecuba on the left and the tumulus on the right. Both serve as informants placing the action in two different places, but each serves as a nucleus that combines with the dragging to create two different narrative moments, one earlier with Priam and Hecuba mourning and saying farewell to their son and the other later with the spirit of Patroklos observing from the tomb. In the center, Iris arrives, who in the *Iliad* is sent by Zeus to tell Thetis to come hear his command that she make her son relent from his punishment of the corpse, and to tell Priam to come ransom the body. In the picture, we may rather assume that Iris delivers Zeus's message directly to Achilles. What gives the scene an added power, however, is that Achilles is shown stepping into the chariot as if he is about to depart from the home, so that the mythological narrative has strong overtones of the departing warrior, as can be seen by comparing it to the leave-taking on the Minneapolis amphora (Fig. 21). Because of this generic level of visual language, the scene also resonates with the departure of Amphiaraos (see Fig. 26, bottom register and Fig. 27), so that the leave-taking on the Boston hydria clearly has elements of death associated with departure.

The painter has also added some unusual elements to the scene on the shoulder (Fig. 53). The nucleus is like that on the shoulder of the Minneapolis hydria (Fig. 51), with Herakles charging from the left, Kyknos from the right, and Zeus intervening in the center. There is a change, however, with the placement of two chariots in the center of the composition, Herakles' driven by Athena to the left and Kyknos's on the right. According to the *Shield of Herakles*, chariots are the means by which the opponents reached the battlefield, but generally these are left out or placed to the sides of the composition. Placing them in front of the combatants makes them more prominent and as indexes links the scene to the dragging of Hektor below. So, too, the appearance of gods in the middle of both compositions, Zeus above and Iris below, gives both stories elements of divine intervention.

How, then, is a viewer meant to link the scenes together? In a nutshell, the combination of the scenes brings together the elements of a heroic life and death. A departure from home is followed by combat and death in battle. The family is responsible for mourning and attending to the fallen family member, who will receive a tumulus and funeral games like a chariot race. Such a combination of scenes would be ideal for a grave offering, particularly for a son fallen in battle. The ability of the artist to suggest such a link between two unrelated stories, however, depends on a willingness to depict the story in such a way that the common or generic qualities of actions link the two mythological



52. Attic black-figure hydria by the Leagros Group, ca. 510. Body: Achilles dragging the body of Hektor. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William Francis Warden Fund, 63.473. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

narratives together, even to the point at which there are the introductions of some anomalies in the visual language and traditional iconography of a scene.

Unfortunately, we have little direct testimony as to the interpretations that an ancient viewer might have made with paradigmatic extension. Pausanias describes a number of works that combine multiple narratives, such as the Chest of Kypselos, the Throne of Bathykles, and the panels around the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Both of the ekphrastic shields of Achilles and Herakles contain multiple scenes that bear strong similarities to actual works like the Chest of Kypselos or the François vase. Rarely, however, do the descriptions provide a clue as to the paradigmatic connections between the scenes, rather, they usually list the scenes in succession without connecting them. At most, a connected set of scenes is given a general label, as in the cities at war and peace in the poetic shields. Although scholars can find common themes or organizing principles, both in described and existing works, we are sadly devoid of ancient testimony that provides a guide for this kind of interpretation. Indeed, such connections go beyond the focus of literary accounts–description of the narrative, and move beyond to the realm of interpretation (see Section 3.1 in Chapter Three). Ancient viewers undoubtedly engaged in interpretation, but at this level, it moves into the realm of criticism and reflection and moves beyond the place of immediate discourse with the work of art that is the focus of literary sources.

Making a scholarly assessment of a paradigmatic link between narrative is complicated by the flexibility of the visual language and the multivalent nature of the images. A specific story such as the birth of Athena can be combined with a host of pendant scenes elsewhere on a work. For example, on the Yale Athena (see Fig. 41), the other side of the vase shows a frontal representation of a quadriga. We can find eight other examples in which Group E paired the birth of Athena with other scenes, including two with Herakles and the lion, one with Theseus and the minotaur, two with Dionysos, Ariadne, and satyrs, two others with frontal chariots, and one with warriors departing.[14] In terms of the chariot, we frequently see Athena in a chariot (see Figs. 51 and 53) and the chariot may well be regarded as a sign of her divine status and importance in the affairs of humans since she frequently uses it to travel to and from Olympos. Just as she often intervenes in battle in the *Iliad*, the pairing of her birth with warriors arming suggests her importance as a protector and aid in battle. The repetition of armor and armed figures (including Ares) in the two scenes would establish visually a link between the two scenes as indexes. Athena also appears commonly with both Herakles and Theseus (see Figs. 53 and 67) as their divine patron, so that there is a causal link between her birth and their exploits with which the viewer would be familiar. The pairing with Dionysos can be seen as one of type, equating the two gods. The nature of the compositions and the divine casts of both scenes would help the viewer to link the scenes. To summarize, there are a number of directions in which narrative combinations could go. In the absence of direct testimony about the process of paradigmatic extension by the Greek viewer, determining whether a paradigmatic link between the subjects is intended must depend on a close analysis of the micro-

53. Attic black-figure hydria by the Leagros Group, ca. 510. Detail of shoulder: Herakles and Kyknos. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William Francis Warden Fund, 63.473. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

structure and macro-structure. I would propose that when a number of connections at multiple levels of the narrative structure exist, then we may have grounds for discussing the importance of the paradigmatic link between two narratives.

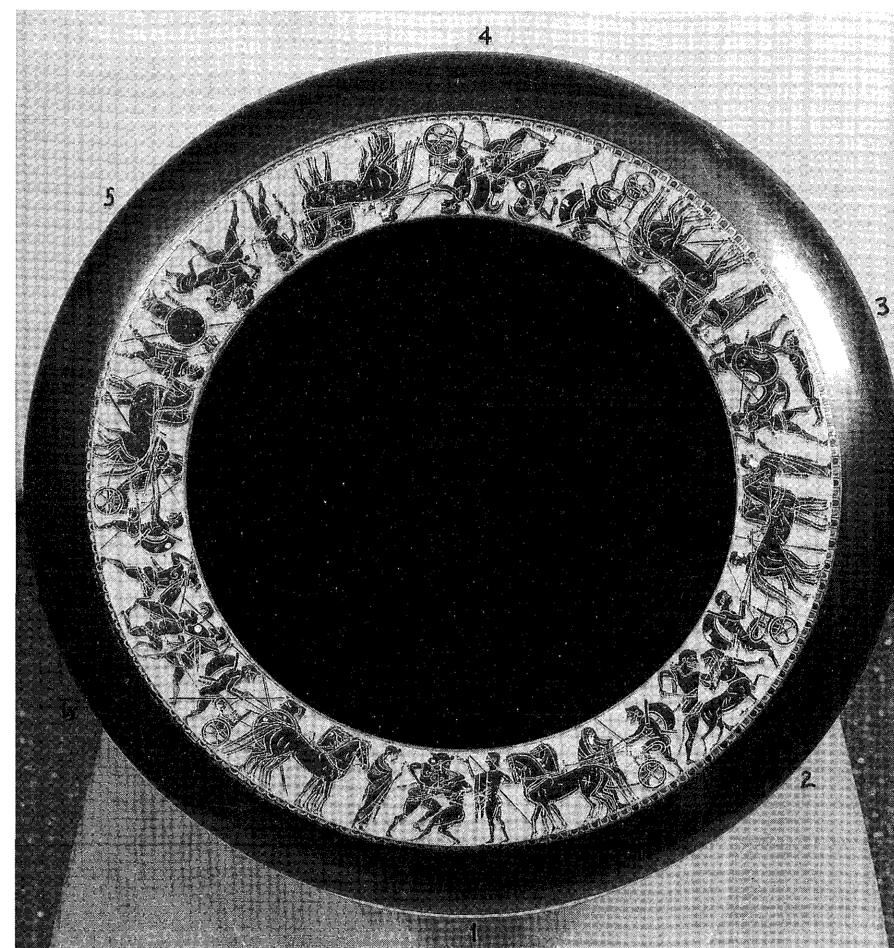
As an example, we might examine the rim of an Attic black-figure dinos that is crowded with twelve miniature scenes (Fig. 54).[15] Six of these feature quadrigae ready to depart. The figures with the chariots are varied and include older, bearded men, youths, and women. None seem directly engaged in the various battles in the adjacent scenes, but their directional arrangement does create a pattern of focus for the viewer. The chariots alternate rightward and leftward, so that they point toward three of the narrative nuclei (1, 3, and 5) while turning their backs on the other three nuclei (2, 4, and 6). This corresponds to the basically larger compositional size of scenes 1, 3, and 5, suggesting that these scenes were to have a greater prominence for the viewer. Their subjects include Theseus and the Minotaur (1), warriors fighting over a fallen comrade (3), and Herakles and the Nemean lion (5). The linkage of Theseus and Herakles in their defining combats is a popular one. The linkage here is reinforced by the basic arrangement of the opponents as upright, the use of a weapon (although the Nemean lion was impervious to these), the inclusion of spectators on both sides, the inclusion of a female figure in each composition (next to the chariot on the right in 1, Athena in 5), and the same short skirt and scabbard for each figure. The linkage of Herakles and Theseus is particu-

larly strong in that both of their opponents are monstrous in nature. The same basic elements are repeated in the warrior combat, but this scene has no indexes or informants to link it to a specific mythological story. One should probably think of this in a more generic light, since the struggle with one's comrades is a great duty of heroes and of contemporary citizens. By including this scene as a one of a trio with Herakles and Theseus, the painter may be suggesting a link between the actions of heroes and warriors, both mythological and contemporary.[16]

This equation is confirmed in the three smaller nuclei. Two of these, 4 and 6, fall into the category of armed struggle like no. 3, and one (2) shows Herakles and Nessos. The Nessos scene shows the same nucleic core elements that we saw in Figs. 39 and 40: Herakles moving toward the right with a weapon, Nessos moving rightward but turning his torso around to confront Herakles, here pleading for mercy by cupping his chin. It is important to note that in the corresponding warrior fights, the warrior on the right also moves rightward but turns his head back toward his charging opponent. The correspondence is strengthened by the fact that all three opponents are forced to their knees. The poses thus serve as indexes linking the scenes 2-4-6 as a set distinct from 1-3-5. Still, this group has the same mixture of mythological hero and generic fighting warriors that we found in the first group.

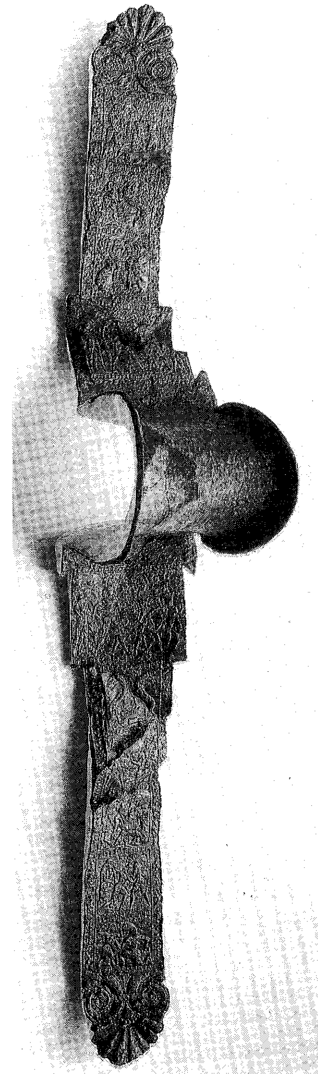
Overall, there is an even division between heroes vanquishing scourges and warriors fighting on the battlefield. It is interesting that the latter scenes are generic in nature whereas the former are clearly mythological. One might conclude that the painter is suggesting an equivalence in heroic value between the struggles of warriors and those of heroes, particularly Herakles and Theseus. That this is a planned theme is also shown in the symmetrical placement of some of the scenes. The two Herakles scenes are set directly opposite each other on the rim (2 and 5), the duel of Theseus and the minotaur is placed opposite the only warrior duel (1 and 4), and the two scenes with three warriors are pendants (3 and 6). This type of symmetrical arrangement and equivalence in scene selection suggests a careful plan of selection and arrangement that makes the potential for paradigmatic extension plausible.

Besides vase paintings and lost works like the Chest of Kypselos, there is another group of encyclopedic collections of mythological narratives, the shield bands from Olympia. There are a total of seven mythological subjects on one of the best preserved examples: (top to bottom) ransom of Hektor, Herakles and the lion, the strife between Amphiaraos and Lykourgos (buckle plate), Ajax and Kassandra, Theseus and the Minotaur, the suicide of Ajax, and the murder of Agamemnon (Figs. 55 and 56).[17] Clearly, the metopal format of the shield band is a determining factor in selection, for the scenes are basically confrontations of two figures, with sometimes a third or fourth figure added as a catalyst (ransom of Hektor, Ajax and Kassandra, suicide of Ajax). When the format is wider, as in the buckle plate, the same choice of confronting pair is followed, but the ends of the composition are filled out with additional figures who help to restrain the warriors. On this shield band, there



54. Attic black-figure dinos from the Circle of the Antimenes Painter, ca. 520–515. Counterclockwise from the bottom: (1) Theseus and Minotaur; (2) Herakles and Nessos; (3) warriors fighting over fallen comrade; (4) warriors fighting; (5) Herakles and Nemean lion; (6) warriors fighting. © Cleveland Museum of Art, 1988, John L. Severance Fund, 1971.46. (Photo courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

is no repetition of any character and the stories themselves are distributed among the Trojan (with Oresteia), Herakles, Theseus, and Theban sagas, although the war at Troy and its aftermath predominates (4 out of 7). This is not universally true of the shield bands, but of the 32 examples of shield bands that E. Kunze lists with at least two surviving scenes, only 7 repeat a character, and 3 of those are Herakles in different labors.[18] It would appear then that paradigmatic rather than syntagmatic connection governs any possible narrative extension in the shield bands. Does this encyclopedic collection of mythological narrative, however, demonstrate a narrative program, or instead selection criteria governed by other factors such as compositional homogeneity, subject diversity, and a pattern of distribution based on narrative or decorative design?



55. Shield band from Olympia, ca. 575–550. Top to bottom: Ransom of Hektor; Herakles and lion; sphinxes; strife between Amphiaraos and Lykourgos (plate); lions; Ajax and Kassandra; suicide of Ajax; Theseus and Minotaur murder of Agamemnon. Olympia, Archaeological Museum, B 1654. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

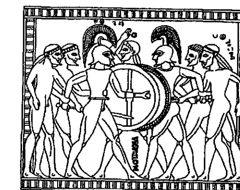
We might begin by comparing two scenes that were linked on the Cleveland dinos, Herakles and the Nemean lion (IVg) and Theseus and the Minotaur (IVe). Both heroes are nude and bearded, both wear scabbards over their shoulder, and both face standing, charging opponents who are monstrous and nonhuman in nature and who raise a limb toward the head of the hero. Both are placed at the bottom of their narrative groupings. However, the actions of Herakles and Theseus are less closely linked as indexes. Theseus raises his right arm up to throw a stone, and Herakles sets his down and thrusts forward with a sword. Both grab their opponent with the left arm, but Herakles' arm is hidden and reaches behind the lion's head. The whirligig pose of the Minotaur, too, is distinct from the lion. In other words, the paradigmatic link between these two scenes is weaker than on the Cleveland dinos, although the general equation of Herakles and Theseus is still strong.

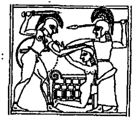
The top scenes of each group are similarly linked by theme, in this case, the Trojan War. In both cases, we see the demise of the children of Priam, with Hektor lying dead (IVf) and Kassandra pursued to the statue of Athena (IVb).[19] Both scenes contain four elements. A god appears on the right (Hermes and the statue of Athena), and the Greek hero appears on the left (Achilles and Ajax). The Trojans are in the middle, and their role as victim is emphasized by the similar pleading gesture of hand reaching to chin made by Priam and Kassandra. In both cases, one might say that the gods are supporting the Trojans. There are some significant differences, including the presence of armed confrontation in the Kassandra scene and the fact that the nude figures are male in one panel and female in the other. The actions of the Greek heroes differ significantly, and the actions of the gods do not afford

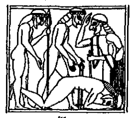
protection to Kassandra as they do to Priam.[20] Although there is some grounds for linking the two scenes, the emphasis visually is strongest with the Trojans begging for mercy, and not on heroic action by the Greeks.

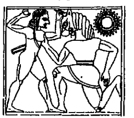
The two remaining scenes are also interesting both in terms of their subjects and their narrative structure. Below the rape of Kassandra is the suicide of Ajax (IVc). Like the body of Hektor, that of Ajax fills the entire bottom of the composition with three figures standing behind it. The figure on the left is closely linked visually to Achilles above through the repetition of nudity and hair, left arm holding a spear, and right arm pointing downward toward the body. The figure on the right raises his right arm like Hermes, but makes a gesture of mourning and holds a staff on the ground. The nude middle figure is turned rightward and points with both hands, making him quite different from Priam above. Like the scene of the lesser Ajax and Kassandra, the suicide of the greater Ajax is not a sterling example of Greek heroic triumph. What links the two scenes with corpses is grief and mourning appropriate to the fall of the hero.

The last scene is the murder of Agamemnon by Klytaimestra and Aegisthus (IVd). The composition and nucleus here bear a strong resemblance to the other lower scenes of Herakles and Theseus, and indeed there are some strong links through indexes between the scenes. Both Klytaimestra and Herakles thrust a sword into their opponent and grapple him with their other hand, and the whirligig posture of Agamemnon is similar to that of the Minotaur in reverse. The pose of Aegisthus has no close parallels in the other compositions, but the spear stand-









56. Shield band from Olympia, ca. 575–550. Top to bottom: Ransom of Hektor; Herakles and a lion; sphinxes; strife between Amphiaraos and Lykourgos (plate); Ajax and Kassandra; suicide of Ajax; murder of Agamemnon: Theseus and Minotaur. Olympia, Archaeological Museum, B 1654. (Composite of drawings after Kunze [1950], Taf. 18–19 and Beilage 13)

ing in the ground behind him is repeated in the ransom of Hektor and the suicide of Ajax. There is a general structural equivalence between the murder of Agamemnon and the deeds of Herakles and Theseus, except that the victim is turned around and stabbed in the back. This transforms the linkage into a contrast rather than an equivalence.

In looking over the collection of scenes as an ensemble, one might speculate whether antithesis is the strategy here. We have two examples of heroic triumph (Herakles and Theseus) and one of piety (the ransom of Hektor) that contrast with scenes of rape/sacrilege, suicide, and murder. In other words, we have a contrast between heroic and nonheroic narratives. Indeed, if the artist were trying to suggest a sharp contrast, the structural links between the scenes would have to be balanced by disparities to make the point that they are not equivalent. This would explain the weaker correspondence between Theseus and Herakles on the shield band compared to the Cleveland dinos, since the artist is contrasting these with their antitheses in addition to comparing them as equivalent.

This antithetical comparison between virtue and its opposite might also explain the choice of subject for the buckle plate, the confrontation between Amphiaraos and Lykourgos. Interestingly, this is the only scene from the Theban saga among the shield bands, suggesting that it had some specific meaning for the artistic program or patron of the shield.[21] Unlike other confrontations of warriors, in this case, figures on the side reach out to hold the sword hand of the two warriors, and Adrastos intervenes between them. Although at first glance the nucleus appears similar to other generic confrontations (see Figs. 13 and 20), in fact, there are two equivalent nuclei (supporters grabbing sword of warrior) that make the narrative one of restraint rather than fight within a confrontation. Although the exact circumstances of this encounter are not clearly understood, the connection of Adrastos and Amphiaraos with an agreement to settle their disputes by submitting them to Eriphyle as an arbitrator may indicate that strife and battle are inappropriate means for resolving a conflict among allies (although this agreement itself led to the betrayal of Amphiaraos by his wife). Indeed, the conflict between ostensible allies ties the three antithetical scenes together as a group (Ajax vs. Athena as patron of the Greeks as Troy; Ajax vs. his fellow Achaians; Klytaimestra vs. her husband).

This interpretation of the paradigmatic connections among the scenes might be considered as a little abstract in nature and in the absence of ancient testimony about the construction of such narrative extension we must turn to other means for justifying this approach. I would argue that the examination of the micro-structure and macro-structure provides a means for deciding whether such linkages are structurally plausible and to define their nature. In some cases, it may well be that variety of subject is the only agenda at work in a narrative ensemble, but when one can find strong structural links combined with unique elements that correspond to that formula, we have grounds for exploring the paradigmatic nature of the narrative.

Although the ability of a classical audience to develop a sophisticated and

57. Attic black-figure volute krater, signed by Ergotimos (potter) and Kleitias (painter), ca. 570. Side B: Theseus and Ariadne; Lapiths and Centaurs; wedding of Peleus and Thetis (continued from side A); return of Hephaistos. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4209. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

subtle understanding of narrative extension is generally taken for granted, it is more controversial for the Archaic period. To see if such extension was possible in the Archaic period, we may turn to the shield of Herakles. As we saw in Section 3.1 of Chapter Three, this ekphrastic shield was a divine work closely modeled on the shield of Achilles and reflecting the hero's world. There are, however, a number of mythological figures and narratives included in the shield description, like the combat between the Lapiths and Centaurs (ll. 178–90), that have close parallels to the scenes in contemporary sixth-century art like the François vase (Fig. 57).[22] Following the Centauromachy on the shield of Herakles is Ares with his chariot, urging on some soldiers with the help of some gruesome personifications (ll. 191–200). Athena also hurries toward the fray, perhaps from the side opposite Ares. Next is a scene of the gathering of the gods and goddesses, including Apollo and the Muses (ll. 201–6). Another innovation from the shield of Achilles is a harbor scene (ll. 207–15), which is followed by the episode of Perseus fleeing the Gorgons discussed earlier in

Section 3.1 (ll. 216–37). Following these scenes, all of which are new to the ekphrastic shield repertory, are generic scenes of war, peace, and agriculture.

At first glance, there does not appear to be any direct connection among these scenes: Centauromachy, Ares and Athena at the battle, Apollo and the assembly of the gods, and Perseus fleeing the Gorgons. However, as Janko has pointed out, the order of appearance of the gods in the description of the shield – Ares, Athena, and Apollo – mimics their appearance in the narrative of the fight between Herakles and Kyknos.[23] Ares starts for Herakles after the latter has killed his son Kyknos, and Athena rushes in to restrain him. Fear (*Phobos*) and Terror (*Deimos*) accompany Ares in both poetic and shield narratives. Apollo more indirectly stirs up Herakles against Kyknos, and orders the river Anauros to destroy the latter's grave. Perseus is an ancestor of Herakles, and slays a monster as Herakles is about to do, for Kyknos is an exemplar of *hubris* as Herakles is of *arete*. The Centauromachy may be seen in the same light, with Theseus as the heroic exemplar for Herakles here (even though Theseus was the younger of the two). Certainly, the popularity of Theseus fighting the Minotaur as an accompaniment to scenes with Herakles confirms their equivalence as heroic exemplars. Clearly, not all of the scenes chosen for the ekphrastic shield, especially the generic ones, have such a direct connection to the main story, except to establish Herakles' shield as akin to another work of Hephaistos for Achilles.

It is interesting to note, then, that most of the mythological scenes on the shield of Herakles do have some kind of more substantive connection to Herakles and his fight against Kyknos. The ability of the poet to select and arrange mythological scenes according to a program or purpose in this imaginary work of art is fundamentally no different than what an artist could do. A highly individualized context, for example, an expensive commissioned work like a shield, creates the same opportunity that the poet had with the shield, to create a work whose scenes reflected a theme in a thoughtful and substantive manner. Whether an artist chose to take advantage of such an opportunity to develop an intricate theme or was directed to do so by the patron or followed other criteria in scene selection is a different issue from the ability to do either.

4.3 SYNTAGMATIC EXTENSION

The type of narrative extension that has received the most attention in scholarly study is syntagmatic, or the combination of successive scenes from the same basic story in a sequence. As we saw in Section 1.1 in Chapter One, categories such as cyclic, continuous, serial, unified, and progressive are in fact efforts to define different types of syntagmatic combinations. Since these terms are already in widespread use, I shall here define them by a precise and consistent consideration of the elements of the micro-structure and macro-structure.

Within a syntagmatic set of images, there are four parameters that determine the nature of a specific combination. These are the treatment of the agents,

Table 4.1 Types of Syntagmatic Extension and their Variables

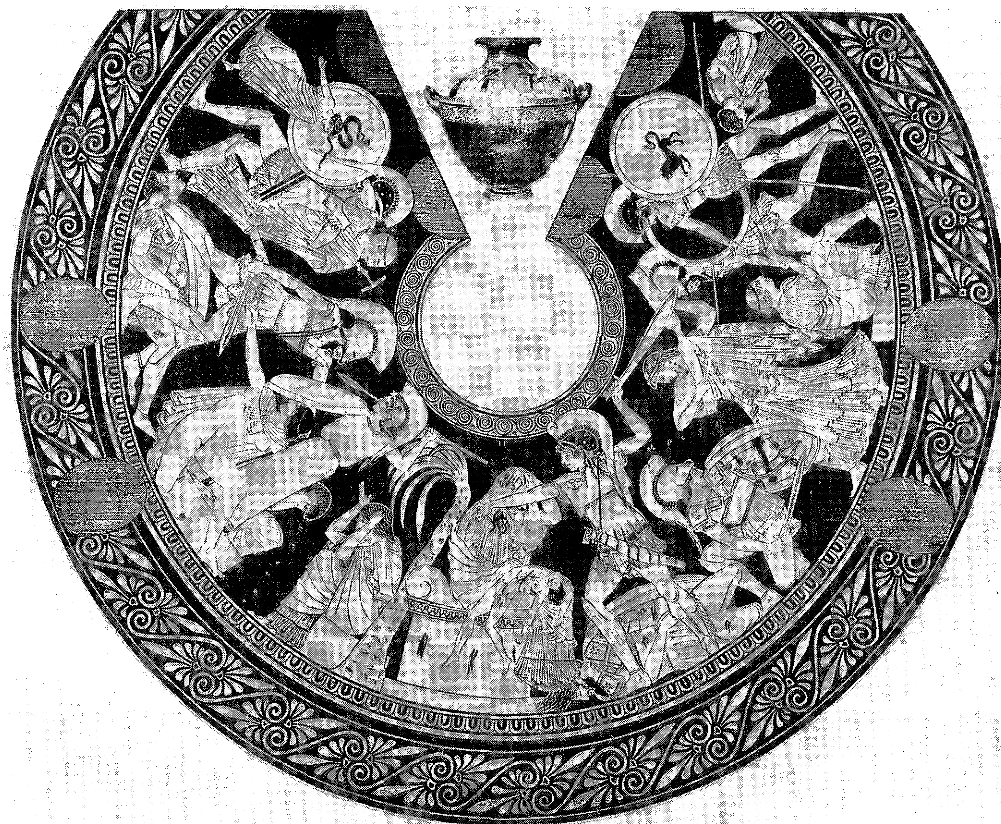
Variables

Agent	*Space*	*Time*	*Containment*	*Extension Type*
No repetition	Varies	Constant	Continuous	Panoramic
			Framed	Unified
	Varies	Varies	Continuous	Progressive
			Framed	Serial
Repetition	Neutralized	Varies only	Continuous	Continuous
			Framed	Cyclic

space, time, and the segregation or integration of individual scenes. By treatment of the agents, I mean to focus on the nuclei/actions that form the core of the individual pictures. Are the protagonists or actions in one picture repeated in another or not, in other words, does the nucleus or its agents act as indexes to link quickly the two scenes in the mind of the viewer? Within these two categories of repeated or nonrepeated agents, one must next consider the measure of time and space: Are they constant or do they vary? Finally, there is the containment of the composition (see Section 3.3 in Chapter Three). Are the separate scenes placed each in a distinct frame, segregated from the others, or are they integrated into a single picture surface? We shall consider the interaction among these parameters in what follows, but Table 4.1 will help to situate each type of narrative extension before we begin.

Panoramic and Unified Narrative

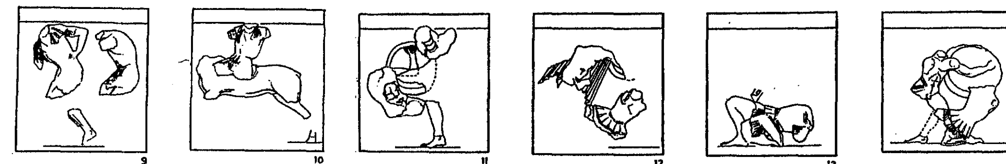
Beginning first with works that contain no repetition of figures, either space or time must vary from one picture to the next, since two figures cannot inhabit conceptually the same space and time. It is possible that time is constant, but that space is varied, as in the Naples Iliupersis (Fig. 58). Earlier studies have labeled this type of picture as monoscenic based on the consistency of time and space, but the picture is really five separate episodes set next to one another in a kind of panorama.[24] Space, although consistent, is not localized to one place as time is to one possible moment. Indeed, all five episodes could have happened simultaneously, but could equally have occurred at staggered times as well. By linking them into a simultaneous time frame, the scenes may be seen as having an important paradigmatic as well as syntagmatic dimension, revolving around the theme of the fall of Troy (see Section 5.2 in Chapter Five). A similar situation pertains to the lost wall paintings of Polygnotos in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi (see Fig. 77 and following); indeed, the vast range of action in the story of Troy's fall lent itself to the use of multiple scenes (see Figs. 61 and 71).[25] Since on neither vase nor mural could the viewer have seen the entire composition clearly at once, we are in fact dealing with multiple pictures combined within a continuous picture surface, each inhabiting a separate space



58. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480. Counterclockwise from top: Aeneas escaping; Ajax raping Kassandra; Neoptolemos slays Priam; Andromache attacking Greek soldier; rescue of Aithra. Naples, National Museum, 2422. Drawing from Furtwängler and Reichhold.

but sharing the same general moment of time. The viewer must experience the episodes sequentially in order to see the whole picture, injecting a possibility of chronological sequence back into the images. In these examples, space is the defining variable of the narrative, but viewing context has the potential for breaking a constant moment of time into several. This situation differs substantially from monoscenic narrative, in which the image consists of a discrete core that can at least be glimpsed all at once.

Another variation on this type of combination exists when the episodes are segregated into separate panels. For example, the scene of Perseus fleeing from the Gorgons on the Thermon metope (Fig. 28), if placed in sequence with a metope of a chasing Gorgon, would essentially contain the same actions and time as in an unbroken depiction like that on the Gorgon dinos (Fig. 24), the only difference being the framing and visual separation of the actions. Other examples of this can be found in the works of Euphronios, the metopes of the Parthenon, and the Amazonomachy metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.[26] Though badly preserved, the six metopes each contained a duel between



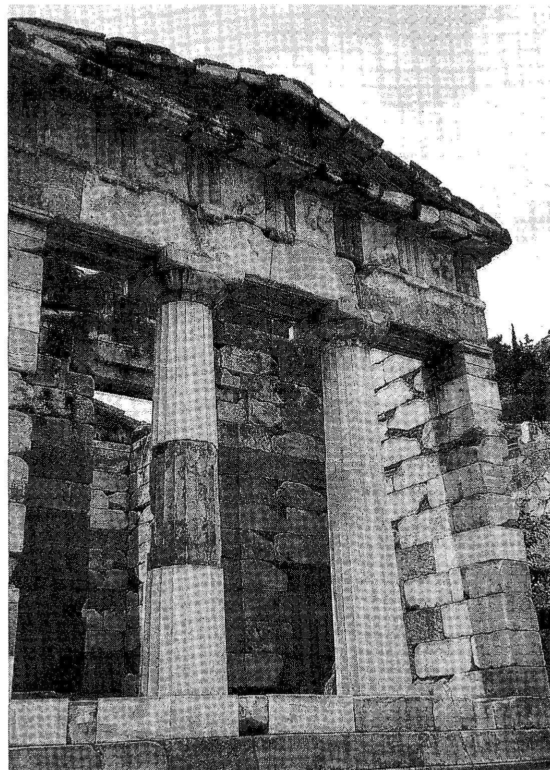
59. Metopes from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, ca. 490. East side: Amazonomachy. Delphi. (Drawing after Boardman [1991b], Fig. 213)

a Greek and an Amazon (Fig. 59).[27] Although in the Thermon metope what essentially constitutes one nucleus has been split apart (Gorgon chasing Perseus), in the Amazonomachy metopes you essentially see a collection of nuclei placed together in a series. Fundamentally, however, the two series work the same. For the Thermon metopes to cohere, each separate image has to be understood as a nucleus by the viewer. Without this support of the microstructure, there is no foundation for narrative extension from one metope to the next. Thus, we have two nuclei comprehended by the viewer: Gorgon pursues and Perseus flees. Either one alone would be sufficient to narrate the story to the viewer; their combination provides a more comprehensive narrative. In the case of the Amazonomachy metopes, the nuclei are more self-contained, but the process of extension is the same. Two or more duels combine into a battle; two or more figures combine into a fight. This effect and how the viewing context works to knit together the separate scenes can be seen in the reconstructed east front of the Athenian Treasury in Fig. 60 (although the reconstructed metopes are not those that originally filled the east side in Fig. 59). This type of syntagmatic extension using separate and discrete pictures is obviously suited to particular formats, such as a Doric temple frieze, and the uninterrupted variety of extension fits well in a frieze format.

There has been little recognition that these two types of combinations (framed or continuous compositions) are distinct from monoscenic, since the viewer is really dealing with multiple images that share time in a kind of panorama. Shapiro has proposed the term *unified* narrative in which the different spaces are segregated into different pictorial fields.[28] I would propose the term *panoramic* narrative to cover an example such as the Naples Iliupersis in which the spatially separated episodes are integrated into a single pictorial field and share generally a common moment in time.

Serial Narrative

Although unified and panoramic narratives hold time constant but vary space, both space and time may be varied within a series of images without the repetition of characters. Again, this can take two forms, as a series of images run together without interruption or as a series of discrete panels. An example of the latter can be seen in the Mykonos pithos (Fig. 61).[29] The three rows of metopes on the body of the pithos show the slaughter of the inhabitants of Troy by the Greeks. The metopes contain one, two, or three figures, but most follow the same basic format of Greek warrior threatening or killing Trojan



60. Athenian Treasury at Delphi, ca. 490. View of eastern side of building as reconstructed. Delphi. (Photo courtesy of Cynthia Bland)

women and children. The compositions are simple, with pairs of figures facing in toward the center of the composition in a generally symmetric and closed manner. This use of an often repeated nucleus and compositional formula brings a unity to the large number (20) of metopes, giving them a visual coherence that would begin to be lost if different compositional types were employed. Within this formula, however, there is an almost infinite variability in terms of number of figures, placement, details of appearance, gesture, and action. As can be seen, most of the female figures gesture helplessly toward the threatening warriors, but one is killed and two supplicate by placing their hands under the chin of their attacker. The children are also shown in various states: threatened, attacked, and dead. Of the males, some are armored, others carry only swords, some are bearded whereas others are not. Only one metope in the top row (no. 2B), missing from the restoration but found afterward in Copenhagen, shows a fallen warrior, who must be Greek according to the similarity of his armor to those of the other Greeks on the neck and body.[30] He may be Echion, who is said to have died after leaping out from the horse. The placement of the warrior in a metope directly below the Trojan horse on the neck ties him to the warriors above and below, and his prominence as the only fallen warrior on the pithos serves to signify the battle that followed the disembarkation and that preceded the slaughter. Overall, the number and arrangement of the figures varies, so that there is no duplication within the metopal series.[31]

At first glance, this series seems to hold time constant but to vary place and thus fall into the category of unified narrative. However, a closer examination reveals certain patterns that suggest a progression of time as one moves down the friezes of the pithos. For example, in the top frieze, there are fewer children than in the bottom (1/at least 3/at least 5). Two figures, including the only Greek warrior, are dead or mortally wounded in the top frieze, two or three in the middle, but at least three in the bottom. Thus, the number of Trojan casualties increases in the lower registers and the only Greek casualty appears in the top. All of the warriors in the top frieze wear armor, whereas only one does so in the next two (no. 19), suggesting that there is now less threat to the

Greeks. In two metopes of each frieze, a women resists attack by grabbing the limb or weapon of a warrior, but the supplicating gesture of hand under chin is only found in the top two friezes. The women who do not resist or supplicate are most numerous in the bottom frieze. Finally, the compositions of the bottom row are more repetitive and less varied than those above, creating a kind of crescendo as a finale to the narrative. The cumulative effect of these patterns suggests that the top frieze, with the fallen Echion and only one child, shows the earliest stages of the destruction of the city's inhabitants, whereas the lower two friezes are later moments as the warriors work without armor and proceed more systematically in the slaughter, without regard for supplication. This pattern can be confirmed in noting that only three of the metopes, due to the unique qualities of their nucleus, can be linked through visual language with specific characters: 2B – the death of Echion; 7 – Menelaos recovering Helen, and 17 – the murder of Astyanax by Neoptolemos. Clearly, 2B occurs earlier than the other two, confirming the earlier time for the scenes in the top register, whereas in some literary accounts, Astyanax is killed toward the end of the sack, making the bottom register later in the story. Thus, the metopes actually progress in time through subtle variations in the figures and their actions.

61. Relief pithos from Mykonos, ca. 675–650. Neck: Trojan horse; body: scenes from the sack of Troy. Mykonos Museum, 2240. (Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)

This progression in time continues in the neck panel that shows the Greeks disembarking from the Trojan horse.[32] This must logically take place before the scenes on the body with the slaughter of the Trojans, so that a chronological

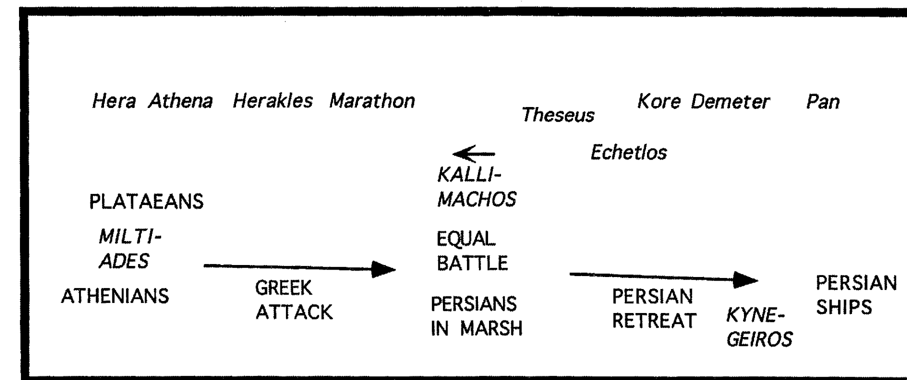
and synchronous succession is established viewing the pithos images from the neck to the friezes on the body. The nature of the overall narrative combination of the scenes hinges on whether there are repeated characters between the fourteen warriors on the neck panel and those on the registers below. With metopes 2B, 7, and 17, one can tentatively identify some of the figures on the Mykonos pithos through action and context: Astyanax, Andromache, Helen, Neoptolemos, Menelaos, Echion. Erwin-Caskey has sought to identify some of the warriors in the neck, in particular, Neoptolemos as the warrior raising his spear in front of the horse and Odysseus as the one resting his foot on its wheel.[33] However, Neoptolemos cannot be depicted in the neck panel, for he is bearded in metope no. 17 and beardless in the neck. Indeed, none of the warriors on the neck is bearded, whereas five in the metopes are, including all of the identifiable male figures: Echion, Menelaos, and Neoptolemos. Of the fifteen remaining metopes, one has no male figure (no. 13), and in two of them, the condition is too fragmentary to be sure. Assuming these were beardless, however, there would be fourteen beardless males in both the metopes and in the neck. This coincidence would suggest that at least some of the warriors on the neck are repeated in the metopes, but it is important to note that none of those that can be identified as heroes is included in this group.

To conclude, it is unlikely that there is any significant repetition of characters from the neck panel on the body of the pithos. Since time does progress from the neck and through the metopes, we can follow Hurwit in defining this type of syntagmatic extension as *serial* narrative.[34] It should also be noted that the Mykonos artist has chosen to show a visually unique event from a story on the neck while placing more generic compositions on the body. Given the greater scale and visibility of the neck due to its height and the value of the composition as an index due to its unique narrative nucleus, the Trojan horse panel permits the viewer to identify readily the story being told on the pithos and provides a key to the more generic scenes below.

Progressive Narrative

The variation of both time and space can also occur in a single pictorial field, as was the case in the lost mural painting of the *Battle of Marathon* that was in the Stoa Poikile of the Athenian Agora.[35] The painting was one of at least three large works in the Stoa described by Pausanias. It is clear from his description that the paintings, which included an Amazonomachy and an Iliupersis, were arranged in a row and that he describes the paintings in the order that he views them. Further, it seems that he describes the details of the *Battle of Marathon*, the last painting in the set, in sections from one end to the other:[36]

> The final part of the painting represents those who fought at Marathon [painted by Mikon and Panainos]. The Boeotians who inhabit Plataea and the Attic force are coming to grips with the barbarians. In this section the struggle is an equal match. In the center of the battle, however, the barbarians are fleeing and are pushing one another into the marsh, and at the borders of the painting there are Phoenician ships and Greeks slaying those of the barbarians who are climbing into them. Here too is a depiction of the hero Marathon, after whom the plain is named; Theseus is represented as rising out of the earth, and Athena and Herakles are here also. For Herakles was first decreed to be a god by the Marathonians, as they themselves say. Of the combatants the most conspicuous in the painting are Kallimachos, who was chosen by the Athenians to be the supreme commander, and of the other generals, Miltiades, and also the hero who is named Echetlos.



62. Reconstruction of the *Battle of Marathon* by Mikon and Panainos. (Author, adapted from Harrison [1972a], ill. 1.)

Although vivid in its imagery, there is not sufficient detail in either Pausanias's account or in the other testimony on the painting to make a full reconstruction of this painting; E. Harrison's diagram of the composition, however, provides a clear and sound representation of the general features of the painting that I have modified here to include the direction of the action (Fig. 62).[37] What is most noteworthy about this account is the variety and placement of the action. In the first section of the painting, the battle is just beginning. In the middle of the painting, the fighting is fully engaged, possibly as a series of small duels spread over the surface of the work in multiple levels. This section of the *Marathon* painting is probably the source for the south frieze on the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis as Harrison argues, only here the multiple levels have been disentangled into a single, continuous frieze.[38] Finally, at the edge of the painting, the Persians flee to their ships at the shore. Clearly, three different types of action corresponding to three different moments of the story – beginning, middle, and end – are run together in a continuous landscape, moving from the plain on the left to the sea on the right.[39] Even more significant, the structure of time in the narration is completely synchronous; the elapse of time in the story matches that of the narration and also of the viewer's experience of the work when moving, like Pausanias, from left to right along the painting. E. Harrison has used the term *progressive* narrative for this painting, recognizing the explicit progression of time as one moves along in the space of the picture.[40] Here we should define it more precisely as a narrative work in

which multiple episodes are integrated into a single pictorial field in which no figures are repeated but in which time and space develop.

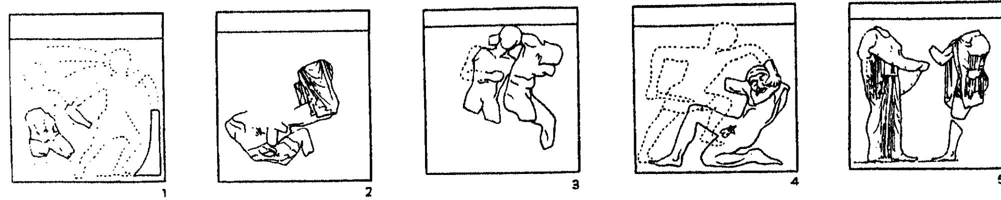
The value of this narrative strategy of coordinating time, space, and viewing experience can be seen in the heroic *ethos* displayed by a group of soldiers and their leaders (see also Section 5.3 in Chapter Five). Pausanias picks out three figures of specific note: Miltiades, Kallimachos, and Kynegeiros. Pliny too says that these figures are portraits (*iconicos*) in the painting, as are the Persians Datis and Artaphernes, implying at least their individualization if not their complete fidelity to their subject.[41] Each of the Greeks seems to represent a different aspect of *arete* and *sophrosyne* and so a different type of heroic *ethos*. Miltiades stands out among the ranks of Attic and Plataean troops and leads them toward the battle. According to literary accounts, he was set isolated and in front of the ranks of troops and stretched out his arm to lead the troops forward, probably in the same manner as a relief from the Heroon at Trysa.[42] The moment is in a sense one of the most critical for the narrative, in that the choice to attack was pushed hard by Miltiades on a somewhat reluctant group of leaders. The decision to attack rather than another option such as delay (to wait for reinforcements) or a tactical retreat is a pivotal point in the history of the battle and by placing it at the beginning of the narrative the painters have given the choice of action prominence in the story.

The effects of this choice begin to play out in the central section of the painting that featured the general Kallimachos. The figure identified by Harrison as Kallimachos in the Nike Temple frieze is clad only in a himation that falls from his figure, and his stance recalls the pose of the Tyrannicide Harmodios.[43] The valor of Kallimachos was of great renown, and accounts have him continuing to stand and fight despite an arrow sticking in his chest, thus terrifying the Persians. As Harrison reconstructs the composition, the figure was probably placed near the center of the painting at an elevated level. In such a position, he would appear prominent among the dueling figures occupying the space and serve as an epitome for heroic *ethos* in combat. In the last section of the painting, the Persians flee to their ships while the Greeks pursue them and attempt to prevent their escape. This is the ultimate result of the decision made in the first part of the painting, a vindication of Miltiades' strategy as well as Athenian and Plataean valor and resolve. In this section of the painting, Pausanias notes the figure of Kynegeiros, who rivaled Kallimachos among the heroic dead of Marathon.[44] Kynegeiros was a young soldier who rushed at the Persian ships to prevent their escape, only to have his hand chopped off while it grasped the helm of one of the ships. If the depiction on the Brescia sarcophagus is indeed from the painting, Kynegeiros would also have been represented as slumped and already or almost dead, while a comrade heroically recovers his body and pulls it away from the ship. Kyneigeiros becomes a heroic martyr, one of the 192 dead who became immortalized during the Classical period. Thus, we have not only a change in action, but a change in the level of consciousness at the same time and a kind of heroic biography played out on a collective level.

We have seen the potential for this type of narrative combination before, particularly in the Chigi aryballos (see Fig. 29) and in the Huntsmen aryballos (see Figs. 7 and 8).[45] Since these battle scenes are deployed as a continuous frieze that is impossible to see all at once due to the architecture of the vase, each picture must be viewed in stages, as Pausanias sees the Marathon painting. In the case of the Huntsmen aryballos, it is not so clear, given the confusion over who is on what side of the fight, that time varies within the picture, but the inclusion of two pairs of opposed phalanxes as nuclei on the Chigi aryballos and the breakdown of the flank mark three areas of action on the vase. As noted in Chapter Three, the viewing context can transform the micro-structure of the frieze into a series of nuclei that show the course of the battle. Beginning with the front and turning the aryballos clockwise, you have a synchronous and continuous viewing experience like that of Pausanias viewing the Battle of Marathon. If, however, one started from a different point of the vase or at the other end of the Battle of Marathon, there would still be a progression of time but it would be anachronous with the viewer's time, in both cases moving analeptically to earlier stages of the story. Whether synchronous or anachronous, however, the narrative structure remains the same and it is the task of the viewer to sort out the sequence of events as they occurred in the story.

Cyclic Narrative

The last, broad type of syntagmatic extension involves multiple pictures with the repetition of agents. By definition, time must be variable within this type, since the same figure cannot inhabit a specific moment twice. This linkage of agent and time essentially creates an emphasis on chronological succession as the viewer moves from one scene to the next. This equation of figure, time, and scene constitutes the great counterpart to monoscenic narration in previous studies of pictorial narration, and has been labeled variously cyclic, continuing, and other names. According to Weitzmann and others, this repetitive type observes the same rule of unity of time and place as monoscenic narrative, but now multiplies the number of pictures and therefore of scenes, creating a denser narrative fabric. It is possible that space could be constant or varied, but space in this type of narration becomes secondary in importance to time and agent. If out of a number of pictures in a monument there are two contiguous scenes that show no repeated figures, some of the qualities of space in the preceding categories would assert themselves temporarily, but overall space loses its importance as a means of structuring the narrative and leaves it mostly the role of setting (informant) to play. Although this is important to the story and narrative, of course, the role of space in the repetitive type of narrative combination does not constitute itself a distinguishable category. Finally, pictures may be separated, as they are on the metopes in a building, or they may blend together against a common background in an unbroken panel, as they do on some cups or long friezes. The terms for these two types might be defined as *continuous* for the latter and *cyclic* for the former, since these assignments seem to fit the



63. Metopes of the south side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (drawing), after 490. Deeds of Theseus: (*left to right*): Sinis (no. 1), Skiron (no. 2), Kerkyon (no. 3), Prokrustes (no. 4), Theseus and Athena (no. 5), Marathon bull (no. 6), Minotaur (no. 7), son of Pallas (?, missing), Amazon (no. 8). (Adapted from Boardman [1991b], Fig. 213)

original intention of the terms best. *Cyclic* narrative, then, is one in which one or more agents are repeated on segregated pictures, with time changing from one picture to the next. *Continuous* narration is one in which the agents reappear against a common background in an integrated pictorial field, with time shifting from one scene to the next and space either changing or remaining the same. We can note the effect of these kinds of narrative by examining two roughly contemporary works showing the deeds of Theseus, the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and a red-figure kylix by Douris.

To begin with the cyclic narrative, the nine metopes of the south side of the Treasury were all devoted to a single theme: the exploits of the Attic hero Theseus (Fig. 63).[46] The identity of only some of the metopes is positive and their arrangement too is uncertain. Before we can examine the narrative structure of the frieze in more detail, it is necessary to consider details of its reconstruction. The metope showing Theseus and Athena (no. 5) was certainly in the middle of the frieze, as cuttings in the block above for Athena's regalia indicate.[47] Theseus's encounters with Sinis (no. 1), Kerkyon (no. 3), the bull of Marathon (no. 6), and the Minotaur (no. 7) are recognizable, but two of his encounters with brigands (nos. 2 and 4) are more ambiguous in their present state. Most scholars would place metope no. 8 of Theseus and the Amazon (Fig. 64) in the south side, but this has also been placed on the north side of the Treasury in a long frieze dedicated to the Amazonomachy. One metope is missing; Coste-Messelière and Neils suggest the fragmentary no. 29 here as showing the encounter between Theseus and a son of Pallas.[48]

The basic arrangement of the Theseus cycle by Coste-Messelière and Neils remains the best effort to reconstruct the south frieze of the Treasury.[49] Metope no. 4 probably shows the encounter with Prokrustes; metope no. 2 is most likely the encounter with Skiron, although he is frequently shown more horizontal and elevated. With the restoration of metope 29 to the south side, there emerges a basic symmetry in the selection of scenes: four are dedicated to the fights on Theseus's journey from Troizen to Athens (with Sinis, Skiron, Kerkyon, and Prokrustes); four are episodes following his arrival in Athens (Pallas, bull, Minotaur, Amazon). Metope no. 5 with Athena and Theseus is different both in subject, showing a god and lacking strong action, and in composition, being strongly vertical, symmetrical, and closed. This metope, certainly in the middle, would act as a divider between the two sets of deeds and symbolically

could also represent Theseus's arrival in Athens, greeted by the city's patron goddess. The arrangement of each set of four scenes is much less certain and, as Hoffelner points out, a chronological ordering of the youthful deeds is by no means common practice in Theseus cycles. Still, the order of Sinis, Skiron, Kerkyon, and Prokrustes is the same as that used by Bacchylides 18.16–30, with the omission of the sow of Kremmyon. The sequence followed here also follows the topographical progression of episodes enunciated by Brommer, strengthening the synchronization between the story, the narration, and the viewing experience.[50] Metope no. 8 with the Amazon would nicely fit in the last position to provide a transition to the east facade, preceded by the Minotaur (7), bull (6), and son of Pallas (29). The advantage of this arrangement is that metopes would be laid out in roughly chronological fashion, moving synchronously from left to right as the viewer looks at the scenes and turns to ascend farther on the Sacred Way (Fig. 65).

The metopal format already provides a connective architectural framework to link the different scenes, but the sculptors of the Athenian Treasury use the composition of the scenes to develop the flow of the narrative further. Most of the metopal compositions are strongly diagonal and place Theseus on the left side, standing or leaning over his foe and moving in a rightward direction, the same direction that the viewer walks past the Treasury. Thus, there is an insistent rightward flow in the cycle that synchronizes the time of the story, the narration, and the viewer. This movement, however, is not uniform. Two metopes, nos. 2 and 5, place Theseus on the right side of the metope facing leftward. In metope no. 5, this serves as a punctuation mark for the flow of the cycle, arresting the rightward progression both by change in compositional format as well as the displacement of Theseus. The picture is more iconic than narrative in nature and serves more of a paradigmatic role in the cycle, reminding the viewer of Theseus's divine patronage as a hero and secondarily equating him with Herakles, who is often seen standing with Athena.

The other leftward metope, no. 2, presents more of a problem. In the second position (S2) on the frieze, it counters the movement of the opening metope (S1), essentially halting the rightward flow that dominates the remainder of the frieze. It is possible, if the chronology preserved in Bacchylides is ignored, that another position might make more sense for this metope. At the end of the frieze (S1), it would lead the eye toward the west end of the Treasury toward

64. Metope from the south side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, after 490. Delphi Museum. Theseus and Amazon (no. 8). (Photo courtesy of the École Française d'Archéologie, © EFA)

Herakles' encounter with Geryon, establishing a visual link between the two heroes of the building. Skiron would then be back to back with Geryon (no. 27) around the corner of the building, whereas Herakles (no. 26) and Theseus would both face toward the corner and each other. Alternatively in position S4, next to the Athena metope, metope 2 would bring a conclusion to the youthful deeds, more emphatically dividing them from the mature deeds on the right side of the south wall.[51] Whatever the actual arrangements of the youthful scenes, all of the mature scenes have rightward compositions so that the conclusion is more clearly coordinated of space, time, composition, and viewing

context within the cycle, but the patterns found within the metopal series indicate that the designers were probably aware of these factors.

Continuous Narrative

Theseus becomes a common subject for narrative extension during the late sixth century and is featured on a series of red-figure cups of the late Archaic and early Classical periods.[52] These begin to appear at around the same time as the expulsion of Hippias, son of Peisistratos, from Athens in 510, and may well be part of a new or renewed interest in Theseus as an Athenian national hero associated with the development of a new government. Whether or not these pictorial accounts of his deeds were inspired by a new epic commissioned by the Alkmaionidai on their return to Athens is conjectural, but seems unlikely since there is little concrete testimony of such an epic.[53] Further, the variety with which the scenes are ordered suggests that a canonical chronology did not exist. On an early cup in London by the Painter of Louvre G36, for example, are placed on one side the episodes with Prokrustes, Kerkyon, and the Minotaur, and on the other side are the sow and the Marathon bull.[54] As Shapiro notes, this makes thematic sense by placing scenes with animals on one side, but mixes scenes belonging to the periods before and after his arrival in Athens. Paradigmatic links, rather than syntagmatic connections, would appear here to govern the ordering of the scenes on each side of the cup, whereas syntagmatic criteria govern the overall selection.

The viewing context, particularly the architecture and function of a kylix,

65. Athenian Treasury at Delphi, after 490. South side, originally with deeds of Theseus in the metopes. (Photo courtesy of Cynthia Bland)

presents some compositional challenges to the painter.[55] The interior of the cup naturally assumes a circular shape like the rim of the bowl. The shape, however, is not always well suited to narrative compositions if the entire circular area is to be filled. A groundline is often added across the bottom, but this is a narrow ledge for the feet, if the limbs are to expand outward to fill the edges of the tondo. On the exterior, the surface has a pronounced convex curve below the rim, and a second concave curve nearer the foot. In addition, the picture field narrows at the bottom, creating a curved and trapezoidal shape. The division of the cup into two halves by the handle is not a complete impediment to the continuation of a narrative from one side to the other, but it does create a natural marker for a change in scene or in story entirely. Thus, there are some natural divisions in the architecture of the object, but the extended friezes of the exterior lend themselves to a continuous series of scenes rather than the segregated compositions of a Doric temple.

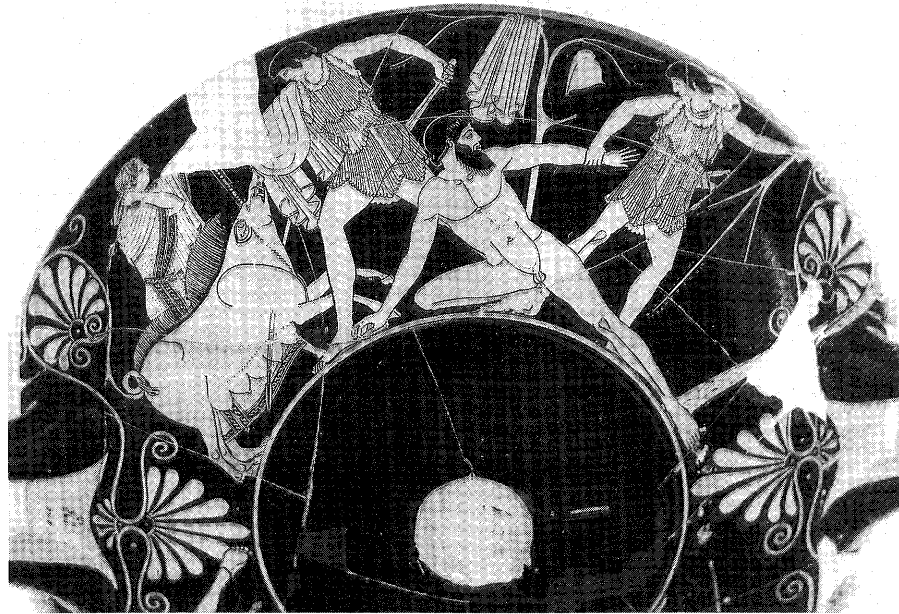
To these concerns should also be added those of the cup's function. The kylix is a drinking cup, and unlike a larger vessel such as a krater or pitcher, it is held by the viewer and thus experienced at a much closer range than the others. In this context, only half or slightly less of the cup may be seen by the viewer at one time, but its other side is also visible to the other guests of the symposion but at a greater distance. Thus, the exterior scenes are simultaneously visible to user and guest, but the viewing angle will change as the cup is lifted and tilted, so that at times a profile view obscures the feet and lower portions of the picture, and tilting may hide the upper portions of the picture near the lip. It is when drinking that the far side of the cup becomes most visible to the guest, and the near picture is completely obscured to the drinker. However, drinking brings the interior tondo to view. At first obscured because it is covered with wine, as the drinker tips the cup, the top portions of the picture are revealed, until gradually the entire picture is visible when all the wine is gone. The cup may also be held by the stem, leaving the drinker free to rotate the cup and to see both sides around a handle. The cup can also be hung on a wall by one of its handles when not in use, bringing both sides of the cup into view at once as a continuous field.

The net effect of the viewing context is to emphasize the segregation of the narrative images in the visual field. Although such segregation also exists for the metopes of the Athenian Treasury, the monumental context and field of view clearly bring the metopes together as a group. Given these factors, it is not surprising that multiple narrative images on cups would follow a continuous type of extension since this would help to emphasize the interconnectedness of the scenes and overcome the limitations of the context. We can see this in more detail by looking at a Theseus kylix signed by Douris (Figs. 66 to 68).[56] On the exterior of side A are the episodes of the sow and Sinis; on side B is Skiron and Kerkyon; on the interior (I) are Theseus and the Minotaur. Although the sow precedes Skiron viewing from left to right, the scenes are arranged synchronously with the architecture of the cup in the order of A-B-I. If the cup were held so that the picture of the interior is properly oriented toward the holder, then side A would face the holder when the cup is held upright and away from the face and side B would face the other guests. Thus, the earliest scenes would face the drinker at the beginning of the symposion, and the last chronologically would appear when the cup is drained.

The two exterior sides share some basic compositional features. Both have two scenes that intertwine with one another and repeat Theseus. The hero has a short chiton (once hanging on a tree) and a youthful, unbearded face, in contrast to his bearded and nude opponents. Theseus in all of the scenes either wields a sword or has it by him. Along with his costume, the sword not only serves to distinguish Theseus among the multiple figures of each frieze and the tondo as well, but also serves as an attribute, an analeptic index to his father, Aigeus, who had buried the sword under a rock. At the left on both sides is a female figure, a woman behind the sow on side A and Athena on B. On each side of the cup, Theseus appears on the same side of his opponent, but on A he is to the right whereas on B he is to the left, as he also is in the tondo. Both sides of the cup also feature trees, which serve like stage props to assist the action but also help to locate the scene as taking place out of doors. They are absent, of course, from the slaying of the Minotaur in the labyrinth, and the coincidence of the tondo-interior scene and the exterior-outdoors scene is interesting. The darkening of the tondo picture by the wine in the cup fits well the idea of a dark and enclosed labyrinth, as does the revealing of the scene with the slaying of a monster. The consistency is certainly suggestive, but one might attribute this coordination of cup shape and informants with a humorous or playful intent that still has a narrative effectiveness about it.

On the left side of A (Fig. 66), we see the sow pierced by a spear with a woman behind it. She gestures in supplication toward Theseus, who moves leftward and has drawn his arm back in order to plunge his sword into the beast. The woman has been identified as nurse or mother of the sow, but may also be a personification of the meadow where it lived.[57] The upright figure of the woman creates a vertical termination to this side of the cup, and her outstretched arm and the sow's head move the eye leftward. Theseus, however, is set in a strongly diagonal position that interrupts the leftward movement of the composition, serving to contain this first scene. His sharply angled back leg, however, stretches behind the fallen figure of Sinis in the adjacent scene, who raises himself on his right arm while clutching a stone in his right hand. Sinis pulls leftward away from Theseus, who pulls his arm rightward and upward. Theseus moves rightward, but turns his head back to look at Sinis. His position is more vertical than Sinis, and like the nurse, acts as a stop for the composition. In both scenes, then, figures are set moving in opposite directions and balance against each other. The strongest movements are located toward the center, and the end elements help to contain the composition.

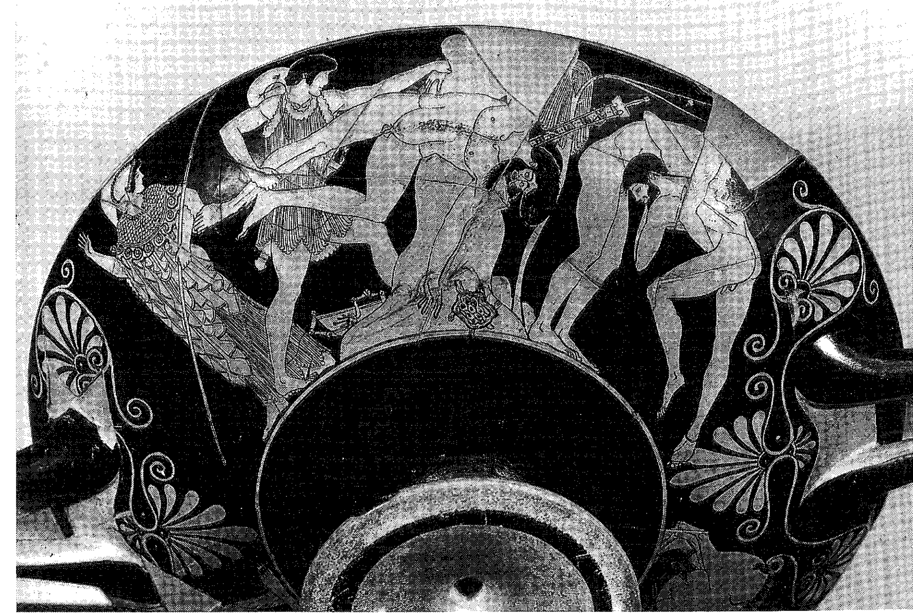
On side B (Fig. 67), we see Athena at the left, upright and moving slowly in a leftward direction. She turns her head back toward Theseus, and the long line of her spear creates a diagonal leading back toward the middle of the cup. Since the scenes on this side of the cup are later, she may represent an end to the



66. Red-figure kylix signed by Douris, ca. 490–480. A: Theseus and sow; Theseus and Sinis. London, British Museum, E 48. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

youthful cycle and Theseus's arrival in Athens, as did metope no. 5 of the Athenian Treasury (cf. Fig. 64).[58] The center of the cup is filled by a large rock formation, to which Skiron clings with his right arm. Theseus, moving in rightward from the left, has turned Skiron horizontally as the latter clings precariously with his right arm to the rock. Theseus attempts to loosen his grip, while at the same time rotating the figure as if he were on a spit. Behind the rock is the basin with which Skiron waylaid his victims. At Skiron's head is another tree that divides this scene from the next one to the right. Here Theseus wrestles with Kerkyon. The latter has his right arm around Theseus in an awkward effort at foreshortening and has both of his feet off of the ground line. Theseus has wrapped both arms around Kerkyon's torso, and seems ready to flip the villain over. The motif of a body suspended in space is similar to the depiction of Skiron, but the pair of Theseus and Kerkyon are more self-contained in a closed and symmetrical arrangement. Whereas the movement of the Skiron scene is rightward, the Kerkyon scene is more static and provides a termination for the right side of the frieze.

The repetition of Theseus in four exterior scenes that run together without a break clearly makes this cup an example of continuous narrative. On the Athenian Treasury, this took the form of distinct compositions separated by triglyphs, but a vase painter like Douris faces a different problem in organizing his narrative. Given the trapezoidal shape of the compartment, it is almost impossible both to fill the available surface of the cup, fulfilling the decorative purpose of the painting, and show scenes of vigorous action without causing



67. Red-figure kylix signed by Douris, ca. 490–480. B: Theseus and Skiron; Theseus and Kerkyon. London, British Museum, E 48. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

the compositions to overlap.[59] Further, there is not the architectural context to help orient the viewer and provide a direction for viewing, as toward the front of a building. Although the two scenes on each side of the cup read quite effectively together, a vase painter like Douris might also consider how both sides of the cup connect, whether in the situation of turning the cup while holding the stem or when the cup is hung on a peg in the wall. In order to help the viewer connect all of the scenes, the artist must rely on cues within the individual scenes. The repetition of informants like the trees and the repetition of the hero are both essential, and in this guise, the figure of Theseus moves from being the nucleus of the narrative to an index connecting different scenes together. In finding Theseus again, the viewer begins to put the pieces of the cycle together.

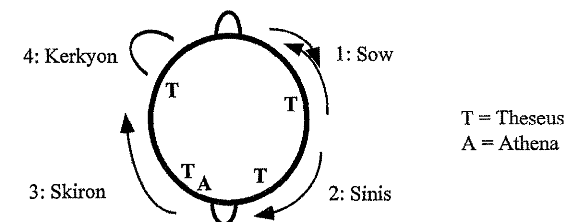
The movement of Theseus in this case, as well as the overall configuration and containment of the composition become important guides for the viewer. In seeing the Sow scene (Fig. 69, no. 1) on the cup, for example, Theseus moves strongly leftward and is met by an equally strong movement to the right. The same can be said for the Kerkyon scene (no. 4), although the configuration here is more like an inverted curve. Thus, two of the exterior scenes have closed and symmetrical compositions that do not lead significantly in either direction. The scenes with Sinis (no. 2) and Skiron (no. 3), however, have different configurations. Both move generally to the right, less decisively in Sinis and more so in Skiron. Significantly for side A, the right-end figure of Theseus in no. 2 does not move in toward the center of the cup, but away toward the

68. Red-figure kylix signed by Douris, ca. 490–480. I: Theseus and the Minotaur. London, British Museum, E 48. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum, © The British Museum)

handle, creating an open end to the frieze on that side. The slow rightward movement of Theseus here is matched by Athena in no. 3, whose body faces to the left and leaves the left end of the frieze on side B open. The diagonal of her spear and her gaze, however, continue the rightward direction of Theseus in 2, and picks up in a much more rapid push with the main action of scene 3. As can be seen in Fig. 69, Douris develops a consistent clockwise or left-to-right sequence for the four scenes, and helps to cue the viewer as to the direction for turning the cup in hand or reading the scenes while on the wall by the contrast between directional and symmetrical compositions. Viewing the scenes in this manner then creates a synchronous ordering of time among the story, picture, and discourse.

This type of ordering of scenes, moving from left to right in side A to continue onto side B is found frequently in red-figure kylixes, as R. Stupperich has argued.[60] This general orientation is complemented frequently by the placement of the signature or the choice of filling ornament under the handle to the left of side A (and right of side B). The signature can, then, sometimes serve as

a starting and end point for viewing the cup.



69. Direction of composition on Theseus kylix by Douris (Author).

Viewing context and vase geometry, therefore, create a number of possible combinations for reading the scenes of a cycle. A sequence of A-B is probably the most common formulation, but when the tondo is connected thematically with the exterior scenes, other possibilities emerge: A-B-I or A-I. The key features that help to connect the scenes are the repeated character(s) and the movement, configuration, and containment of the individual scenes. Consistency in the treatment of the main figure(s) is necessary to allow the viewer to connect the scenes and to a degree discern their order, but variations can allow for alternative viewing sequences to exist simultaneously. Since the viewing context in a cup provides for less control over the presentation of the scenes than with a building, the provision for alternative narrative sequences is more important.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Multiple-image works have a potential for greater narrative complexity and density than single pictures, but the process of narration still takes place in much the same fashion as with single pictures. Although viewers may be able to see more than one scene or picture at the same time, they can only focus their attention on one image at a time. One cannot, for example, see all of the Naples Iliupersis scenes simultaneously; the viewing distance for the small panels on the Mykonos pithos is much shorter than the Trojan horse on the neck. Thus, the dimensions of the discourse between viewer and work are essentially the same as with a single composition.

There are, however, some aspects of the discourse that become increasingly important within multi-image works because they affect the way the viewer connects the different images together. For example, the viewing context is important because it controls how the images are juxtaposed, whether they are in immediate proximity, and whether there is much in the way of a visual barrier between them. Thus, a metopal series would connect in the viewer's mind in a different and more staccato rhythm than a frieze. Pictorial composition is also significant. In terms of configuration, a unidirectional composition will better lead the viewer to another picture on the same level than a symmetrical one, but a series of symmetrical compositions stacked vertically might connect better than directional panels, as could be seen on the shield bands. A contained or closed composition will lead elsewhere less readily than an open composition, and lines of movement cannot only guide viewers within a composition, but also to others. Time operates with much the same principles as

outlined before, but the possibilities for prolepsis and analepsis are enhanced considerably with multiple images. Repetition of actions, attributes, and figures will also serve to connect differing compositions; indexes such as these are particularly important for paradigmatic narrative, allowing the viewing to use a visual typology to connect differing stories. In this regard, the reliance of Greek art on generic actions as the basis for even mythological scenes is especially significant in opening up extensions between different scenes.

The appearance of narrative extension as we have seen goes back to the Orientializing period of the seventh century, but even earlier in the Geometric period, artists combined several scenes. On the New York krater, for example (see Fig. 23), the prothesis between the handles is set above a chariot procession of warriors. Although both scenes are only minimally narrative in structure, the thematic relationship between the two scenes is clear. They can be viewed either paradigmatically as actions appropriate for the burial of a hero or worthy citizen, or seen syntagmatically as different stages of the funerary ritual. Although the actions may not be truly narrative because their micro-structure may not meet the requirement of being open-ended, the process of extension is the same as we have seen for later art. An even earlier example that would qualify as extensional narrative is the Eleusis skyphos (see Figs. 15 and 19). On the one side, we see a ship arriving or departing and on the other side a battle.[61] The use of archers and asterisks helps to link the two scenes visually together and one can clearly create a syntagmatic sequence between the two. Which comes first is uncertain, as is whether any of the characters are repeated given the generic nature of the style and subject, but a sequence of invasion by ship–battle or battle–retreat by ship is a logical construction. Given the generic nature of the individual scenes, it is likely that both syntagmatic and paradigmatic extensions are important for viewing the two scenes on the skyphos.

The point is that the presence of narrative extension is not a sign of greater viewing or artistic sophistication, or that one period is more advanced than another. As a process of narration, extension works at the earliest periods of narrative imagery in Greek art and in ekphrasis such as the Shield of Achilles. It may well be that certain types of extension may be favored at some times over others, but an important question to consider as part of a more historical study of narration is what role elements such as the viewing context play in the choice of an artist to utilize narrative extension.[62] For example, if the surface to be covered with images is a square panel, it creates quite different problems for constructing the narrative than an extended frieze. A panel picture, too, will impose a choice of single image, whereas a series of metopes demands multiple images, but not necessarily narrative extension. The scale of a building will also determine whether the number of metopes is small enough to stretch out one story over all the panels, as in the Athenian Treasury's Amazonomachy, or large enough to require multiple stories as in its Theseus cycle. A building dedicated to a specific figure will possibly narrow the options for an artist. If Herakles is an appropriate subject, the potential for narrative extension is much greater than in a building dedicated to Bellerophon or Perseus. Even Theseus, apparently, was not a good candidate for an extended narrative before his rise as a paradigmatic Athenian hero in the late sixth century. These factors must be accounted for before we can determine whether a conceptual or philosophical shift in the use of multiple images takes place during the course of Greek narrative art.

Chapter 5

THE NARRATIVE OBJECT

In earlier chapters, we have examined the various levels that constitute pictorial narrative. In each case, we have been concerned with defining the parameters that lend structure and definition to the narrative image and how these interact, within and across levels, to create the narrative experience. This brings us to the point of asking whether narration is a simple depiction of action or whether it reveals something more to the Greek viewer. In other words, what is the viewer to take away from the experience?

There are a number of different, possible answers to that question since it really brings us out of the immediate narrative experience into the broader cultural environment that enframes it. A representation of Troy's fall may have one meaning in the seventh century, but the same work will be understood differently by a fifth-century viewer. In some cases, this may be due to developments in visual language and style or to the emergence of new kinds of objects or media. It may also change its meaning because of historical circumstances and changes in the values and structures of the culture. In such a case, a fifth-century representation of the Iliupersis that shares most of the same structural elements as an earlier image may convey the same meaning to the fifth-century viewer as its predecessor, but this meaning may be at variance with a seventh-century response. In other words, dealing with the last level of the narrative framework requires a consideration of historical and cultural context.

It is beyond the scope of this book to attempt to explore all of these possibilities; rather, it is hoped that the narrative framework will contribute to the analysis of the meaning of ancient narrative. One might apply a feminist critique to narrative imagery, comparing, for example, representations of Achilles and Penthesileia to see the underlying implications for that story on gender relations. A comparison of the representations of Exekias and the Penthesileia Painter would show some important changes at all levels of the narrative that indicate that a very different story is being told in the later work, and one that is distinctly less sympathetic to women. One could also look at narrative as an expression of civic values, such as the program of the Parthenon or the Stoa Poikile.[1] By comparing the narrative structure of large-scale public works to smaller, domestically oriented works, one may be able to define how the stories are both maintained and adapted structurally for the different audience and context.

There are many other possibilities. For this book, I would like to focus on Aristotle's discussion of the third level of tragedy, its objects, from which I have given the name to this level of narration. The value of Aristotle is that he provides an articulation of what some of the broader dimensions of narrative effect might be for the ancient Greeks. Clearly, a concept like catharsis would be important in such a discussion, but Aristotle's use of the term also points out the limitations in using him as a source. The meaning of that particular term is very much the matter of dispute, making its application to the area of pictorial narrative at best conjectural. For the three objects of tragedy that Aristotle defines as plot, character, and thought, we are on somewhat firmer ground. However, given the structural nature of his discussion of tragedy, there must have been particular objects that were appropriate to other forms of narrative such as comedy, epic, and lyric, not to mention the other mimetic arts such as painting, sculpture, music, and dance. To focus on the objects of tragedy, then, can only provide a partial glimpse of the ancient response to pictorial narrative. It is with these limitations in mind that I propose using Aristotle as a preliminary guide for beginning the process of defining the objects of narrative.

In the *Poetics,* Aristotle defines three elements as constituting the "objects" of tragedy: *mythos* (the action or plot-structure), *ethos* (character), and *dianoia* (thought).[2] He goes on to say that "the most important of these elements is the structure of events [*mythos*], because tragedy is a representation not of people as such but of actions and life, and both happiness and unhappiness rest on action [*praxis*]."[3] To Aristotle, it is possible one can have a tragedy with action but without character, but not character without action. The primacy of action emerges elsewhere in his works, as S. Halliwell has noted, so that without action "what remains except contemplation?"[4] This is not to say that one should produce a tragedy without character, but for Aristotle, character is revealed through the actions and choices of the figures. *Ethos* or character is important in that it represents the ethical qualities of action.

For our purposes, the distinction between action and character serves to distinguish two purposes of pictorial narration. The first is to depict a story in such a way as to reveal the relationship between the individual actions or episodes and how these constitute an essential unity. This last element is essential for Aristotle, in that "just as a particular thing may have many random properties, some of which do not combine to make a single entity, so a particular character may perform many actions which do not yield a single 'action.' "[5] Unity, as Halliwell defines it succinctly, "arises out of the causal and consequential relations between the actions or events of a tragedy, and it is the connective sequence of these events which constitutes the intelligible structure that Aristotle terms both the action and the plot-structure." *Ethos* or character is, according to Aristotle, "the element which reveals the nature of a moral choice, in cases where it is not anyway clear what a person is choosing or avoiding."[6] (In order to maintain the ethical dimension of character as Aristotle defines it, I shall use the word *ethos* rather than character with its somewhat different modern associations.) *Ethos* is revealed through action, in particular,

through the choice of action that a figure makes. In some sense, it is more about deciding to do rather than doing. As we shall see, this distinction also serves to differentiate much of Archaic pictorial narrative from Classical, but both objects can be found in each period.

The third object, *dianoia*, involves the reasoning and thought behind a moral choice.[7] As such, it lends itself well to the characterization of a figure, but since it involves speeches explaining a figure's actions it is less suited to the discussion of pictorial narrative. It is possible to see its relevance in the case where the image of a figure recalls in the viewer's mind a speech from a literary narrative, but since pictures can only be mute poetry, it is an object that is least suited to the process and medium of pictorial narration. Indeed, this element is almost more portraitlike and nonnarrative in its mode, in that it depends very little on the representation of action for its effect. Aristotle, himself, says that "if a poet strings together speeches to illustrate character [*ethos*], even allowing he composes them well in style and thought, he will not achieve the stated aim of tragedy. Much more effective will be a play with a plot and structure of events, even if it is deficient in style and thought."[8] More suited to our discussion of the objects of narrative than *dianoia* is Aristotle's distinction of plot types (*mythos*) as simple or complex. The latter involve three components that will be discussed in the second section of this chapter: recognition, reversal, and suffering.

5.1 *MYTHOS*: PLOT AND ACTION

Aristotle accords primacy to action over *ethos*, stating that "tragedy is a representation not of people as such but of actions and life." Since agents must carry out actions, we learn about their *ethos* through their deeds. Tragedy, however, is not unique in placing primary importance on action as the object of narration. The distinction between action and *ethos* holds true in the other arts as Aristotle states in *Poetics* 2:[9]

> mimetic artists portray people in action, and since these people must be either good or bad (for men's characters practically always conform to these categories alone), they can portray people better than ourselves, worse than ourselves, or on the same level. The same is true in painting: Polygnotos portrayed men who are superior, Pauson worse, and Dionysius on the same level. And it is evident that each of the stated types of mimesis will exhibit these differences, and will thus be distinguishable according to the variations in the objects which it represents. For such differences are possible in dancing, and in music for the pipe and lyre, as well as in the arts which use language alone or language in metre: for instance Homer represented superior men, Cleophon men like us, Hegemon of Thasos (the first writer of parodies) and Nicochares (author of the *Deiliad*) inferior men.

The point is that the mimetic arts generally deal with the actions of human agents. Each type or form within a mimetic art, comedy and tragedy, for

example, makes different choices as to the moral quality of those agents.[10] So, too, the mode of narration may change. For example, what distinguishes tragedy from other forms of poetic narrative is its mode of presentation, *mimesis* (dramatic enactment), as opposed to *diegesis*, meaning an indirect or third-person narrative. Ultimately, painting, poetry, dance, and music must all represent action according to the limitations and strength of their media, but all place emphasis on action.

Aristotle uses several terms to distinguish action. *Praxis* on one level deals with the individual actions of the agents, while *pragmata* refers more broadly to events. *Praxis* on another level can also be, according to Halliwell, the "organized totality of a play's structure of events," and the term *mythos* is "the mimesis or enactment of the (or a) praxis."[11] Put another way, *mythos* is what the poet makes or shapes and *praxis* is the object or content of the *mythos*. Ultimately, however, Halliwell notes that this distinction between *praxis* and *mythos* is "of little or no practical weight." What is important for the mimetic arts generally is that the individual actions that the artist represents produce a unified action or plot. As Halliwell notes, this "unity arises out of the causal and consequential relations between the actions or events of a tragedy, and it is the connective sequence of these events which constitute the intelligible structure that Aristotle terms both the action and the plot-structure."[12]

It is this unity in the representation of action that is of particular concern for our discussion of pictorial narrative. For Aristotle, plot-action, or *mythos*, is an arrangement of incidents, which must be of a unified or single piece of a story and the whole of it, that is, its causes and conclusion and everything in between them.[13] Aristotle provides a test for the unity of a plot by saying that if one were to remove an incident from a unified plot that it would destroy the relationship between the actions and their events, that is, cause and effect (*Poet.* 8.4). It is not enough to show simply an incident, like the murder of Agamemnon, without the logical or causal relationship between that single incident and other incidents, such as debate between him and Klytaimestra in the carpet scene. To remove this scene would remove the opportunity for the audience to understand Agamemnon's role in the action, to see his death as the result not just of the actions of his wife and cousin, but of his own hubris as well. Therefore, the action is necessary to demonstrate that Agamemnon's own decisions led in part to his death. It is not, however, necessary for the poet to show all the incidents of an action. As Aristotle states, "it makes a great difference whether things happen because of one another, or only after one another."[14] To string together a series of actions is not to produce a unified plot; to do so, there must be a logical necessity and probability to them.

Not only should the action be appropriate and likely, according to Aristotle's definition of tragedy in *Poet.* 6, it should also be "serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude."[15] The latter two terms describe broadly the formal qualities or overall composition of the tragedy. By complete (*teleias*), Aristotle does not mean that every part of an action is represented on the stage (cf. *Poet.* 23), but that it is sufficient to represent fully the action. His meaning is amplified in his

explanation of a related term that he introduces in the following chapter of the *Poetics*, "whole" (*holas*), saying that a plot should have a beginning, middle, and end. Lastly, by magnitude (*megathos*), Aristotle states that the work should not be too small or too grand, but that it should be large enough to treat its theme while still being of a sufficient scale "which allows it to be perceived all together (*eusynoptos*) . . . [and] be easily held in the memory."[16] In other words, a tragic representation should be sufficiently monumental in scale to deal with its subject, and it should encompass the essential elements of the action so that its development and outcome are clear.

To summarize, the unity of the plot/action is essential to the effectiveness of a narrative. This narrative should be complete in that it can fully encompass the stages of the action or sequence of events and should be sufficient in scale to be perceived as a whole and to be held in the memory. Since most pictorial narrative is limited to a single image, an artist is severely limited in his or her ability to show a sequence of actions and the attendant causes and consequences. Using synoptic narrative or a judicious employment of indexes within the single image will help the viewer within the narrative's macro-structure to recall other actions of the story, but since the main narrative burden is carried by the nucleus, cause and effect are hard to show explicitly. So, too, the idea of wholeness encompassing a beginning, middle, and end cannot be applied directly to the single image; these can only truly result with the use of syntagmatic extension through a series of images (see Figs. 3 and 4 or 66 and 67). The concepts of completeness and magnitude, however, offer a way for us to understand the representation of unified action in the visual arts that is analogous to what Aristotle articulates as its qualities in the dramatic arts. Completeness does not imply that all actions of a story are represented, but enough to show sufficiently the story. Aristotle notes approvingly, for example, that Homer in composing the *Odyssey* "did not include everything that happened to the hero. . . . Instead, he constructed the *Odyssey* around a single action of the kind I mean, and likewise with the *Iliad*."[17] For the visual arts, what we might seek as a definition is the representation of an action that epitomizes the whole of a story and can readily invoke in the mind of the viewer the other events connected to it. By magnitude, Aristotle's definition of a structure "which allows it [the action] to be perceived all together (*eusynoptos*) . . . [and] be easily held in the memory" works quite well for the visual arts. As we have seen in the earlier discussion of visual language, artists and viewers share a common vocabulary that immediately evokes a story through a single image, whatever variations may be present. To see Athena spring fully armored from the head of Zeus indeed captures a memorable moment that is easily held in the memory (see Fig. 41). If such a moment can also encapsulate the entire plot for the viewer, it can be left to the viewer to remember the events leading up to or from the represented action.

To illustrate this concept of unity, a narrative image that can epitomize the whole of a story as well as its causes and effects through its completeness and magnitude, we can examine the representation of the death of Ajax.[18] Suicide

is rare in Greek myth and art, so that when a viewer sees a warrior fallen on a sword the identification of the scene as the suicide of Ajax is not problematic. We have already seen one such representation on the shield band from Olympia (see Figs. 55 and 56). There Ajax is lying face down with the sword protruding up through his back. This is the typical formulation of the action in Orientalizing and Archaic art, as can be seen in the earlier Middle Protocorinthian aryballos by the Ajax Painter (Fig. 70, "Ajax aryballos").[19] Beneath the handle, we see Ajax again face down with the sword sticking up through the back. To the left and missing much of its paint is a second figure, whom we shall call "B," who looks at the dead warrior while exclaiming with outstretched hands and running in the opposite direction. There are a few differences between this representation and that on the shield band. The pommel is shown fully on the aryballos and is not partly buried below the ground line as on the shield band. Another difference is that his right arm is pushed back as if he were trying to catch himself in his fall. Although the reaction of the discoverer on the aryballos is quite different and more energetic than on the shield band, it serves essentially the same purpose of discovery and reaction.

70. Middle Protocorinthian aryballos by the Ajax Painter, ca. 675. Suicide of Ajax. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung 3319. (Photo courtesy of the Bildarchiv, © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1997)

How, then, does this single representation fulfill the criteria for a unified action, particularly given the circumstance that the action of the protagonist, Ajax, is only shown as a fait accompli? The suicide itself is near the end of the story and follows on a long sequence of actions: the recovery of the body of Achilles, the dispute between Odysseus and Ajax over the possession of Achilles' armor, the decision by the Greeks to give it to Odysseus, the wrath of Ajax and his plot to kill the Greek leaders, Ajax's demented slaughter of the herd of sheep rather than the leaders, the hero's realization of his treachery and madness, his suicide, and the discovery of the body by the Greeks. Even though artists actually represent the ultimate event in this sequence, the depiction of the corpse in a way that reveals the nature of death welds the discovery to the suicide. Given the uniqueness of Ajax's suicide in Greek storytelling and the rarity of suicide in Greek myth, the presence of the corpse is sufficient indica-

tion that it is the main point of overall narrative interest and would promise a jolt for the viewer. This, indeed, constitutes the importance of the event and encapsulates the whole sequence of actions, for the suicide is a shocking action concluding a series of misadventures and delusions that are untypical of a great hero. The reactions of the discoverers emphasize this bizarre situation and in a real way represent the most salient points of the story. The image, then, is sufficiently complete to narrate not only the death of Ajax but its unique qualities and causes. Focusing on the fallen warrior with a sword through him is also memorable and sufficient to encapsulate the entire story easily in the mind of the viewer.

To compress this action, or *mythos*, into a single picture clearly shifts much of the burden of remembering the story onto the viewer, so that the task of the artist in constructing the narrative is to compose a scene that encompasses all of the action and that suggests the pattern of cause and effect. What the artist has done in this case is to choose a moment near the end of the action that emphasizes the effect or conclusion.[20] By choosing this moment, the artist emphasizes the result of the story and leaves to the viewer the reconstruction of the preceding actions that led to it. The advantage of this is that it also emphasizes one of the visually unique elements of the story, the body on top of the sword. By this choice, the nucleus can efficiently double as index, allowing the viewer to identify the scene and story immediately and providing a context for the discourse of the macro-structure.

Picking a narrative moment near the end of a story is typical of Greek art and its representation of vigorous action. For example, in the Centauromachy on the Bassae frieze (see Fig. 47), the relief shows the fight near the end of the story, and not the details of the wedding and banquet that created the conditions for the centaurs' riotous and inappropriate behavior. In the representations of Theseus and the Minotaur (see Figs. 54, 56, and 68) we see the two figures locked in struggle. In Herakles and the Nemean lion (Figs. 54 and 56) and with Nessos (Figs. 39, 40, and 54), we see the struggle again reaching its conclusion, with little emphasis on the actions that led to the climactic fight.

It is not too risky of a generalization to state that most pictorial narrative is primarily and even exclusively concerned with action. As we will see in Section 5.3, what distinguishes *ethos* as an object of narrative is that it represents the moral choices of an individual. Indeed, Ajax and the other figures discussed here can be said to have made such choices, but by focusing on the climax or near climax of a story as representative of its whole, the artist necessarily stresses the results of the action and not the elements of decision making that led to them. When an artist chooses to depict a different, earlier moment of the story, it is possible to give attention to these turning points that reveal *ethos*, but this is not the case here. We might risk a generalization, that will be qualified later, that pre-Classical art was primarily interested in action and not *ethos*. To show Herakles and the Nemean lion was to emphasize the exploits of the hero and to signify the qualities that made him a hero: strength, beauty, courage, and so on. As Halliwell has noted, however, many of these heroic qualities for Aristotle were not symptomatic of virtue and *ethos*, but were external goods given by good fortune.[21] Indeed, the best tragedy represented figures who were not too much better than ourselves so that we could sympathize with their story.

To emphasize actions is to create more of a chronicle than an explanation. It is to simplify narrative by limiting its objects. This is not to say that such pictorial narrative is limited in its meaning. The metaphorical value of the actions, their relationship to the actions of everyday life or to principles and beliefs, constitute a real meaning for the viewer. Indeed, the use of generic formulas in both mythological and everyday subjects emphasizes the importance of heroic actions for the life of the viewer, as we saw in the discussion of the Minneapolis amphora in Section 2.3 in Chapter Two (see Figs. 21 and 22). Still, it is the actions themselves that are most important. This type of "action" narrative continues without break into later periods of Greek art and *mythos* may be said to be the dominant object of Greek narrative art generally. Indeed, one might describe it, to paraphrase Aristotle, as illustrating the principle that narrative can have action without *ethos*, but not *ethos* without action.[22]

5.2 SIMPLE AND COMPLEX ACTION

Before turning our attention to the second object of narrative, *ethos*, it is opportune to discuss two categories of action or plot that Aristotle defines, simple and complex:[23]

> By a "simple action" I mean one which is, as earlier defined, continuous and unitary, but whose transformation occurs without reversal or recognition. A "complex" action is one whose transformation involves recognition or reversal, or both.

Aristotle defines reversal (*peripeteia*) as "a complete swing in the direction of the action," a change of a narrative situation into its opposite.[24] Just as Oedipus thinks that he has escaped the prophecy that he would kill his father when he hears of his father's death in Corinth, he learns next that Polybus was not his real father and that he had indeed unknowingly killed his biological father Laius. This particular episode also employs simultaneously the device of recognition (*anagnorisis*), that is, "a change from ignorance to knowledge, bringing the characters into either a close bond, or enmity, with one another, and concerning matters which bear on their prosperity or affliction . . . recognition can relate to inanimate or fortuitous objects, or reveal that someone has, or has not, committed a deed."[25] For Aristotle the combination of recognition and reversal is the most potent form of complex plot and is most suited to produce pity and fear in the viewer.

The examples in the last section illustrate to some degree recognition and reversal. In the suicide of Ajax (see Figs. 70 and 56) the reactions of the other figures to the death are forms of recognition or discovery. Although they may

have expected to find Ajax to make him answer for his actions against the Greeks, clearly they did not expect to find him in such a state. His action is unexpected and a shock to their social conventions, but it is also a reconciling experience for their anger begins to turn to dismay and grief over the loss of a hero. The scene is also to some degree a reversal, in that it contradicts expectation on the part of the discoverer. Particularly in Fig. 70, the discovery has produced a shock, so great is the unexpected find. Since Ajax and Achilles were the bastions of the Greek forces, their deaths now portend a change in the fortune of the Greeks. Indeed, they must now resort to guile by stealing the Palladion and building the Trojan Horse to secure a victory.

We might also label the scene of Menelaos and Helen at the side of the Iliupersis by Lydos (Fig. 71, "Berlin Iliupersis") as constituting a reversal.[26] Given the relentless slaughter of the Trojans by the Greeks and the great anger against Helen, we might expect her to be killed too. Indeed, Menelaos has drawn his sword and advances on her with apparently that thought in mind. However, Helen pulls aside her mantle to reveal her beauty, with the result that Menelaos simultaneously "rediscovers" her and his anger is transformed into desire and reconciliation. It is the contrast between this nucleus and the adjacent nucleus of this panoramic narrative that makes the element of reversal apparent. The reactions of Priam and the first woman to Neoptolemos are clearly supplicating, and this is true of most of the confrontations on the Mykonos pithos as well (see Fig. 61). The other woman reacts more as if she is in mourning, but this too is appropriate as a proleptic response to the action. This scene, then, has nothing of reversal or discovery in it. The reaction of Helen to the same threat of death, however, does not match. Her action is that of a bride to a husband and seems wholly inappropriate to a scene of great slaughter.[27] The same lack of commensurability between action and reaction also sets apart the same composition on the Mykonos pithos.

We can see the representation of Helen and Menelaos as both a discovery and a reversal that make Lydos's amphora a complex plot, in large part because we, like the ancient Greek viewer, know the basic story and the result. Were this picture a generic narrative, without specific subject, we would be much less certain as to the resolution of the action, but it would still be possible for recognition and reversal to be present because the elements of the micro-structure and macro-structure create the potential for reversal and discovery. Indeed, an important part of the narrative structure in the Berlin Iliupersis is that the individual actions, warrior threatening woman with sword and woman pulling aside her veil, are quite common in Greek art and would be instantly recognizable. What is not typical is the juxtaposition of these two actions, in that women threatened with swords usually flee or plea and bridegrooms do not pull swords on their brides. This contrast with generic narrative formulas is the foundation for reversal.

This raises the question as to whether a generic narrative such as discussed in Section 2.3 in Chapter Two can have both discovery and reversal, making it

71. Attick black-figure amphora by Lydos, mid-sixth century. Iliupersis. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung, F1685. (Drawing by E. Gerhard after Charbonneaux [1971], pl. 73)

a complex narrative.[28] On one level, it is impossible for a generic narrative to have such reversal because it requires the basic formula of the action to be violated in order to make such a reversal apparent. On a broader level, however, it is not necessary that a complex pictorial narrative be definitely mythological in subject. For example, the battle on the Huntsmen aryballos (see Fig. 8) is basically a generic battle scene. As we saw, however, there is an unexpected nucleus of figure A coming up behind B and stabbing him in the back. The actions of the two figures are not a normal juxtaposition, in that stabbing figures usually approach their victim head on (with the notable exception of Klytaimestra stabbing Agamemnon in Fig. 56); archers are usually protected by distance and shield-bearing warriors from such a direct assault. At least for the nucleus of A-B, this does represent a change of the narrative situation into its opposite and introduces a strong element of uncertainty into the narrative, as we saw earlier. There is little element of recognition and discovery here, but these too would be possible in a generic narrative. In the battle scene on the Chigi aryballos (see Fig. 29), one of the warriors (B8) turns his head around to see a spear aimed at him by another warrior (B9). Since none of B8's comrades are aware of this threat or have already been struck, the interaction of these figures constitutes a discovery and a change in awareness that is accompanied by the turn in fortune for that group of warriors. This indeed is one of the elements that makes this collective nucleus (B') different from B and the ensemble B/B' different from A in narrative effect. As the comparison demonstrates, though, including reversal and discovery in a scene without a specific subject

would make it untypical and give it a greater degree of narrativity by the more open-ended nature of the action (see Section 2.2 in Chapter Two). It would not, though, need to be mythological to be complex.

Although reversal and recognition make these narratives more complex than others, they still remain primarily focused on action and not on *ethos*. Judging from the literary testimony in Sections 3.1 and 3.6 in Chapter Three, it is hard to imagine that the ancient viewer of such scenes experienced the pity and fear that Aristotle names as the effect of complex plots.[29] In part, this is due to the lack of *pathos* or suffering in the figures, the third component that Aristotle adds to the complex plot: "To the definitions of reversal and recognition already given we can add that of suffering (*pathos*): a destructive or painful action, such as visible deaths, torments, woundings, and other things of the same kind."[30] Although in fact both the Ajax and Iliupersis scenes show "destructive and painful action," I would argue that their nature is not one that is designed to portray true pathos.

To illustrate this point, we might look again at a detail of the Naples Iliupersis (Fig. 72). Sitting behind the altar with Priam and the statue of Athena are two women turned toward each other. Both tear at their hair in grief-filled mourning, and one holds up her empty right hand in dismay and perhaps resignation. At first glance, they are equivalent to the women behind Priam in the Berlin Iliupersis (Fig. 71). One pulls her hair in the same gesture of mourning, while the other reaches out her hand, but in supplication like the hand of Priam. In representing the women, however, the Kleophrades Painter concentrates on *pathos*, "reactive emotion" or suffering, in a way that is quite different.[31] What distinguishes the *pathos* here is the internalized nature of the emotional response. In Lydos, the figures express their feelings through action and gesture; they generally do so in response to direct physical experience.[32] On the Naples Iliupersis, and more broadly in the Early Classical period, reactions appear on figures who are not being directly tortured or otherwise physically acted on to produce the effect. The two women are not yet molested like Kassandra and do not even see what is happening around them. Instead, one must presume that they react to the sounds carrying from the surrounding city into the sanctuaries or to scenes they had earlier witnessed. This is a much deeper and more personal type of emotional reaction, and may be granted the term *pathos*.

Combined with reversal and recognition, pathos has the potential to create the effect of pity and fear in the spectator. These are effective in helping to arouse an emotional response in the viewer, and thereby to bring about the ultimate purpose of mimetic art: pleasure and understanding.[33] As Aristotle notes, for tragedy, this is best when it is the result of the plot-structure and involves reversal and recognition, but it can also be evoked directly by visual experience, the theatrical spectacle (*opsis*).[34] In terms of pictorial narrative, pathos is created by mimicking the appearance of emotions in the characters and by the coordination of the macro-structure and its extension in multiple scenes. We can look further at the Naples Iliupersis to illustrate this.

As we have seen in earlier discussions, the Naples Iliupersis contained five

72. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480. Iliupersis: Detail of Priam and Neoptolemos, mourning women. Naples, National Museum, 2422. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

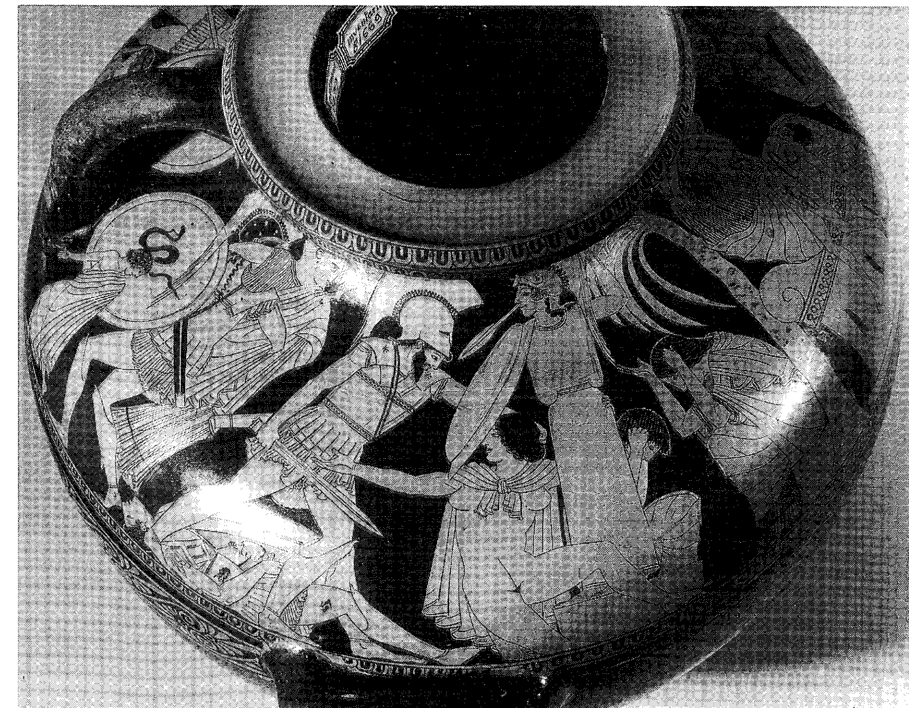
consecutive and overlapping scenes in a frieze reaching almost all the way around the shoulder of the vessel (see Fig. 58). In the central scene, we see Neoptolemos killing Priam, who holds his dead grandson on his lap (see Section 2.1 in Chapter Two for a more detailed analysis of the scene's micro-structure). What is most striking about this scene in comparison to the Berlin Iliupersis is that Priam no longer reacts directly to the threat of Neoptolemos. Like the unexpected revelation of Helen to Menelaos on the Berlin Iliupersis, Priam's reaction is not commensurate with Neoptolemos's action as a direct, physical response. We see Priam grieving for his city and family, and through his display of emotion the viewer is invited to sympathize with him. Indeed, Priam in this role fits well Aristotle's criteria for the ideal tragic figure of a person involved in "a change from prosperity to affliction (rather than the reverse) caused not by wickedness but by a great fallibility," to wit, his acquiescence in the abduction of Helen.[35] Although Priam's culpability in harboring Paris and Helen has not changed, there is here no false plea. The effect is to deny the viewer the corroboration of guilt that a pleading gesture would have. This makes Neoptolemos's action less certain in its justness, since he also pulls the king away from the sacred altar where he has sought refuge.[36] Triumph begins to appear more like sacrilege, *adikia* replaces *dike*. This reading is amplified by another change

of convention, and that is the direction of Neoptolemos. The warrior now faces leftward, rather than the rightward direction reserved for heroic action. Here the exigency of viewing context cannot be offered as an explanation for the change in direction, for the scene is centrally placed and is approached, as we shall see in what follows, from either side of the hydria.

There are some stylistic elements that make this depiction of pathos more credible. Neoptolemos's pupil has moved forward, giving the face a clearer sense of focus and direction than the earlier convention of the frontal eye. His mouth is still set with a trace of the Archaic smile, but he now firmly grabs the older man on the back of his costume and pulls him forward. The effect would be to bring the neck forward and bare it for the executioner's sword. The dead child's body hangs limply over Priam's lap, conveying an effective sense of lifelessness. The emphasis on mourning and deep grief, captured in the hidden face of the king, the droop of his head, and the resulting arc created by hands, head, and neck is repeated throughout the scene, appearing again in the palm tree next to the altar and the woman under it, not to mention the contour of the body of Astyanax. The use of a drooping palm tree may serve as a trope and pathetic fallacy, echoing the action of Priam and the women under it.[37]

The Priam-Neoptolemos scene is the center of an intricately constructed web of scenes that are carefully linked visually and semantically with each other. Immediately to the left is Ajax raping Kassandra (Fig. 73). Kassandra, nude but for a cloak tied around her neck, clutches a statue of Athena. A conscious awareness of artistic style emerges in the treatment of Athena, who is stiff and archaic in her pose and expression; even her eye has moved back to the frontal position. Placed on a base, the figure is clearly meant to be an archaic statue and designates the sacred space of Athena's shrine at Troy.[38] The figure of Athena, then, serves as an informant in addition to other roles as a catalyst and index. Her spear points toward Ajax, who charges in from the left to grab Kassandra by the back of her head, reaching inside the statue's shield to do so. His sword is held in a position of grave threat and menace, in sharp contrast to the supplicating appeal of Kassandra's right arm. This combination of signs is more expected, but his hold on her head is not. Clearly, if he pulls her away from the statue it will topple over, and bring Athena's spear toward him. The action is shown at a pivotal moment, where Ajax is to choose between the sanctity of Athena's sanctuary and his violent desire.[39] The statue serves as a threat, a catalyst that does not participate directly in the nucleus of the scene, but that makes the implications of the nucleus of Ajax and Kassandra far more portentous. The statue further serves as an index, a proleptic reference to Ajax's death for this sacrilege by drowning on the return from Troy.

The statue stands in front of the drooping palm of the Priam scene, and the palm serves visually to link Palladion and altar together as twin sanctuaries of the Trojans, both now being desecrated. This link between the two scenes is reinforced by another grieving woman placed behind the statue, who faces in the direction of the woman sitting against the palm tree. The latter's right hand points toward the statue, strengthening the web of interconnections between



73. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480. Iliupersis: Detail of Ajax and Kassandra; Aeneas fleeing with Anchises and Askanios. Naples, National Museum, 2422. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

the scenes. Although Ajax faces in the direction normally given to victors, this semantic value of direction is undercut by the visual context. First, the linkage of the sacred spaces means that he must face in the direction opposite of Neoptolemos. Since this scene is to the side, its configuration also directs the viewer toward the central scene, making a rightward direction for Ajax necessary. The placement of this scene to the side is also necessary for the parallel that it creates on the other side of the hydria, as we shall see in what follows. Finally, the arrangement of Ajax-Kassandra-Athena is also counter to the predominant formula used in red-figure painting at the time, in which the order is usually reversed.[40] Thus, built into the composition is an unexpected reversal that ironically places Ajax in the position of doomed victor. The net result is to link Ajax and Neoptolemos as pendant forces of sacrilege, attacking the altars of the Trojans. This is exactly the course of action that Klytaimestra warns against in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, with dire consequences for Agamemnon and many of the Greeks:[41]

> And if they reverence the gods who hold the city
> and all the holy temples of the captured land,
> they, the despoilers, might not be despoiled in turn.
> Let not their passion overwhelm them; let no lust
> seize on these men to violate what they must not. (*Ag*. 338–42).

At the far left end of the hydria, we see Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his back; his son Askanios walks along beside him. The whole group moves leftward, away from the center, implying escape from the fate of Troy. Both Askanios and Anchises look back, directing the viewer toward the center. The stubble on Achises' chin and head mirror those of Priam in the center, so that Anchises serves as an index, moving horizontally to another episode of the same story. The grouping of three generations is also similar to the central scene, but here the contrast between death and escape creates a sharp distinction between the houses of Anchises and Priam. The contrast between direction of gaze and direction of movement ties the end scene to the drama in the center, but moves it proleptically toward a future quite different. Here, too, an unexpected juxtaposition emerges between Ajax and Aeneas, the latter demonstrating filial piety by carrying his father (and the household gods) while the former is poised on a moment of impiety. The Trojan will escape to found a new realm, and Ajax will die before he reaches home.

On the other side of the hydria are two parallel scenes (Fig. 74). At the far right are the sons of Theseus, Akamas and Demophon, finding their grandmother Aithra, seated on a low pedestal. Here, too, three generations are implied, with the middle generation of Theseus, however, absent. Like the other end, this scene, too, is one of rescue, as her grandsons reach for her arm to pull her up. The pose of the leftmost grandson is balanced between reaching in toward her and turning away to lead her; the balance between left and right movement in this section recalls that of Aeneas escaping. In both cases, the composition simultaneously arrests outward motion at the end of the frieze but also turns back inward like waves breaking against a seawall. The figure of Aithra also mimics the poses of the women between Priam and Kassandra, and the lunging pose of the bearded figure, pulling the woman toward him, is like that of Ajax but without the drawn weapon and hostile intent. Aithra has her back turned toward the rest of the sack, and unlike the younger women nearer the center, she has hope of escape.

The scene next to the slaying of Priam shows a surprising combination of combatants. Behind Neoptolemos and facing the other direction is a crouching Greek warrior, his sword drawn but lowered while he hunkers behind his shield. The expression on his face can be described as one of dismay or even fear; his mouth is slightly downturned and his eyes apparently have rolled up in their sockets. His opponent, to the contrary, has clearly directed eyes and a smile, but is unarmed save for a huge pestle that she wields in her two hands. In pose, she closely resembles Neoptolemos, especially in the sharply upturned and bent left arm, elevated right shoulder, and lunging pose. Her pose also mimics that of the statue of Athena, at least in the position of the arms and shoulders. What is surprising is that the role of Greek warrior and Trojan woman are here reversed. The figure is usually identified as Andromache, mother of Astyanax, based on the inscription next to a similar figure on a kylix in the Louvre by the Brygos Painter, and indeed the correlation between the figures is quite strong.[42] Both Ajax and Andromache move toward the center of the composition against

74. Attic red-figure hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 490–480. Iliupersis: Detail of Andromache and Greek; rescue of Aithra. Naples, National Museum, 2422. (Photo courtesy of the Hirmer Fotoarchiv, München)

their opponents, who both crouch with the left leg bent and knee touching the ground and their right thigh and knee rising slightly. Visually, the parallels between the Kassandra-Ajax and Andromache scenes are quite striking, and were it not for the role reversal that we see, they would be virtually mirror opposites of each other.

Although the individual episodes on the Naples Iliupersis are not brand new to the viewer, the Kleophrades Painter treats them in a unique way and utilizes reversal, recognition, and pathos to create a memorable narrative. The depiction of Andromache is a prime example of reversal, both by the unexpectedness of the agents as well as by the contrast that is evoked with the less honorable and sacrilegious actions of Ajax and Neoptolemos. Both recognition and reversal are apparent in the scene with Aithra. It is surprising to the viewer to find here a Greek on the losing side.[43] Although Aithra is similarly posed and situated to the women by the altar, her recognition is accompanied by her rescue, a reversal of the Trojan women's fate. Reversal is used more broadly in contrasting Neoptolemos, armed and attacking an unarmed old man, and Andromache, unarmed and attacking an armed youthful warrior. The discovery on the part of the viewer is that the painter has focused on the sacrilege of Neoptolemos and Ajax, and not their heroism.[44] So, too, where the viewer might expect a justification for the sack by including in the work the recovery

of Helen, as on the Mykonos pithos or the Berlin Iliupersis, we see instead the recovery of Aithra. The recovery of Helen points to Trojan *hubris* and *ate*, but Aithra evokes an example of Theseus's arrogance and folly in earlier abducting Helen. All of this is made possible by the careful symmetry and use of repetition within the work, for it is particularly by comparison that the reversals are effected. In general, Greek triumph is surprisingly turned back on itself.

The Naples Iliupersis stands at the beginning of the Early Classical interest in *pathos* and *ethos*. The very dramatic change in the shape and structure of the narrative from earlier examples may be a reaction to the struggles, disasters, reversals, and victories of the Greeks during the early fifth century. Boardman and Simon propose dating the hydria after 480, and eloquently argue that its imagery is a response to the Persian sack of Athens and destruction of its religious sanctuaries.[45] Pollitt points to another event that might be linked to the Iliupersis scenes, the sack of Miletos and the enslaving of its entire population in 494.[46] Athenian feeling about this incident ran very high, and Herodotus (6.21) tells us that a play by Phrynichos about the disastrous result of the Ionian revolt brought the audience to tears and afterward led to a stiff fine of 1,000 drachmae and the proscription of the play. Boardman's and Simon's theory is attractive, and if one could be sure of the precise dating of the hydria one could surely see it as a personal and general reaction to contemporary events. Even if the hydria dates before 480, surely, the fate of Miletos, so parallel to that of Troy, could continue to be part of the associations of the work. But either situation as inspiration, Miletos or Athens, requires a reversal on the part of viewers, in that they are now expected to identify sympathetically not with the victorious Greeks on the hydria, but rather with the Trojans.[47] Oppositions such as Lapiths and Centaurs, Herakles and his adversaries, Greeks and Trojans, had long stood as metaphors for the struggle to define order (*kosmos*) amidst the disorder (*chaos*) of events. As metaphor, the value of the Greeks has here reversed, breaking with the narrative codes established during the Archaic period. As we shall see later, this change in the narrative code extends to the choice of narrative moment as well.

In a sense this is a modern reading, a personal reaction of a much later viewer, but it is one that is appropriate for an Early Classical painting. The figures of Polygnotos, for example, could evoke similar reactions in ancient viewers. In describing the figures of Penthesileia and Paris in the *Nekyia*, Pausanias says:[48]

> Above Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, who does not yet have a beard. He is clapping his hands just the way some rude country fellow would clap them. You will say that Paris appears to be calling Penthesileia to him by the sound of his hands. Penthesileia is also there looking at Paris; she seems by the toss of her head to look on him with disdain and to treat him as of no account. The representation of Penthesileia is that of a virgin [maiden]; she carries a bow that is like the Scythian bows and wears a leopard skin on her shoulders. (10.31.8)

The pose and actions of the figures are very distinctive, but Pausanias moves beyond that to describe the sharp contrast in the *ethos* of the figures (see reconstruction in Fig. 86). This sense of *ethos* is conveyed not simply by action, but as the reference to Penthesileia's toss of the head and the look of disdain indicates, by the glance and facial expression. In other words, Pausanias reads the figure's emotional reaction to Paris. This understanding of her pathos leads further to a contrast in their character. That it is a woman who emerges as the more heroic character, even though she is not dressed as a warrior, is itself an interesting reversal of value that plays generally into the reversal of fortune for most of the figures in this section of Polygnotos's painting (see Fig. 86).

5.3 *ETHOS*

The discussion of complex action has brought us already to the second of the objects of narration, *ethos*, or character. Clearly, an effect on the viewer of understanding reversal and recognition and of seeing the portrayal of pathos as well as physical action in a figure is to create an awareness of the nature of the agent. Aristotle's use of the term *ethos* is not meant to convey the idea of psychological character as in modern drama, but of ethical character. *Ethos*, in other words, represents the ethical qualities of action, "a specific moral factor in relation to action."[49] It is the narrative context that brings out the ethical character of an individual by emphasizing the deliberate human choice, *prohairesis*, in a given situation. *Ethos*, then needs to be distinguished from such heroic trappings as strength, beauty, and wealth, which are bestowed by fortune but do not bear on the ethical nature of an individual. Indeed, this is why Aristotle stated that a drama about an extremely good or bad individual experiencing a reversal of fate is not appropriate for tragedy, in that there is no moral choice to be made:[50]

> We are left, then, with the figure who falls between these types. Such a man is one who is not preeminent in virtue and justice, and one who falls into affliction not because of evil and wickedness, but because of a certain fallibility (*hamartia*). He will belong to the class of those who enjoy great esteem and prosperity, such as Oedipus, Thyestes, and outstanding men from such families.

The key element for pictorial narrative in emphasizing *ethos* as its object involves the matter of choice. To take an example, the actions of Ajax in attempting to slaughter the Greek leaders lead him to decide on taking his own life. In the earlier examples of this narrative that we examined, we see that the artist has depicted the suicide as a completed action and has emphasized the reactions of the Greeks to its discovery (see Figs. 70 and 56). Although this is the most typical pictorial version of the story, there are other examples that depict an earlier narrative moment before Ajax throws himself on the sword. An Early Classical lekythos in Basel shows Ajax kneeling before the sword that

he has planted in the sand and raising his hands in supplication.[51] An earlier version by Exekias shows a nude Ajax patting the sand into a base around the hilt of the sword (Fig. 75).[52] His Boeotian shield stands propped against the right frame, as are his two spears; his helmet sits on top of the shield facing slightly downward toward its owner. To the left is a palm tree, whose fronds are partly cut off at the left by the frame and just overlap part of the lotus and palmette chain at the top.

Whereas other depictions concentrate on the finished deed and reaction to it, Exekias focuses on the decision of the greatest of the Greeks after Achilles to kill himself.[53] The lines on the brow and below the eye help to convey to the viewer Ajax's concentration on his task, and perhaps his despondency as well. The contrast between the gentle action of patting down the sand (as conveyed by an open hand rather than a closed hand ramming the sword into the ground) and the massive, bulging muscles of the warrior create a quite different impression than the emphasis on strong action that typifies the Archaic period. This, too, is seen in the structure of the nucleus. Ajax is the protagonist, the subject of the action, but there is no apparent external object that reacts to him. We know from the story that he is both subject and object of the action, and it is possible to read hand and sword as subject and head as object, since convention would have the object at sword point be the intended victim. Here, then, Ajax sees his fate like any other warrior about to fall at the hands of a hero, but now is both parts of the equation.

Exekias's depiction of the suicide of Ajax is less about action than about the agent. This is a signal shift from the emphasis on *mythos* because it represents a restructuring of the nucleus. Rather than pick a moment at or near the final outcome, Exekias picks a more open-ended moment when the result has a greater potential for doubt. Of course, aware of the story, the viewer will know the inevitable course of events that follows, and Exekias has provided signposts along that path in his use of prolepsis. Still, the moment and action do not in and of themselves necessitate a specific outcome in the same way that a spear or sword point disappearing into a warrior's body does. Because the outcome is more open-ended theoretically, it makes the result all the more poignant because the catastrophe might have been avoided. As has been frequently noted, in mood and spirit and in choice of action Exekias's work looks forward to the Classical period and is without true parallel among his contemporaries. Although Early Classical artists such as Kritios and Nesiotes (see Fig. 33), the Sotades Painter (see Fig. 36), or Polygnotos (see Fig. 77 and following) were noted for their ability to depict *ethos,* this was based on an ability to describe the human figure in more mimetic and expressive terms (see Section 3.7 in Chapter Three). The difference with Exekias's representation is that the artist must rely mostly on the configuration of the action, for we can only infer and not really read the pathos that Ajax is feeling. In some ways, this confirms the idea of action being the foundation for *ethos,* but here *ethos* comes to the fore as the narrative object.

Since *ethos* typically involves a choice of action, the implication for pictorial

narrative when it becomes important as an object is that the artist may need to focus on a different moment of the story than when the action itself is the primary or sole narrative object.[54] For example, the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia has the same subject as one of the scenes on the Chest of Kypselos in the same sanctuary: the chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos. In the Archaic version (see the reconstruction in Fig. 26, bottom register), the two chariot teams are flat out racing toward the climax. In the temple pediment, we see the moment before the race when Pelops agrees to the terms laid out by Oinomaos. Whether the pedimental version is sanitized like that of Pindar's *Olympian* 1 or has a darker meaning, the sculptors have emphasized the *ethos* of each agent by his or her physical, emotional, and ethical reactions to the circumstances.[55] The point is that the emphasis on *ethos* changes the narrative moment in the story, usually to one that is earlier.

75. Attic black-figure belly amphora by Exekias, toward 530. Suicide of Ajax. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée Communal 558. (Photo courtesy of the Chateau Musée de Boulogne sur mer, Photo DEVOS)

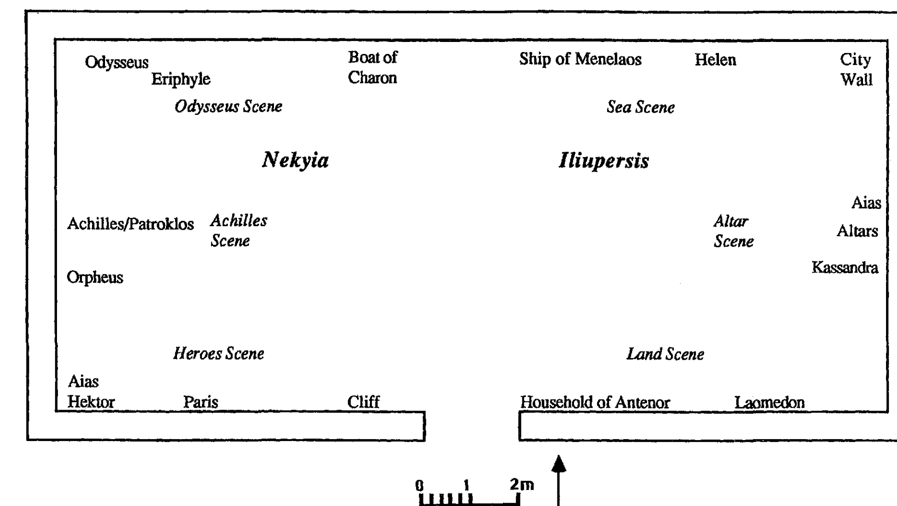
We can see the impact of the emphasis on *ethos* and choice on the narrative moments in another work of the fifth century. On the kylix with Polyeidos and Glaukos in the tomb (see Fig. 36) the painter has chosen a middle moment, rather than a later moment where the outcome is more clearly in view. Following Polyeidos's reversal of fortune, from successfully finding the missing Glaukos to being sealed in the tomb with the boy, we see a moment of discovery in which the knowledge gained will provide a successful conclusion to the story. Polyeidos, reacting to the threat of the second snake, raises his staff to kill it, but pauses at the decisive moment when he is ready to strike. Perhaps puzzled by the untypical behavior of the second snake, he hesitates in order to observe. By staying his original impulse, he discovers the properties of the herb that will revive Glaukos and furnish his own salvation from the tomb. We see in the choice the *ethos* of a seer, someone who sees beyond the obvious to understand a hidden meaning that can help guide humans. As a tomb offering, as this cup undoubtedly was, the theme and object of the narrative are particularly appropriate.

The particular relevance of *ethos* in Classical art can be found in Aristotle's

comparison of *ethos* in poetry to its representation in painting. In earlier stating that the subject of mimesis is humans better than, worse than, or like ourselves, Aristotle states that the Early Classical painter Polygnotos "portrayed men who are superior, Pauson worse, and Dionysius on the same level."[56] Indeed, Polygnotos was noted for this ability to portray *ethos*, and, clearly, Aristotle means this in the same sense that he is defining *ethos* in tragedy, for Sophocles, who won his first victory in dramatic competition in 468, is the same kind of artist as Homer and Polygnotos in their respective media, portraying people as they ought to be (*Poet.* 3.4 and 25.11). Aristotle says later (*Poet.* 6.15): "Compare, among painters, the difference between Zeuxis and Polygnotos: while Polygnotos is a fine portrayer of character, Zeuxis' art has no characterization," that is, that it relies on action but not *ethos* whereas Polygnotos develops both in his art.[57]

Although none of Polygnotos's paintings survive (although the painting on the Polyeidos kylix is closely related in style), there is detailed literary testimony about them, in particular the paintings in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi, that has served to reconstruct their compositions.[58] Although it is impossible to analyze the micro-structure and macro-structure of these works except in the broadest terms, they are of interest for the discussion of *ethos* as a narrative object because we have the reactions of Pausanias as viewer to what he saw, providing at least a measure of testimony about the result and meaning of the narrative experience for the ancient viewer. The importance of narrative extension in this large work also allows us to glimpse how Polygnotos organized his narrative to guide the reactions of the viewers to the work by noting the depth or detail of Pausanias's description of the paintings. A comparison of these paintings with the tragedy of Aeschylus will further demonstrate the impact of *ethos* on pictorial narrative. The goal is to re-create the narrative experience more than the narrative work, although the latter is necessary to make the former more concrete in our discussion.

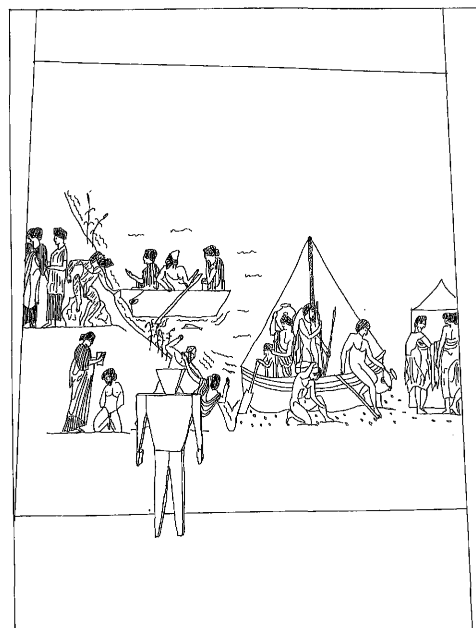
On the right, east side of the rectangular Knidian Lesche was the *Iliupersis*; to the left and similarly covering three sides of the room was the *Nekyia* (Fig. 76). The moment of the *Iliupersis* was not the sack itself, as shown by Lydos (Fig. 71) or the Kleophrades Painter (Figs. 72 to 74), but rather the morning after when the prisoners are taken, the spoils and camp are being loaded onto the ships, and the Greek leaders confer to decide the fate of Ajax the Lesser for his rape of Kassandra and the desecration of Athena's altar. In the *Nekyia*, one saw the sacrifice of Odysseus, described in *Odyssey* 11, along with some of the Greek leaders in the first mural and other Trojan and Greek heroes like Achilles, Ajax the Greater, Memnon, and Hektor. It is important to note that the scale of the Lesche paintings was too large for a viewer to comprehend them all at once, as the perspectival reconstructions here seek to demonstrate.[59] Polygnotos divided each of the paintings into smaller scenes connected by a continuous, changing landscape. The paintings' elaborate scale allowed Polygnotos to explore paradigmatically through his choice of characters other moments of the broader story. Each painting was syntagmatically a panoramic narrative, but



76. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. Plan of the Lesche of the Knidians in Delphi with the arrangement of the paintings of Polygnotos. (Author, from Stansbury-O'Donnell [1990], fig. 2)

together the two paintings formed a cyclic narrative, linking the destruction and preparation for departure from Troy with the results of the journey.[60] The selection of the nuclei and catalysts of each scene and the coordination with the viewing context reveal a coordination of time – of the viewer, of the narration, and of the story – that broadens the dimensions of the narrative. At the same time, the smaller scenes are linked together and to the main action through a symmetrical and ringlike compositional structure similar to the tragedy of Aeschylus. The result is a painting that engages the viewer into a complicated narrative experience.

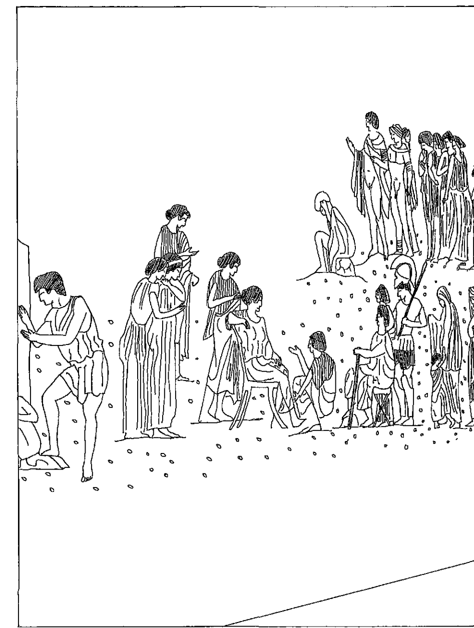
To demonstrate this, it will be necessary to follow along in the footsteps of Pausanias and describe the salient points of each scene. On entering the Lesche, the viewer first confronted the scenes in the center of the north wall with the preparations for departure from Troy on the right side and the arrival of the raft of Charon in the *Nekyia* to the left (Fig. 77, Paus. 10.25.2–3 and 10.28.1–6). Although other portions of the painting would have been visible, some of the columns that supported the roof would have framed the central section of the north wall and focused the viewer's attention on the ships in the middle of the wall. To the right was a ship being loaded on a pebbly beach and a tent being struck. These are generic actions that serve to set the scene from the doorway, but they do not provide any information about the specific subject, the *Iliupersis*. Only when the viewer is close enough to read the inscription identifying Phrontis, Menelaos's pilot, can the subject be certainly identified as Trojan. Perhaps the selection of nonheroic figures to fill this scene was intended to draw the viewer into the tableau at the first glance by its generic quality. At the far end of the scene is a small boy with his head in his hands; this strikes a discordant note into the scene and prepares the viewer for what is to follow.



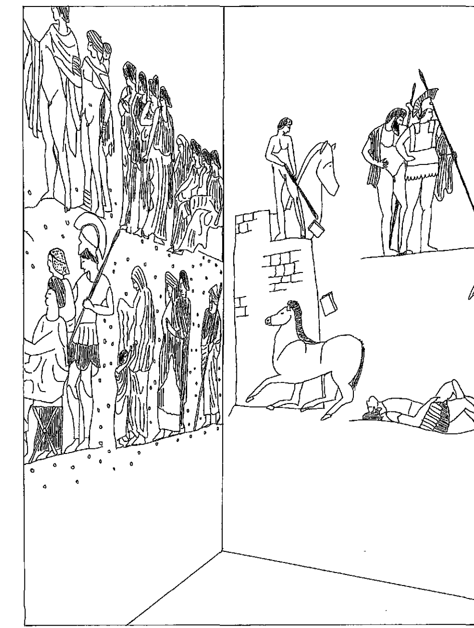
77. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. North wall, center (view from doorway): Raft of Charon (*Nekyia*) and preparations for departure from Troy (*Iliupersis*). (Author)

The beginning of a new scene is marked by the three women who gaze at Helen, seated farther to the right with two servants waiting on her (Fig. 78, Paus. 10.25.4-8).[61] The herald Eurybates addresses Helen, and this constitutes the nucleus of the scene. Behind Eurybates are Aithra and Demophon, and they as well as some of the captive Trojans above can be supposed to look toward Helen, focusing the viewer's attention on her. With the aid of the identifying inscriptions, the viewer could, like Pausanias, interpret this scene as the freeing of Aithra. Unlike the previous scene, Polygnotos has here painted a scene of relative inaction, substituting ethical for physical interaction and inviting the viewer to contemplate more fully the scene and its figures. Indeed, Pausanias lingers in more detail over several of the figures who serve as catalysts in the scene. Pausanias describes Helenos, for example, as "looking extremely downcast. . . . One might surmise that it was Helenos, the son of Priam, even before reading the inscription."[62] The depiction of Helenos recalls his forced aid to the Greeks and the complicity of the Trojans in their own fate. His reaction can only be described as full of *pathos* and from it the viewer gains a sense of his *ethos* as a consequence of his actions. Aithra recalls an earlier episode in the life of Helen, her abduction by Theseus and Peirithoös. Her grandson Demophon, Pausanias decides "from his attitude, is trying to determine whether it will be possible for him to save Aithra." Apparently, he does not trust the good will of Helen and is at the moment of deciding on a course of action. Indeed, it is somewhat startling to find Helen set in the role of judge or ruler here. Her inclusion in the *Iliupersis* as a symbol of the Trojans' culpability by protecting Paris is clear, but her authority to decide the fate of a Greek is disturbing, at least to Demophon, and involves a noteworthy reversal of gender roles.[63] The reversal here is even more startling than in the Berlin Iliupersis, in that Helen has maintained her role as ruler despite the collapse of Troy. To summarize, the Helen scene involves a moment of decision making for several individuals and combined with the emphasis on reversal, recognition, and pathos creates a complicated *mythos*. The *ethos* of each figure may be seen, as Pausanias states, from his or her attitude; the variety of responses is noteworthy for the way in which it reveals the individual reactions to the situation.

Moving further to the right brings the viewer to the corner of the room (Fig. 79, Paus. 10.25.9–26.4). Although there is a change of setting here, marked by the pebbly beach and wall of the city, the configuration of the corner brings



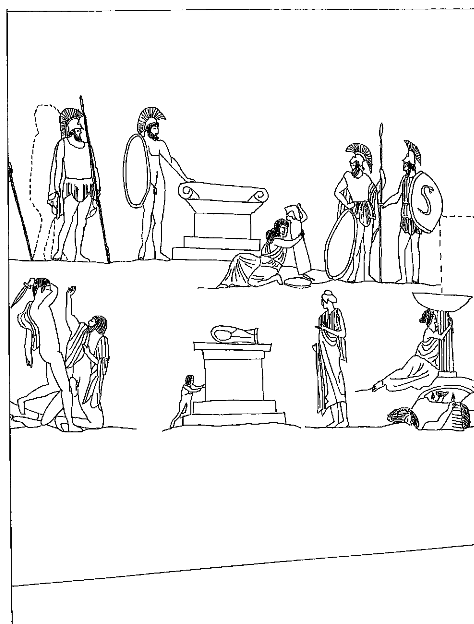
78. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. North wall, right of center: Helen and Aithra (*Iliupersis*). (Author)



79. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. Northeast corner: Trojan women; Neoptolemos (*Iliupersis*). (Author)

both walls together in a depiction of the actual sacking of Troy. The strong action of Neoptolemos slaying Astynoös on the east wall (see Fig. 80), which seems to strike a sharp contrast from the other Greeks in the painting for Pausanias, must be considered the nucleus of the scene and marks a shift to a more active mode of action from the Helen scene.[64] On the left side on the north wall are captive Trojan women and Astyanax, set opposite to Neoptolemos. Among these on the bottom level is Polyxena, who with Astyanax will be slaughtered in the future by Neoptolemos; they extend the killing proleptically while the nearly dead figure of Elasos behind and beneath Neoptolemos pushes it analeptically. Despite the continuing slaughter of a fallen city's inhabitants, it should be noted that Polygnotos did not represent Neoptolemos killing women, children, or old men as was traditional for scenes of the Iliupersis (see Figs. 71 to 73). The change in action is noteworthy as a reflection of the *ethos* of Neoptolemos, especially considering the adjacent scene with the rape of Kassandra. Indeed, Pausanias interprets this representation of Neoptolemos by saying that "it was his [Polygnotos's] intention that the whole painting should be above the grave of Neoptolemos."[65] Given the nature of the next scene, this more sympathetic treatment of Neoptolemos fits with the context of the painting, although the fate of Polyxena and Astyanax at the hands of Neoptolemos, which an ancient viewer like Pausanias not only knows but recalls when viewing them (Paus. 10.25.9–10), must surely have lent some disquiet to the scene, like cattle waiting for slaughter.

The focal point of the east wall and the climax of the *Iliupersis* was the oath

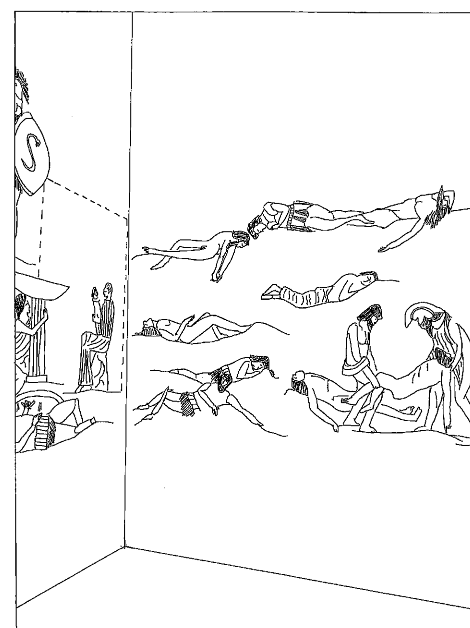


80. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. East wall, center: Oath of Ajax (*Iliupersis*). (Author)

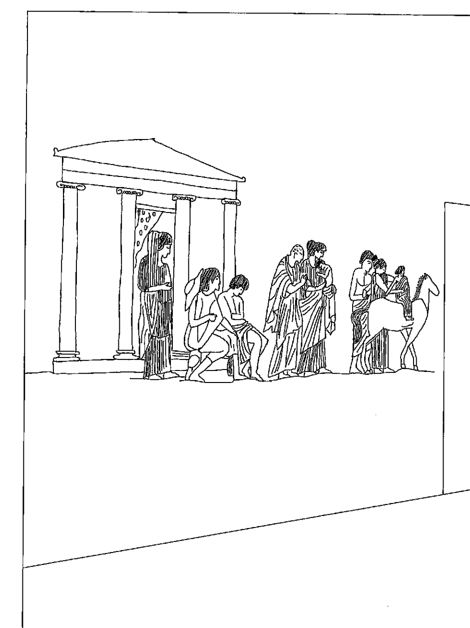
sworn by Ajax the Lesser in the center (Fig. 80, Paus. 10.26.2–6). We have once again a scene of inaction and of dramatic choice, as the leaders decide on the fate of Ajax. Kassandra clutching the broken statue of Athena serves as both catalyst and index, providing the context for Ajax's oath and referring to the earlier destruction of Troy and the desecration of its altars.[66] The child clinging to the altar below recalls Kassandra clinging to the statue of Athena earlier in the night (compare Fig. 73), a graphic reminder of how she came to be clutching the broken statue in the picture. By not punishing Ajax and violating the property and rights of the gods, the Greeks did not behave with *sophrosyne*. As Klytaimestra tells us in the *Agamemnon* (ll. 338–42), by this action, the Greeks bring destruction in turn on themselves. The focus here is not on the action of destruction but is on Ajax and the council to deal with his transgression. This shift of narrative moment may be an effort, as D. Castriota posits, to put attention away from the *hubris* and *ate* of the Greeks collectively that emerges in the Naples hydria (Figs. 72 to 74) and instead to deal with the idea of communal retribution for an individual act.[67] The Greeks themselves, however, are divided into groups based on their support or disapproval of the oath, and the lack of success of the council can be observed in the *Nekyia* where Ajax the Lesser and Agamemnon appear among the dead, while Odysseus yet lives, though delayed in his own return for angering another god. In short, Polygnotos has in the climax of the painting focused on a moment of ethical decision, whose consequences follow in the pendant painting.

In the southeast corner is further evidence of carnage (Fig. 81, Paus. 10.26.7–27.3). Polygnotos places a single corpse at the end of the east wall, a motif that is multiplied in the next scene of the field of corpses on the south wall. At the edge of the field nearer the center of the south wall, two Greeks carry away the body of Laomedon, reference to the destruction of the Scaean gate as well as to an even earlier episode of Trojan *hubris* and conflict with the Greeks. Like Aithra, Laomedon serves to move the conflict into an earlier generation, establishing a long pattern involving not only the Trojans but also the Greeks. Generally, this scene is one of grief and destruction and although not as violent marks a similar tone to the Neoptolemos scene.

The composition of the final section of the *Iliupersis* (Fig. 82, Paus. 10.27.3–4) mirrors that of its beginning, only now showing the departure of the Trojan Antenor and his household by land. The reasons for Antenor being spared may



81. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. Southeast corner: Priam's palace (?) and dead Trojans (*Iliupersis*). (Author)



82. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. South wall: Departure of Antenor's household (*Iliupersis*). (Author)

have to do with reports that he had sheltered the Greek embassy at the beginning of the war and had been in favor of the return of Helen.[68] Still, the desolation of the family at losing their home and city is manifest in Pausanias's description of the figures: "The look on the faces of all of them is that of people who have suffered a great disaster."

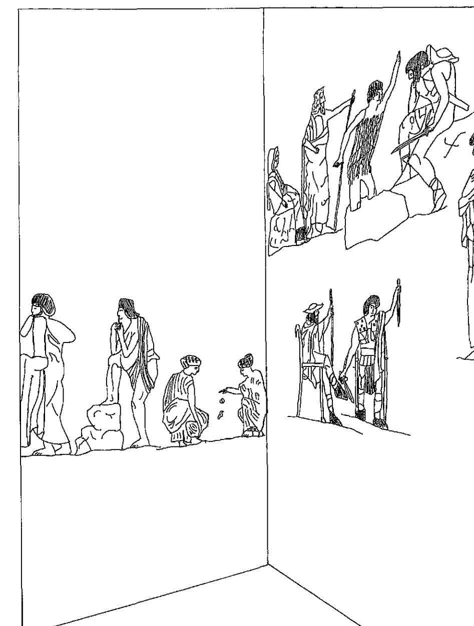
The symmetry of the *Iliupersis*'s general composition is apparent, and indicates the possibility that one could read the paintings from the opposite direction with the same sequence of the scenes: the opening or setting of the drama with scenes of the preparation for departure using mostly nonheroic figures, followed by a contrasting scene of inaction that recounts the past and present of the Trojans (Helen, Laomedon), scenes of more active destruction and malaise (Neoptolemos, field of corpses), and ultimately the oath that portends so much of the *ethos* and fates of the Greeks. It would appear that there was an established rhythm of action followed by inaction, of a few individuals constituting the nuclei of the panoramic narrative with a crowded cast of less famous characters that served as catalysts and widened the narrative scope. Although the actions take place in a fairly narrowly defined present, the contrasts between scenes and between individual characters create abundant references to earlier and later stages of the story and the moral implications of choice and action. Thus, within the *Iliupersis*, Polygnotos moves his narrative along not chronologically, but paradigmatically by associations set up through contrast and juxtaposition. He would not appear to be reproducing the legendary history so much as retelling it from a particular point of view.

83. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. North wall, left of center: Women and sailors of Odysseus (*Nekyia*). (Author)

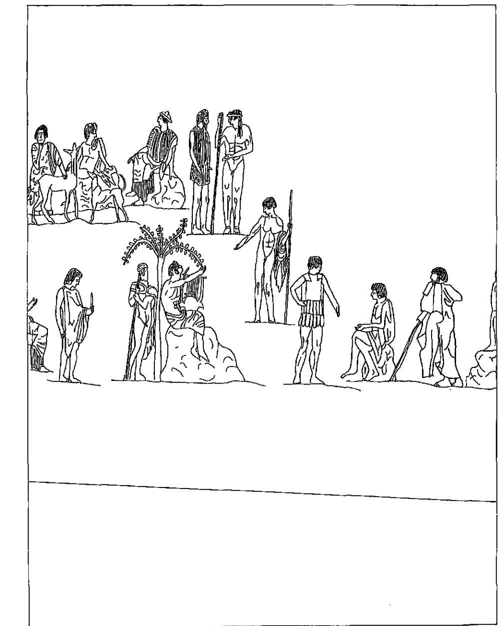
A similar pattern of organization is to be found in the *Nekyia*. The painting opens on the north wall with water and the arrival of a boat (see Fig. 77, Paus. 10.28.1–7). Anonymous, personifying figures on the shore serve the same purpose as those loading the ship of Menelaos, setting the tenor of the scene and drawing the viewer into the picture. The repetition of water and a ship here serve as well to connect the two paintings into a larger, continuous cycle. This first scene continues on to include the demonic figure of Eurynomos, who apparently presented an impressive form to the eye of Pausanias and punctuated the end of the first scene.

In the next scene, the two rams signal a sacrifice, and the inscriptions inform the viewer that these are Odysseus's companions (Fig. 83, Paus. 10.28.8–29.7). Thus, the identification of the specific subject must wait until the viewer is already engaged in the painting. Contrasting with these active figures in the upper register is a large group of quieter figures, including eleven women, so that the overall mode in this scene is one of relative inaction compared to the opening scene.[69] By their selection, the women may represent a visual genealogy of contemporary cities and families. The women provide a commentary on the fate awaiting human behavior in the Underworld, and in some measure the relative equality in death. They also recall the similar group of captive Trojan women at the other end of the north wall (Figs. 78 and 79), linking the two paintings visually like the water at the beginning of both paintings.

In the final section of the wall at the northwest corner is the focal point of the northern part of the *Nekyia*, the sacrifice of Odysseus (Fig. 84, Paus. 10.29.8–30.2). As with Helen, inaction rather than action is emphasized, as Odysseus crouches to listen to the first of several shades. Odysseus's freedom of movement, however, contrasts with the bonds of Theseus and Peirithoös below him. Again, this contrast between figures serves to expand the narrative to a more general consideration of human relations with the Underworld and with the fate of heroes.[70] *Ethos* is revealed through choice: Odysseus, acting on Circe's instructions, visits the Underworld to learn his fate; Theseus and Peirithoös enter to steal Persephone as a bride and are trapped by their *hubris*. Farther along on the central, western wall, the painting continues with two more women, Kameiro and Klytie, quietly engaged in a game.



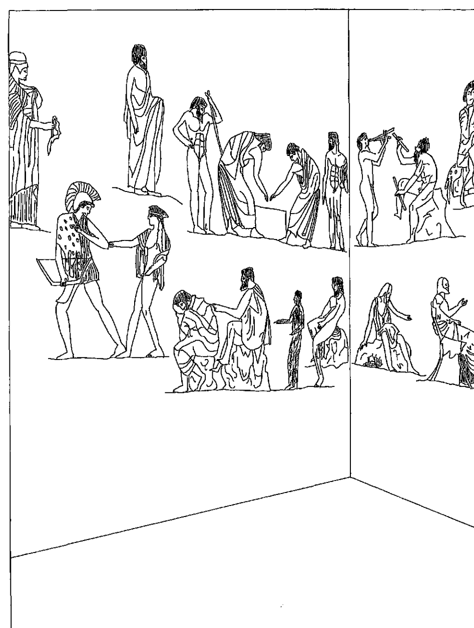
84. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. Northwest corner: Sacrifice of Odysseus (*Nekyia*). (Author)



85. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. West wall: Achilles among the dead (*Nekyia*). (Author)

Farther along the western wall are several Greek heroes from the Trojan war who contemplate Achilles and Patroklos in the center of the composition (Fig. 85, Paus. 10.30.3–7). On the other, left side of this pair are clusters of figures from earlier generations of Greeks. These include another previous visitor to the Underworld, Orpheus, as well as both victims and proponents of *hubris* and treachery, developing the theme visually stated by the women on the north wall. The figures are apparently still and there does not seem to be a single unifying action here at the center of the *Nekyia* as there was in the *Iliupersis*. Indeed, here at the center of the *Nekyia*, things are about as dead as they get. By glancing back at the earlier sections of the painting, it is clear that there is a continuous diminishment of activity from the active punishment of sinners at the beginning to the group of heroes around Achilles. This is different from the alternating pattern used in the *Iliupersis*, but leads just the same to the center point of the panorama.

In the southwest corner are more musicians guilty of *hubris*, Thamyris and Marsyas, and the lightness of their pursuit is picked up in the game of dice played by Palamedes and Thersites on the south wall (Fig. 86, Paus. 10.30.8–31.8). These figures are more active than those in the central scene with Achilles; the patterns of activity follow a continuous increase as one moves away from the center. The enemies of Odysseus are strategically placed across from his sacrifice, and together with the dead Trojans below they form the south wall's focal point. These heroes provide a broad picture of the events



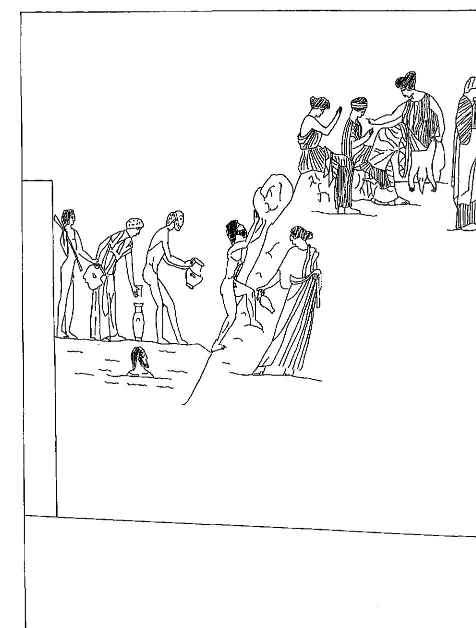
86. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. Southwest corner: Greek and Trojan heroes (*Nekyia*). (Author)

leading up to the visit of Odysseus to the Underworld, filling in not only the narrative time span between the *Iliupersis* and the *Nekyia*, but also still earlier events of the Trojan war.

The more active figures in the southwest corner of the *Nekyia* also portend a movement to the deepest parts of the Underworld, farther away from the land of the living and closer to the great sinners Tantalos and Sisyphos.[71] Between the heroes and sinners are more female figures, some symbolic and unheroic and others known from mythology (Fig. 87, Paus. 10.31.9–12). They are pendants to the female figures on the north wall and provide another moment of contemplation before the final scene with the punishment of Tantalos and Sisyphos and several water carriers. Like the beginning of the *Nekyia*, there is a mixture of generic and mythological figures; there is also an emphasis on action and punishment that sharply contrasts with the inactivity on the central wall. Clearly, the organization of the end of the painting repeats, in reverse order, that of its beginning, completing another ring structure but with a gradual rather than alternating pattern of action and inaction as in the *Iliupersis*.

It is a genuine pity that nothing of the paintings of Polygnotos or another *ethnographos* has survived so that a direct visual comparison between the Berlin Iliupersis, the Naples Iliupersis, and the Lesche *Iliupersis* could be made. Still, the testimony of Pausanias provides us with something that we do not have for vase paintings or reliefs that have been linked to the Polygnotan style, and that is a direct viewer reaction to the images. From Pausanias's description, it is clear that he observes not only the action of the figures, but as important their demeanor and emotions. At the core of the Lesche paintings are a small number of figures that serve as focal points of the action and that emphasize the interaction among the agents of the action. Each of the main figures acts differently from the others and in many cases we see them at a pivotal moment when each must choose between various courses of action and reveal their *ethos*. Polygnotos also makes judicious use of reversal, recognition, and pathos in his painting to create a complex action, the best kind for representing a tragic action and eliciting a sympathetic response in the viewer, as clearly happens to Pausanias. Indeed, one might well give to the Lesche paintings the label of tragic pictorial narrative.

The narrative structure of the Lesche paintings and Polygnotos's emphasis on *ethos* suggests the possibility of comparing storytelling in Early Classical art and tragedy, especially Aeschylus. The points of similarity might by summarized briefly as follows. First, although there is in both a focus on a limited period of time in the present, there is a broadening of the action through paradigmatic and anachronous references to past and future or to other stories. Second, there is less interest in physical action than in dialogue and decision making in both. Third, the nuclei or main actions alternate with scenes of communication or commentary and fall into a distinctive rhythmic pattern. Fourth, both artists use imagery to connect different parts of the whole. Fifth, antithesis, contrast, and ambiguity are central features of both tragedy and painting. One can conclude by saying that both place as much emphasis on paradigmatic as syntagmatic narration, elevating *ethos* above action as the object of the narrative.



87. Reconstruction of the Lesche Paintings of Polygnotos. South wall: Sinners (*Nekyia*). (Author)

To begin, one can say that the action of both the *Iliupersis* and the *Agamemnon* deals with a narrow range of time in the present. The events of the *Agamemnon* are few: the announcement of Troy's fall, Agamemnon's return, and his murder. Aeschylus focuses instead on the *ethos* and choices of the participants. When a visually impressive spectacle does take place, such as Agamemnon's walk on the carpets, it is richer in its symbolism than in its presentation of actual action.[72] Similarly, Polygnotos focuses on a narrow slice of time showing the aftermath of Troy's destruction and features relatively few physical actions in comparison to the scale of the composition and characters. In each case, this fits with Aristotle's dictum that the action of a tragedy should fit within a day.

Neither Polygnotos nor Aeschylus, however, were very interested in the exposition of the events of a story in simple chronological sequence. Indeed, as J. de Romilly has pointed out, only 300 of the *Agamemnon*'s 1,700 lines deal with the immediate present.[73] By the end of the play, we have learned from the chorus and dialogues that the events of this day continue a story begun in a previous generation and that will extend into the future. Time and events do not, however, pass in chronological fashion from beginning to end, but in a more flitting way, alighting on moments selected from the past according to their thematic or symbolic relevance. For example, in the beginning of the *Agamemnon*, we learn of the course of the war (ll. 40–71), and then move backward to the portents and sacrifice at Aulis (104–59 and 183–257) and forward to the beacons and fall of Troy (281–347). Next, we hear in succession of Paris and Helen (355–418), of the discontent during the war (419–74), of

the destruction of Troy again (524–37), and of the loss of the returning fleet (615–80). Once more Helen is evoked (681–781) and Agamemnon himself retells the fall of and return from Troy (811–43). This shifting from present to different levels of the past continues with Kassandra's account of the crimes of the previous generation and of her own past, and leapfrogs now into the future with the prophecy of murder (1100–1241). Following the murders is a coda of all of these themes, welding the present action to the past once more. Clearly, Aeschylus sees the events of the day inextricably connected to those of past and future, but he deals with this wider range of time paradigmatically and anachronously, maintaining a temporal and syntagmatic consistency in the actions shown on the stage. So, too, the actions shown in the *Iliupersis* are temporally consistent within a panoramic narrative, but the catalysts and indexes within the painting broaden the scope of the action in several directions into the past and into the future, exposing the relationship of events across a range of time. Paradigmatic time is also anachronous as in the *Agamemnon*.

The introduction of actors to drama undoubtedly changed the way in which a tale was presented to the audience. Tradition credits Aeschylus with the introduction of a second actor to tragedy and the division of his plays into alternating episodes and choral parts would be a logical structural development from earlier lyric drama. By the time of *Oresteia*, there were three actors, but Aeschylus rarely exploits the actors to re-create the actions of the story. The purpose of his dialogues was less to have the characters interact than to encapsulate the points of conflict.[74] Thus, in the *Oresteia*, we are given a series of appositions that only occasionally resemble true interactions, as in the carpet scene of the *Agamemnon* in which Klytaimestra's words truly respond to the protestations of her husband (*Ag*. 855–974). The episodes are interrupted by long choral passages that serve a variety of purposes, but most certainly place the events of the present into a much broader context. The choral odes and some of the characters' monologues, in fact, present a far more vivid picture of events than do the dialogues. The most decisive action in the whole play, the actual murder, takes place off stage and we only hear the cries of the victims and later see their bloody corpses. In the Lesche paintings, we have observed a similar division of the whole into parts, in which the focal points are frequently inactive or quiet nuclei that are surrounded by crowds of peripheral figures or by other scenes that serve as commentary and broaden the meaning of the central exchanges.

The arrangement of the scenes too in Aeschylus and Polygnotos have a similar rhythm.[75] The *Agamemnon*, for example, moves very slowly in its first half and features long choral passages that heighten the anticipation of the arrival of Agamemnon. The carpet scene, although occurring in the middle of the play, actually represents its climax when Agamemnon agrees to walk into the palace over the fabrics, a small but highly significant symbolic act of *hubris* and impiety. Although the beginnings of his plays move slowly, Aeschylus also creates stunning visual images to open his plays, such as the beacons signaling the fall of Troy or the priestess running from the Furies who sleep inside the

temple of Apollo (see Section 2.1 in Chapter Two). These, like the end portions of the Lesche paintings, establish vividly the scene, but their full import is only revealed with the succeeding scenes. Like Aeschylus, Polygnotos builds in a steady rhythm to the central scene, and then turns back symmetrically to the other end of the painting. This symmetry allows the painting to be approached from either direction, but draws the viewer along insistently.

The rhythmic similarities include the structuring of the *Agamemnon* into alternating sections of episode and the *stasima* or *kommoi* of the chorus. During the first half of the play, the chorus bears the burden of informing us about the events of the past. This recounting of the past is sandwiched around the slowly developing action of the episodes, and so serves as commentary on the present, widening the boundaries of the dialogue and narrative. The slow pace of the opening sections of the play quickens toward the middle with the arrival of Agamemnon and reaches its climax in the dialogue between him and Klytaimestra and his choice to trample the costly carpets. Realistically, his fate has already been sealed, but his choice epitomizes the earlier decisions that he had made. The rest of the play provides further background for the impending murders and a recapitulation of the events leading to his death. So, too, in the painting of Polygnotos, we found a similar structure. These include the alternation between confrontations of key figures and the more choral-like crowds that widened the scope of the present actions and the slow buildup from the introductory scenes to the climactic moment of choice in the center of the painting, followed by a recapitulation and elaboration of earlier themes.

With time as only a loose connective in his works, Aeschylus relies on other means to help bind the parts to the whole. The use of images as a thread connecting the parts of the *Oresteia* is well known and has been the subject of much discussion. For example, the net that is figuratively cast over the walls of Troy (*Ag*. 358–61) in the first stasimon of the *Agamemnon* becomes the webbing of the cloth that Agamemnon tramples and the net that finally snares him in his bath, an image that is continued into the *Libation Bearers* and the *Eumenides*.[76] This use of imagery is far more developed in Aeschylus than in his successors. Antiquity also remembered Aeschylus for the magnificence of his special effects, such as the appearance of Darius at his tomb in the *Persians* or the carpet or murder scenes in the *Agamemnon*. Spectacle, or *opsis*, made a dramatic impression on the viewer, as we noted earlier with Aristotle, and is an aspect of the link between tragedy and art that has been explored by R. Gais.[77] One can find parallels in this use of imagery in the Lesche paintings. Polygnotos frequently used motifs such as corpses, gaming, ships and donkeys, and groups of women to connect one part of the paintings to another. In his description, Pausanias also singles out a number of images for their striking visual qualities, such as Helenos, Kassandra and the broken idol, Eurynomos, Tityos, and Ajax the Lesser. Some of these, such as Helenos and Ajax, serve to enhance and sharpen the meaning of the narrative, whereas others such as Eurynomos seem to be more general but vivid in their effect, catching the viewer's eye and arresting

his or her movement momentarily along the wall. Image or spectacle can thus be used to freeze the passage of time and invite contemplation.

Aeschylus used antithesis, contrast, or dialectic in his work, encapsulating the salient points of his narrative in a series of appositions such as *dike/adikia* and male/female, as mentioned earlier.[78] This pattern has been found in the Lesche paintings as well, as, for example, when the enemies of Odysseus are set up across the room from the latter, or when Penthesileia spurns Paris. Indeed, it is through contrast, whether in Polygnotos, the Olympia pediments, or elsewhere, that the individual *ethos* is brought to vision more clearly. Another example of the links between the two is the use of ambiguity. S. Goldhill has shown, for example, that although *dike* is the central theme of the *Oresteia*, the meaning of this term varies widely depending on its context, and that it is this variation that actually moves the narrative along.[79] Oaths and *dike* are also prominent in the Lesche paintings, but their meaning is not straightforward. Helen is set up as judge over a Greek issue, and must have appeared strange in the role of an adjudicator. Similarly, the oath of Ajax is undercut not only by the evidence of his rape, but also by the behavior of Neoptolemos. There is also a more fundamental ambiguity about Polygnotan painting that has been noted especially in the Niobid krater, in that without labels, one can construe the relationships between figures and hence the meaning of the painting itself in several plausible ways. The role of ambiguity in pictorial narrative has not received much attention, but should bear more in the future.

This comparison of the Lesche paintings of Polygnotos and the tragedy of Aeschylus is not intended to demonstrate a dependence of literary or pictorial narrative on each other. Rather, it is meant to illuminate the narrative potential of large-scale pictorial compositions combined with a coordination of time and space and an ability to reveal through action or inaction the *ethos* of the characters. The effect on viewers would be to move their emotions, perhaps to achieve a *katharsis* like that of tragedy. Regardless of what *katharsis* itself means and entailed, the effect on a viewer of the Polygnotan painting might be glimpsed in a passage of Pollianus preserved in the *Greek Anthology*:[80]

> This is the Polyxena of Polykleitos [Polygnotos], and no other hand touched this divine picture. It is a twin sister of his Hera. See how, her robe being torn, she covers her nakedness with her modest hand. The unhappy maiden is supplicating for her life, and in her eyes lies all the Trojan war.

CONCLUSION

One saying goes that a picture is worth a thousand words; another says that every picture tells a story. For this book, that has literally been true, and in the case of the word count, even an underestimate. In the real world, images can tell stories, but as we have seen, storytelling demands the active participation of the viewer as part of the narrative structure and the narration itself. Except in rare cases, both today and in ancient times, viewers do this without verbalizing. They may experience a story in the deepest emotional way, but it is usually left to critics and scholars to analyze and explain that experience. Similarly, most readers enjoy a tale without reflecting consciously and critically about what they are reading; their engagement with a text is more personal. To understand narrative, it is necessary to indulge in a more theoretical exercise so that we can attempt to reimagine the experience and in so doing reconstruct the importance of the stories for the culture that produced them.

To summarize the narrative framework that has been the goal of this book, I would like to return to the Cabiran skyphos shown in Fig. 48. On the other side of the cup, we see a man running on top of two pithoi that float over the water (Fig. 88).[1] The figure wears a cape that billows behind him and holds a trident as he runs; his phallus hangs prominently beneath him. To the right, a large head appears with distended cheeks. Inscriptions serve as informants to identify the running figure as Odysseus and the large head as Boreas, the god of the North Wind. The image's nucleus consists of the running Odysseus; he is running from or toward something that must be the cause of his action, but the action itself is basically that of a running figure and is not distinctive in itself. He may have been attempting to spear the fish below the pithoi, but judging from the position of his arm, he has either missed his target or is more focused on his momentum. The two pithoi are placed carefully mouth to mouth as if they were lashed together. Since Odysseus runs on top of them, they must be intended as a vessel of sorts for the hero. Boreas constitutes a catalyst for the composition, apparently aiding Odysseus since he is blowing him in the same direction that he is running. There are several indexes in the composition, including the trident that refers to Poseidon. The pithoi, too, serve as an index, holding wine that would have been poured into the cup. Their horizontal position suggests that the wine might have been poured already as the viewer holds the cup.

This image has attracted less attention than the pendant scene with Circe,

in part because the action does not precisely match any event described in the *Odyssey* and because the cause of his action is not apparent.[2] As a single image, the work is highly ambiguous, its nucleus basically a variation on a generic running figure. Indeed, were it not for the inscriptions in the scene, one might suppose that the figure was Poseidon on the basis of the trident as index and attribute. Still, even knowing that the figure is Odysseus does not help the viewer to see the narrative clearly because the cause for his running is absent, leaving the event basically generic in its meaning. Elements of the macro-structure, however, help to connect the scene at the extensional level to the pendant scene of Circe and Odysseus, making the running scene more susceptible to interpretation. The strongly rectangular shape of the pictorial field on the cup suggests that its two scenes were meant to be viewed together, and the strongly directional configuration of the composition leads the viewer's eye from the running scene to the Circe scene on the other side. Odysseus is repeated in the compositions, making a syntagmatic combination of the scenes possible. Indexes within both compositions serve to reinforce this link, particularly the phallus and cape of Odysseus, his nudity, and the position of his legs and arms that, although reversed in the two images, feature both bent and extended legs as if he were engaged in energetic action.

The potential for syntagmatic extension from one scene to the other leads a viewer to speculate about which is the earlier scene. The strongly directional nature of the running scene contrasts with the more centrifugal composition of the Circe scene, so that visually, the running scene would lead to the Circe scene. One might then see Odysseus as traveling over the sea, only to run headlong into Circe, rebounding from the encounter like running into a wall. However, if one turns the cup in the direction of the running Odysseus, figuratively following him in his action, he runs toward the loom and Circe on the other side of the cup. This might suggest that he is in fact running away from Circe, as if he turns 180° on the Circe side and flees across the other side of the cup. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus does indeed leave Circe twice by sea, and the second time his ship is wrecked by the winds after his men have wrongly eaten the cattle of the Sun. Clinging to flotsam, he lands on the island of Calypso. Ultimately, the ambiguity of the running Odysseus allows it to be connected both ways. Starting with the Circe scene, a viewer might see Odysseus as fleeing from Circe, whereas starting with Odysseus, one might understand him as traveling over the sea and then meeting Circe. One might turn the cup one more time to view again the running scene as one of flight.

At the extensional level, then, the Circe scene helps to define elements of the running scene's macro-structure, but it still leaves much of the story unresolved and at variance with the events and characters described in the *Odyssey*. This is due in large part to the paradigmatic value of some of the signs in the scene. The enlarged phallus and distortion of face and figure link the representation to the broader category of Cabiran ware representations that are noted for their distinctly comic nature (see Section 3.8 in Chapter Three). Other contradictions abound. A figure with a trident should be Poseidon; the fact that

88. Boeotian black-figure skyphos, late fifth century. Odysseus running over the sea. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G.249. (Photo courtesy of the © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

it is not introduces a discontinuity in the visual language. Since Poseidon is responsible for several of Odysseus's shipwrecks, the discontinuity becomes extreme in that Odysseus is now equipped with the symbol of his oppressor and can be seen as embracing Poseidon paradigmatically. At the extensional level, this would suggest that Odysseus prefers a possible shipwreck to the bed of his goddess lovers and that sex and women, whose importance is indicated by his phallus, is the greater threat to the hero.

These considerations lead one to question whether the object of narration here is in fact the same as in the other representations of the Odysseus story that more closely follow the epic (see Figs. 37 and 38). For example, the action or plot – *mythos* – is important, but is the action here complex and if so in the same way as the Naples Iliupersis (see Figs. 72 to 74)? Certainly, in the epic version of the encounter with Circe, Odysseus turns the tables on Circe and becomes the dominant character; on his voyages by ship, he not infrequently ends up losing ship and crew. In both cases, there is a reversal at work, as well as a discovery, at least on the part of Circe, that this unknown traveler is Odysseus. One might argue that reversal and recognition are present on the Cabiran skyphos, but the quality is different. In the Circe scene (see Fig. 48) it seems that Odysseus is the one who is threatened and who has recognized the power of Circe. The reversal here, though, is one less with the plot than with the expectations of the viewer. Knowing the story of Odysseus, the viewer would expect a more heroic, dominating figure. On a more generic level, the viewer would expect a man with a sword to be unafraid of a woman with a cup. Both expectations are confounded by the narrative. This is also true of the

running scene. A hero usually moves from left to right across the picture, but Odysseus is moving in the opposite direction like a vanquished foe or a fleeing coward.

As an action, Odysseus's story on the skyphos is actually simple – man feels threatened by woman and runs away. The hero is never truly in a dominant position from which he can experience a reversal; that he feels threatened by Circe makes the representation of his flight a congruous event and does not indicate a change in his situation from good to bad. Instead, the pictorial narrative becomes complex in the way that it contradicts the expectations of the viewer, so that the element of surprise, discovery, and reversal falls within the narrative discourse rather than within the narration itself.

This analysis would suggest that *ethos*, at least as we have considered its tragic manifestations in Section 5.3 in Chapter Five, was not intended as an object of narration for the Cabiran skyphos. Whether Aristotle's theory of comedy would have helped to explain the difference in the way that action is understood by the viewer is a matter of speculation.[3] Certainly, the *ethos* of the figures in comedy must be different, but the terms that he uses to describe tragic characters do not readily embrace parody and humor. The characters here do not face complex and difficult choices, nor does error and virtue enter into the narrative in the same way. Surprise and discovery lay more in the experience of the viewer than in the characters. The point is that the objects of comic narrative must be different from those of epic or tragedy.

Rather than define different types of narrative on the basis of their structural elements or on stylistic parallels to literary modes of narration, as has been the case in the past, it is hoped that the narrative framework here can define different modes and categories of pictorial narration on the basis of differences in their objects of narration. This will necessarily require an examination of the broad and multilevel context in which pictorial narratives are produced, as well other forms of ancient narration. By undertaking such a historical and contextual study of narration, one can hope to elucidate the meaning of pictorial narration for the ancient viewer and how these stories, like their literary counterparts, helped to shape the experience and ideas of the culture.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE. AN APPROACH TO PICTORIAL NARRATIVE

1. Robert (1881). For the historiography of pictorial narrative, see Weitzmann (1947) 12–36 and Meyboom (1978) 55–7. See Shapiro (1994) 1–10 for a general review of these issues.
2. Wickhoff (1895); see also Wickhoff (1900) 6–16.
3. Weitzmann (1947) 12–36. See also the papers from a panel on narration held by the Archaeological Institute of America; see Hanfmann (1957), Blanckenhagen (1957), and Weitzmann (1957).
4. Eleusis Museum. Published in Mylonas (1957), with comparison to other scenes of the blinding. See also Mylonas (1958); Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton (1962) 274; Schefold (1966) 34; Johansen (1967) 35; Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 12, no. 3; Fittschen (1969) 153, no. SB41 and 192, no. SB111; Robertson (1975) 51; Simon and Hirmer (1976) 41–2; Kannicht (1982) 78; Cook (1983) 4–5; Schäfer (1983) 79–80; Morris (1984) 11–12, 43–6, and passim; Hurwit (1985a) 165–72; Stewart (1987) 29–30; Osborne (1989) 1–5; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 94–6; Buitron and Cohen (1992) 33–4; Whitley (1994) 63–5.
5. Argos, Archaeological Museum C149. Courbin (1955); Robertson (1959) 43–6; Fittschen (1969) 192, no. SB112; Robertson (1975) 50; *Human Figure* (1988) 97, no. 21; Hurwit (1991) 43; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 94.
6. The fragment of the foot of a third figure appears at bottom right. It is doubtful given the size of the original vase that more than one figure is missing completely; see Courbin (1955) 18–21.
7. Weitzmann (1947) 17.
8. London, British Museum E 76. *ARV*^{2} 406.1; *Para.* 371; *Add.*^{2} 232. See Williams (1993) 65–6 and pls. 72–3 with an earlier bibliography; see also Bulas (1929) 2–5; *LIMC* III.1, 158 and 160, s.v. Briseis nos. 1 and 14 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Shapiro (1994) 13–15 and figs. 4 to 6.
9. On the arrival at Agamemnon's camp: Bulas (1929) 3; Beazley, *ARV*^{2} 406; Johansen (1967) 155–60; Brommer, *Heldensage*^{3} 341 B 2; Kemp-Lindemann (1975) 132–4; *LIMC* III.1, 157–66, s.v. Briseis (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), and Shapiro (1994) 14. Contra: Williams (1991b) 59, and (1993) 66.
10. See, for example, Bielefeld (1956) and Froning (1988) 171. Bielefeld pushes the appearance of continuous narration back to the Classical period, and Froning pushes it further to the Geometric period.
11. See Schefold (1985c, 1985d) for a discussion of his categories and principles.
12. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967), esp. 79–84; Hemelrijk (1970); Raab (1972) 93–101; Raeck (1984).
13. Snodgrass (1982) 4. Hemelrijk (1970) 166, earlier uses the term as an adjective, stating

that Archaic artists showed myth "in a synoptical way." For the adoption of this term, see Stewart (1990); Connelly (1993).

14. Hurwit (1985a) 173.
15. Ibid., 174–6; Harrison (1983) 237–8, who borrows the idea from Weitzmann's characterization of the general nature of literary narrative; see Weitzmann (1947) 12.
16. Shapiro (1991) 324; Shapiro (1992) 37–8.
17. Connelly (1993) 119.
18. Holliday (1993). Connelly (1993), mentioned before, is one of the articles in this collection.
19. Bérard (1983).
20. Stewart (1983b, 1985). See Chatman (1974–5) and (1980–1).
21. Osborne (1988) 3–4.
22. Stewart (1987).
23. Brilliant (1984), Elsner (1995), Castriota (1992).
24. Goldhill and Osborne (1994).
25. Zeitlin (1994).
26. Lissarrague (1987, 1990).
27. See Sourvinou-Inwood (1991), with more theoretical discussion on 11–13.
28. Hoffmann (1994a); Osborne (1994).
29. On the critique of the new methods, see Boardman (1989b).
30. Fish (1980) 147–8.
31. See, generally, Lessing (1984) 1–22, and more specifically 85–90. Lessing (p. 18) believed that art is restricted to depicting a single moment of time "by virtue of its material limitations" and that "the artist can never make use of more than a single moment in ever-changing nature." The painter and sculptor can compensate for this by a judicious choice of moment and by their greater descriptive ability, for "the more we see, the more we must be able to imagine." On Lessing and modern criticism, see Beaujour (1980) 37–43 and more broadly Steiner (1982) 1–50. On the opposition of description and narration as modes, see summary in Hamon (1980) 9–12.
32. Chatman (1980–1) 121–40, esp. 121–7; Chatman (1974–5), esp. 314–17. On discussions of time in the context of Greek art, see Snodgrass (1987) 135–46 and Stewart (1987) and objections of Boardman (1989b).
33. See Steiner (1982) 35–6, Baxandall (1985) 2–3, and more generally Haber and Hershenson (1980) on the mechanics of visual perception.
34. Lotman (1974–5) 333–8, esp. 336.
35. See Dewey (1934) chap. 3, 35–57.
36. Bonheim (1975). See also Blanchard (1978) 252–3 on the incorporation of description and narrative into a "paranarrative" in the shield of Achilles.
37. Goldhill and Osborne (1994) 6.
38. Saint-Martin (1990) 183–5, 192–3, 201.
39. Eco (1979) 3–43.
40. Quoted by Plutarch, *De glor. Ath.*, Moralia 346f. On *ut pictura poesis*, see Hagstrum (1955) 3–36, and Steiner (1982) 5–9. On the applicability to pictorial narrative see Holliday (1993) 5. On the universality of narrative see White (1980–1) 5–7.
41. Plato, *Rep.* 596–8.
42. Aris., *Poet.* 6.20–1.
43. Ibid., 6.15–16.
44. Ibid., 20. This view has been extremely influential in structuralism and literary analysis; see, for example, Chatman (1974–5), Genette (1976–7), Ricoeur (1984–8).
45. Aris., *Poet.* 6. On action as the foundation of tragic narrative, see also Freeland (1992) 116 and Woodruff (1992) 81.
46. Aris., *Poet.* 1.2–6. In *Poet.* 5, Aristotle distinguishes the differences in diction among the poetic genres such as comedy, epic, and tragedy.

47. Aris., *Poet.* 4.1–6, tr. Halliwell (1987) 34. See Nagy (1992) for the importance of considering performance in understanding the *Iliad*.
48. Halliwell (1987) 79.
49. Aris., *Poet.* 6.
50. Barthes (1982) 252–7. For the influence of Aristotle and Plato, see, for example, Chatman (1974–5), Genette (1976–7), Ricoeur (1984–8).
51. Steiner (1982) 19–31 and 51–65.
52. On semiotics and structural analysis generally, see Eagleton (1983) 91–126. Eagleton, p. 100, summarizes that structuralism is a method of enquiry, whereas semiotics is a field of study. For the purposes here, semiotics will be particularly important in understanding and interpreting the signs that narratives present, whereas structuralism provides a guide for creating a framework that articulates the relationship of visual elements and participants in narrative.
53. Barthes (1982).
54. See Steiner (1982) 51 and 57–61.
55. On a critique of structuralism and an articulation of a poststructuralist view in literary criticism, see Eagleton (1983) 127–50.
56. See Osborne (1991).
57. This is also the level at which Saint-Martin (1990) seeks to define a process of semiotic analysis for visual language.
58. This term is employed by Eco (1979) as the first references in a narration to a possible world. The term as I have used it is somewhat different although related.

CHAPTER TWO. THE NARRATIVE MICRO-STRUCTURE

1. Barthes (1982) 260–8, see also Chatman (1969). Genette (1976–7) 5, distinguishes between diegesis (representation of actions and events) and description (representation of objects and people). Chatman (1975), who has a somewhat different but analogous structure consisting of (1) events, consisting of (a) actions (active) and (b) happenings (passive); and (2) existents, consisting of (a) characters and (b) setting.
2. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1913.146. *ARV*[2] 658.30; *Add.*[2] 277. See Baur (1922) 99, no. 146; Matheson Burke and Pollitt (1975) 66–8, no. 56 with bibl.; Matheson (1988) 30–1.
3. For recent discussions of domestic scenes with women, see Fantham et al. (1994) 96–115, and Reeder (1995).
4. Some definitions of pictorial narrative require that at least two images be present; see Steiner (1988) 13, 21, and 144, and Prince (1982) 4. This question will be discussed in the next section. On the choice of the "pregnant moment" as a proto-narrative see Steiner, pp. 154–6.
5. My thanks to Ann Steiner for clarifying the value of the objects as indexes for action.
6. Naples, Museo Nazionale 2422. *ARV*[2] 189.74; *Para.* 341; *Add.*[2] 189. The bibliography on this work is vast; see, among later references, FR I, 182–7 and pl. 34; Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton (1962) 330–1 and Fig. 125; Beazley (1974) 6–7 and 19, no. 66; Robertson (1975) 233–5; Simon and Hirmer (1976) 105–6 and pls. 128–9; Robertson (1992) 61–4; Connelly (1993) 112–19.
7. On the perception of verbal vs. visual information, see G. Cohen (1975–6).
8. For a more detailed example of such literary analysis, see Chatman (1969).
9. Corinth, CP 2096. See detailed description in Eliot and Eliot (1968) 348–51. See also Benson (1956) 220; Dunbabin (1962) 15, 57 no. 27; Snodgrass (1967) 56–7; Carter (1972) 57; Greenhalgh (1973) 69–70; Robertson (1975) 25–6; Boardman (1983) 28; Amyx (1988) 25, "Near the Huntsmen Painter" no. 1; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 148. The scene has attracted attention for the light that it may shed on the development of the

hoplite in early Greece, but for our purposes, we will focus on the actions of the figures and, importantly, the recipients of that action. For a review of the hoplite controversy, see Snodgrass (1993).

10. Athena and Gigantomachy: Snodgrass (1964) 230, n. 94 and Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 148; generally see *LIMC* II.1, 990–2, s.v. Athena B.2.a (R. Fleischer). Trojan War: Eliot and Eliot (1968) 349–50; on Memnon generally, see *LIMC* VI.1, 448–61, s.v. Memnon (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); on Penthesileia generally, see *LIMC* VII.1, 296–305, s.v. Penthesileia (E. Berger).
11. See Vickers and Gill (1994) and earlier Gill (1988, 1991) and Vickers (1985). Contra, see Boardman (1987), Cook (1987a), Robertson (1992) 2–6.
12. Palermo, Mus. Reg. *LIMC* 4.1, 81, s.v. Europe I no. 78 (M. Robertson). On the metope, see Langlotz and Hirmer (1967) 253–4 no. 8; Ridgway (1977) 243–5; Giuliani (1979) 43–50; Zahn (1983) 16–19 and 106, no. 5. On Europa, see *LIMC* 4.1, 76–92, s.v. Europe I (M. Robertson); Bühler (1968); Zahn (1983); Carpenter (1991) 39–40.
13. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.596 (impression). Boardman (1968) 106, no. 305, 108, and pl. 20; Boardman and Vollenweider (1978) 16, no. 75, pl. 14; Zahn (1983) 80–1 and 152, no. 200; *LIMC* 4.1, 81, s.v. Europe I no. 84 with illustration of gem (M. Robertson); Carpenter (1991) pl. 56.
14. See Ridgway (1977) 244–5 and generally on the function of architectural sculpture Holloway (1988).
15. Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2347, attributed to the Achilles Painter. *ARV*[2] 989.25. Zahn (1983) 114, no. 37; *LIMC* 4.1, 79, s.v. Europe I no. 46 (M. Robertson).
16. Athens, National Museum 7422. From Eretria. Züchner (1942) 88, no. KS 146; Zahn (1983) 135, no. 109; *LIMC* 4.1, 82, s.v. Europe I no. 100 (M. Robertson).
17. Reeder (1995) 125 and 124–8 generally on gesture and wedding with bibliography. On the related iconography of Nereids with Europa, see Barringer (1991).
18. See, for example, C. H. Kraeling in the introduction to the symposium "Narration in Ancient Art": *AJA* 61 (1957) 43 or Carter (1972) 52.
19. On the question of *Lebensbild* vs. *Sagenbild* and the requirement that pictorial narrative be mythological, see Fittschen (1969) 9–14; Isler (1973); Kannicht (1982) 73–6; Boardman (1983); Schmitt-Pantel and Thelamon (1983) 16; Snodgrass (1987) 147–8; Benson (1988); Holliday (1993) 4; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) 319–21.
20. Minneapolis Institute of Arts 57.1. *Para.* 59.2. Beazley (1958); Moon (1979) 70–1, no. 43 (M. B. Moore).
21. On these terms, see Prince (1982) 149, and Steiner (1988) 41.
22. On parables and narrative, see Kermode (1979) 23–5.
23. On this approach to creating heroic subjects in the Polygnotan Group, see Matheson (1995) 248.
24. On the importance of the nucleus as opposed to the identity of the character, see Burkert (1979) 79–80 and passim. Burkert, p. 96 notes that the name of the character is often later than the story patterns. Schmitt-Pantel and Thelamon (1983) 16, note that the images of reality and myth are constructed in the same way.
25. Prince (1982) 145 and 2–4.
26. See Steiner (1988) 13 and 144.
27. Prince (1982) 149, and generally 145–51. See also Steiner (1988) 8–9 and 35–41.
28. Carter (1972) 39–40; for a reexamination of the relationship of the Near East and Greece, see Morris (1992).
29. Generally, see Coldstream (1968) 26–8; Carter (1972) 28–37; Kopcke (1977); Hurwit (1985a) 33–46.
30. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 92; Carter (1972) 38.
31. Carter (1972) 52; Boardman (1983) 25–9.
32. Kerameikos 2159. Kübler (1954) 135–6 and Taf. 111 and 141, from a disturbed and

mixed context of the sixth century; Coldstream (1968) 27–8; Schweitzer (1971) 35–6; Carter (1972) 28–9; Benson (1970) 80, places this as the earliest human figure, noting a tentative quality of the effort not as apparent in the horse.

33. See detailed discussions of Whitley (1991) 45–53, 138–44, and 160–1 with earlier bibliography; Hurwit (1993) 15 and 36.
34. Eleusis 741. See Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) 327–9 and n. 60 with earlier bibliography.
35. This is a point noted about a sixth-century hydria by Vermeule (1965b) 42 and 46, and Shapiro (1994) 29–32.
36. On the potential meaning of the asterisks, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) 328.
37. See Ohly (1953) 73–80; Fittschen (1969) 76–88; Kübler (1970) 69–88; Rombos (1988) 185–208.
38. Athens, First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, 1955 ERK 643. From Erechtheion street cemetery, grave q2. See Brouskari (1979) 24–7 and synopsis, 74–7; *Human Figure* (1988) 66–7, no. 5; Rombos (1988) 187, 498, no. 303 and pl. 38a. On Burly Workshop, see Davison (1968) 99–100; Brouskari (1979) 76–82 (synopsis); Rombos (1988) 352–7. A skyphos-pyxis from the tomb (ERK 645) shows two facing lions; see Rombos (1988) 498, no. 302 and pl. 35b. On the theme generally in the Late Geometric period, see Fittschen (1969) 76–88 and Rombos (1988) 185–208. Of Fittschen's 45 examples, 5 belong to the second quarter of the eighth century, 6 to the fourth quarter, and 10 to the end of the century (ca. 700).
39. Right and left are somewhat ambiguous given the lack of detail in Geometric painting. Normally, one would expect the sword to be in the right hand, but if the head faces down and toward the right, as the bumps on the head would suggest, then the sword must be in the left hand. The limitations of the Geometric figure style in describing action become apparent here.
40. Webster (1955) 40, comments on another lion attack in Copenhagen that the warrior might survive the attack like Jonah and the whale or Jason emerging from the mouth of a cup by Douris (Rome, Vatican Museum, *ARV*[2] 437.16; see Boardman [1975] fig. 288). In the later case, the presence of Athena would indicate heroic survival; no such harbinger appears on the Burly oinochoe.
41. Hurwit (1985a) 65–70.
42. For various opinions on sources, see Benson (1970) 84 and 99–103 (Mycenaean and Minoan influence, also Eygptian influence on prothesis scene); Carter (1972) 39–45 (Near Eastern sources); Benson (1988) 72–3 (on epic lays). Against the influence of epic, see Snodgrass (1979) 120–2; also Cook (1983) for later periods.
43. See Ohly (1953) 76–82 and esp. nos. A7–11. On the decline in metal offerings see Whitley (1991) 165; on the sources of the image, see Kübler (1970) 69–72 and passim.
44. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.4554. See Bothmer (1984) 20, no. 10 with color reproduction and detail on p. 7; see also Gjerstad (1946) 10–11; Mitford (1963); Frankfort (1970) 331, and drawing in Fig. 393.
45. See Rombos (1988) 205–7. The exception is a four-legged stand: Athens, Kerameikos 407; see Kübler (1954) 177 and n. 171; Fittschen (1969) 81, no. L28; Hurwit (1985a) 115–19; Rombos (1988) 537–8, no. 414. The two lion-man struggles on this stand are much closer to the nucleus of Near Eastern art.
46. See Rombos (1988) 195–9.
47. See Kübler (1954) 177, n. 171, and Fittschen (1969) 81, n. 420, for the Kerameikos stand.
48. Markoe (1989) 88–92; see also Ohly (1953) 76–7 and Schefold (1985b) 2–3.
49. Among various arguments for this viewpoint, see Brunnsåker (1962) 188.
50. Hurwit (1985a) 115–19.
51. A four-legged stand from the Kerameikos does show two scenes of a warrior confronting an upright predator; the other two scenes show a herder carrying an animal. This work

clearly intends some reference to the herd protection scenario. Athens, Kerameikos 407; see Kübler (1954) 177 and n. 171; Fittschen (1969) 81, no. L28; Hurwit (1985a) 115–19; Rombos (1988) 537–8, no. 414.

52. See Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) for a comparison of ekphrasis and pictorial narration and earlier bibliography.
53. On the relationship of Near Eastern and Greek art and literature see generally Boardman (1980) 54–84 and Morris (1992) 124–49.

The parallels between ekphrasis and artwork can be summarized as follows. First, the poet focuses a great deal of attention on the process of manufacture and on the materials and their appearance, such as gold, silver, and tin. The description mixes elements of iron age metalwork with those of the bronze age as exemplified by the dagger blades from the shaft graves at Mycenae. The specificity and detail of the ekphrasis point to an awareness of real processes and materials. Second, the compositional configuration used in the shield is a long frieze, sometimes self-contained, essentially symmetrical and tripartite in nature like on the Eleusis skyphos, and sometimes going continuously around in a circle, as on the New York krater or on Near Eastern metal bowls and plates; on the tripartite structure of composition in the *Iliad* and Geometric art, see Andreae and Flashar (1977) 218–22 and 236–7. Third, the figures in the shield are described in terms of their actions and of the objects that project from the body, such as flutes, weapons, or farm implements. There is little mention of internal details of anatomy or of facial features. Only a few figures are individualized in any way, but these are almost always in terms of their function, like the king in the field holding a staff (*Il.* 18.556–7), whereas most are repeated units collected into groups. Fourth, there is a consistency of scale. For example, in describing the armor of Agamemnon in another ekphrasis (*Il.* 11.15–42), the poet provides details of its parts and decoration. Such a level of detail is not used in describing the armor of the figures on the shield of Achilles, rather the arms are simply named. If one imagines the shields of Achilles and Agamemnon as comparable in dimension, then the scale of the warriors depicted on the former would have been miniature, making the details of their armor microscopic by comparison with Agamemnon's. By simply naming the armor depicted on the shield of Achilles, the poet maintains a consistency in the level of detail that is commensurate with the size of what is described. Fifth, although the shield's figures have a lifelike animation conferred on them by the poetic imagination, a similar effort of fantasy can invest the vase paintings with the same qualities. Finally, the generic nature of the scenes on the shield and the appearance of figures who are almost exclusively identified by the function is virtually the same as on the vases, although their range is broader; the exceptions are Ares and Athena (*Il.* 18.516), and three personifications – Hate, Confusion, and Death (*Il.* 18.535). Taken together, these parallels between the poetic ekphrasis and contemporary works open up the use of ekphrasis as a model for Geometric pictorial narration.

54. See, for example, Byre (1992) 38–9.
55. See Byre (1992) 39–40.
56. *The Iliad of Homer*, tr. R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1951) 390–1.
57. *Il.* 18.581: ἕλκετο = imperfect, indicative, passive, singular, third person of ἑλκέω.
58. *Il.* 18.580: ἐχέτην = pluperfect dual third person of ἔχω.
59. *Il.* 18.582–3: ἀναρρήξαντε = future active participle of ἀναρρήγωυμι; λαφύσσετον = pres. ind. act. d3.
60. Snodgrass (1987) 148–50; Whitley (1991) 137–42; Coldstream (1991) 40–2. For a review of figural scenes outside Attica, see Coldstream (1991) 42–5. Most of these figural scenes are not narrative, although the Cretan Late Protogeometric bell krater (Coldstream, 1991, Fig. 15) showing a man being devoured by two lions does predate the occurrence of the theme in Attic vase painting (see Fig. 16).
61. Hoffmann (1988a) 748.
62. Paris, Louvre A 519. See Hampe (1936) 48–9; Villard (1954) 6–7 and pl. 5 (with earlier bibliography); Kunze (1954) 54–5; Davison (1968) 28–9; Coldstream (1968) 31, no. 17 and 38–9; idem (1977) 113 and 352; idem (1991) 49–52; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 33 and 40, text fig. 2; Hurwit (1993) 34–6. Much of the discussion of this vase regards the twin warriors at lower left.

63. Webster (1955).
64. On the basic positions for the shield controversy, see *contra:* Boardman (1983) 27–8 with bibliography; *pro:* Snodgrass (1980b) 55–8 and summary in Hurwit (1993) 35–6.
65. Boardman (1983) 27–8.
66. Snodgrass (1979); Snodgrass (1980a) 73–4; idem (1980b) 54–8. Kannicht (1982) 74–5 has also suggested that a picture may have several possible interpretations that are not mutually exclusive. Hurwit (1985b) 122–5 suggests that Geometric armorers created the Dipylon shield, modeling it on the Mycenaean double-axe motif; the aristocrats of Athens used it as a symbol of heroic status. Thus, the painters are imitating a real shield type, but one that was more symbolic than practical.
67. Snodgrass (1980b) 52; idem (1987) 153. Snodgrass points out that the Dipylon warriors are losers in 13 of 23 battles.
68. For a discussion of the multivalent nature of signs, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 11–16.
69. *LIMC* I.1, 472–6, s.v. "Aktorione" (R. Hampe) lists nineteen examples. No. 5 is the Louvre prothesis krater (A 517), of which only the four legs survive and not the body. Another, no. 10, is a reference by Pausanias (3.18.15) to a relief on the throne of Bathykles at Amykeai. The bibliography on this debate is considerable; see *LIMC* I.1, 472.
70. Proponents of the identification include Hampe (1936) 45–9; Ahlberg (1971a) 248; Coldstream (1977) 354; King (1977) 37; Snodgrass (1980) 76–7; Froning (1988) 184; Coldstream (1991) 51; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 32–5.
71. For Hesiod, see *Fr.* 17a (Merkelbach/West); for *Iliad* passages, see 11.708–9, 11.750–60, and 23.638–42. On the literary sources see Snodgrass (1979) 125–6 and Hampe in *LIMC* I.1, 472.
72. Funeral games: New York 14.130.15; see Ahlberg (1971b) 240–52 and Froning (1988) 181–6. Combat with Nestor: Athens, Agora P4885; see Webster (1955) 41; Coldstream (1968) 351; Schweitzer (1971) 44; Coldstream (1991) 51. Shapiro (1983a) 89 maintains that the linkage to the Neleids is not inconceivable.
73. Boardman (1970) 501; idem (1983) 25–6.
74. *LIMC* I.1, 474, "Aktorione" nos. 6–10.
75. Skeptics include Fittschen (1969) 71, and Boardman (1970) 501. Duplicate argument: Richter (1915) 395; Cook (1934–5) 206; Boardman (1983) 25–6. See also Brunnsåker (1962) 204: "a general formula for inseparability."
76. See Coldstream (1991) 48–9.
77. For example, the Louvre battle krater (Hampe no. 11) and nos. 4a, 4b, and 12.
78. Brunnsåker (1962) 204; King (1977) 37.
79. The term "generic narrative" is based in part on Snodgrass's idea of generalized heroic. Snodgrass's term fits very well the qualities of many scenes found in Geometric painting, a monumental expression in which the events of both everyday and heroic ideal mingle. However, not all generalized heroic scenes are narrative.
80. Ahlberg (1971a) 36 proposes that the figures are floating on the sea since their bent and raised arms show that they are not corpses, but rather that they are flailing about in the sea as in the shipwreck scene on Munich 8696 or on the krater from Pithekoussai. Schäfer (1983) 75 downplays the idea of a spatial or physical connection among the figures.
81. *Il.* 16.140–4.
82. Fittschen (1969) 159, n. 780 notes that this equation of direction and victory is operative by the late eighth century. See also Touchefeu (1983) 24 and Snodgrass (1987) 144.
83. The bibliography on the stylistic character of the reliefs is vast. For a description of the

sculpture and reviews of the character see Picard and Coste-Messelière (1928); Coste-Messelière (1936) 237–448; Robertson (1975) 152–8; Moore (1977); Ridgway (1977) 267–71; Stewart (1990) 128–9 with earlier bibliography; Boardman (1991a) 158–9. On the reconstruction of the treasury, see Daux and Hansen (1987) 223–36.

84. Brinkmann (1985) 110–21; followed by Stewart (1990) 128 and Boardman (1991a) Fig. 212. Interestingly, the isolated position of Nestor is also found in the *Iliupersis* painting by Polygnotos that stood in the Lesche at Delphi.
85. Brommer (1969) 31; see Herodotos 1.31. See also Pollitt (1972) 7–9 and idem (1990) 31. On inscriptions see Rouveret (1989) 137–9, who contrasts the Archaic system of inscriptions with that based on expression in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. In point of fact, however, most Archaic scenes did not have inscriptions. Only four scenes of Herakles vs. Nessos, for example, have inscriptions, whereas the vast majority do not (see Section 3.5 in Chapter Three). The role of inscriptions in comprehending Archaic pictorial narrative is important, but does not constitute a different system of narration but a different form of engagement with the viewer within the macro-structure.
86. On the iconography of departure see Shapiro (1990a).
87. See also the analysis of a cup by Epiktetos in Lissarrague (1994).

CHAPTER THREE. THE NARRATIVE MACRO-STRUCTURE

1. Eco (1979) 27–32.
2. Aesch., *Eum.* 46–59; translation from *Aeschylus I: Oresteia*, tr. R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1953). See Shapiro (1994) 143–4 for a discussion of this passage.
3. On ekphrasis generally, see Friedländer (1912). Bartsch (1989) 9–10, points out that ekphrasis in the rhetorical handbooks of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods simply means description, and not specifically a description of works of art. There is in the present study, however, a value in distinguishing between description of real works and creations of the literary imagination. As the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* points out, the use of *ekphrasis* for rhetorical and literary descriptions of art, usually imaginary, is a commonly understood definition for the term.
4. By description and *ekphrasis*, I am speaking in similar but narrower terms to two of the sources of ancient art criticism identified by Pollitt: the compilers of tradition and the literary analogists. See Pollitt (1990) 6–7.
5. See Becker (1992) 12–13 and 17–19, and the following discussion on ekphrasis.
6. Baxandall (1985) 2–4.
7. An excellent example of this is Harrison's reconstruction of the Battle of Marathon; see Harrison (1972b) and Fig. 63. For the Lesche paintings of Polygnotos, which examine the spatial relationship of prepositions and other locating terms in Pausanias's detailed description and plots them on the plan of the building revealed by excavations, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1989, 1990).
8. Eco (1979) 27–32. See also idem (1990) 64–82.
9. The following discussion relies heavily on Becker (1992) 7–13. See also Bartsch (1989).
10. Translation from Becker (1992) 8.
11. Ibid., 12.
12. The following discussion is based on Becker's analysis of the Shield of Achilles and the Shield of Herakles; see Becker (1990) 141–7 and idem (1992) 15–19.
13. Becker (1992) 16.
14. Paus. 5.11.6, tr. Pollitt (1990) 60.
15. Eco (1979) 12–13.
16. Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argo.* 1.721–70; Theokritos, *Idyll* 1.25–54; Moschos, *Europa* 37–62.
17. Shield of Achilles: *Il.* 18.474–608; cup of Nestor: *Il.* 11.632–7; brooch of Odysseus: *Od.* 19.226–30. For discussions of these, see Pollitt (1990) 15–18; Lorimer (1929), Gray (1954), Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) 317 and 320–1. Like descriptions, it should be noted that ekphrastic imagery does not have to be narrative, particularly if the object being described has no figural decoration or simply shows a nonnarrative action like the doves feeding on the cup of Nestor (*Il.* 11. 633–4). Here I do not agree with Heffernan (1991) 302, that "language releases a narrative impulse which graphic art restricts, and that to resist such an impulse takes a special effort of poetic will."
18. For example, the silver krater awarded in the funeral games of Patroklos is of Sidonian manufacture (*Il.* 23.740–4). On the materials and craft of the shield, see Morris (1992) 11–12.
19. See Fowler (1989) 5–15. See Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argo.* 1.721–70; Theokritos, *Idyll* 1.25–54; Moschos, *Europa* 37–62.
20. On the idea of hieroglyphs in pictorial narration, see Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967). The use of the term here refers to the standardized form of the nucleus for certain types of actions that provide an instant recognizability to the viewer. In some cases, this may consist of just the nucleus, as in Herakles and the Nemean lion, or might include other functions as integral parts of the formulation as in the Judgment of Paris, where the goddesses serve more as catalysts than as nuclei, despite their necessity for the story.
21. See Pollitt (1990) 15–18.
22. *Il.* 18.497–508, tr. by the author. For a more detailed discussion and bibliography on this passage and its relationship to Geometric images, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995).
23. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.14. See Richter (1915); Davison (1968) 141; Coldstream (1968) 42, no. 13. On the prothesis, see Ahlberg (1971b) no. 25.
24. Morris (1992) 12–13. Named are Ares and Athena and Hate, Confusion, and Death. No mortal figures are named, only their status or function is indicated.
25. *Sc.* 139–317. See Janko (1986) with an earlier bibliography on the origins and authorship of the poem and Fittschen (1973) 18–23, and bibliography on 27–8 for the archaeology of the shield. On the dating of the poem, see Cook (1937). On the qualities of ekphrasis here, see Becker (1990) 141–7 and idem (1992) 15–19.
26. Tr. *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, tr. H. G. Evelyn-White (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1914) 235–7.
27. Paris, Louvre E 874. *ABV* 8.1. See Beazley (1986) 15–16, with earlier bibliography; Hurwit (1985a) 219–21; Cook (1997) 71–2. On the iconography of Perseus in flight, see *LIMC* VII.1, 338–42, s.v. Perseus III (L. J. Roccos).
28. Color is more richly prominent and varied than in the shield of Achilles, such as the red of blood, and the expressions as well as the gestures of figures now attract the attention of the poet. Examples: [l. 145] "eyes that glowed with fire"; [ll. 159–60] "a garment red with the blood of men; and terribly she glared and gnashed her teeth"; [l. 193] "[Ares] was red with blood"; [ll. 229–30] "Perseus himself, the son of Danaë, was at full stretch, like one who hurries and shudders with terror."
29. Euripides, *Ion* 188–218, tr. R. F. Willetts from *Euripides III*, ed. D. Grene and R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1958) 191–2.
30. See Stewart (1990) 129 and Fig. 200, with earlier bibliography; Boardman (1991a) Fig. 203. The building that the chorus describes would be the temple reconstructed in the late sixth century, whose eastern pediment was all in marble, a gift of the Alkmaionidai of Athens, opponents of the Peisistratidai. The patronage is based on Herodotos 5.62; see Pollitt (1990) 184. The subject described by the chorus, a Gigantomachy, was on the limestone west pediment, not the east pediment that they are approaching. Additionally, how the scenes with Herakles and Bellerophon mentioned before the description of the pediment fit with the temple's decoration is unclear.
31. Zeitlin (1994) 147–52.
32. Tr. Pollitt (1990) 186.
33. Paus. 5.19.7, tr. Pollitt (1990) 214. See Massow (1916) 92–4. On the iconography of

this scene, see Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 81–131, esp. no. 169; *LIMC* VI.1, 55, s.v. Kirke, F, no. 51 (F. Canciani). For an alternative reading of this scene as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis see Carpenter (1986) 7.

34. The verb καθεύδω normally translates as "to lie down to sleep," but with a couple, the sense is more "to lie down together" for other purposes, as is the case when Hephaistos discovers Ares lying down with his wife Aphrodite in *Od.* 8.313.
35. See, for example, sources in Pollitt (1990) 19–42, 124–6, 206–16. One exception is Pliny's account (*N.H.* 36.13) of the statue of Artemis in Chios by the sons of Archermos. He reports that "it is set on high and those entering the building find its expression sad, while those who are leaving find it cheerful"; tr. Pollitt (1990) 29.
36. Paus. 5.17.7; tr. Pollitt (1990) 211. On the iconography of this scene, see *LIMC* I.1, 695–7, s.v. Amphiaraos E, esp. no. 7 (I. Krauskopf); on the core features of the departure, see discussion on 706–7. See also Amyx (1983).
37. First published by Amandry (1939); see Carter (1985) 163–73 and detailed discussion of Carter (1989) with earlier bibliography; see also *LIMC* I.1, 695, s.v. Amphiaraos no. 16.
38. See Vernant in Zeitlin (1994) 190.
39. Ibid., esp. 176.
40. Tr. Pollitt (1990) 155–6. See Halliwell (1986) 112–13.
41. Paus. 10.29.19; tr. Pollitt (1990) 138. See Section 5.3 in Chapter Five for a fuller discussion.
42. Paus. 10.31.8; tr. Pollitt (1990) 140.
43. Athens, National Museum. See Koch (1914); Pfuhl (1923) 492–3; Payne (1925–6); Payne (1931) 96–7, 125; Kähler (1949) 28–37; Matz (1950) 237–47; Robertson (1959) 48–51; Schefold (1966) 35–8; Fittschen (1969) 155, SB48 and 198, SB119; Robertson (1975) 53; Hurwit (1985a) 161–3 and Fig. 69; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 114, no. 122; 133, no. 152; and 138, no. 158. On the reconstruction of the form of the temple itself, see Beyer (1972).
44. Berlin 3773. See detailed description in Washburn (1906) 116–19. See also Friis Johansen (1923) 98, no. 52 and passim; Pfuhl (1923) 103–9, esp. 104–5; Payne (1931) 244; Neugebauer (1932) 14; Payne (1933) 14–15, 23 and pl. 23.1–3; Lorimer (1947) 84–85; Matz (1950) 227–8; Benson (1953) 19, list no. 15, no. 2; Dunbabin and Robertson (1953) 179, no. 11; Amyx (1988) 32, no. 2.
45. Osborne (1987). One might also compare the Chigi aryballos as a scale suitable for a personal object with the silver aryballos formerly in the Metropolitan Museum; see Bothmer (1984) 35, no. 45.
46. Olympia Museum. The bibliography on the metopes is vast; see, among others, Treu (1897) 150–78, and Taf. XXXV–XLV; Ashmole and Yalouris (1967); Robertson (1975) 274–6; Geertman (1987) with bibliography; Cohen (1994) 705–14.
47. Carpenter (1950) 332 notes that the sculptor here "steps free of chronological impediment and attains a timeless universality" by conflating different moments. In particular, he notes that the cushion that Herakles uses was a ruse by him to get Atlas to shoulder the sky again while he fetched it. There is no reason, however, to think that this is the only version of the event. It is possible, for example, that Herakles wanted to adjust his cushion or used some other ruse to entice Atlas. The cushion may serve as index to the version of the story that we know, but it need not distort the unity of space and time within the picture.
48. See Brommer (1969) 21; Osborne (1994) 62.
49. Naples, G103–4. See generally Brunnsåker (1971) with earlier bibliography and specifically pp. 45–83 for the Naples statues; Ridgway (1970) 79–83; Taylor (1981) 37–46; Boardman (1985) 24–5 and Figs. 3 to 9; Landwehr (1985) 27–47; Schuchhardt and Landwehr (1986); Mattusch (1988) 119–27; Stewart (1990) 135–6. On a semiotic analysis of the Tyrannicides, see Bérard (1983) 27–33.

50. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.936. See Hauser (1904) 163–5; Robinson (1905); Brunnsåker (1971) 105–6; Mattusch (1988) 125–6.
51. See the arguments of Brunnsåker (1971) 156–64.
52. The purpose of the pillar in front of the group in Fig. 34 is unclear, but the beveled surface facing forward would suggest that if it had an inscription, it was meant to be read from the front.
53. The only element lacking in the Perseus metope is the pursuing Gorgons, but a fragment from another metope shows the leg and foot of a running figure like Perseus, but with the flesh painted white indicating a female and very likely one of the pursuing sisters. See Payne (1925–6) 127, no. 4; Kähler (1949) 34 identifies this definitively as a pursuing Gorgon.
54. See discussion in Sparkes (1996) 155–67.
55. Formerly in New York, Metropolitan Museum 66.11.27. See Bothmer (1984) 35, no. 45; Markoe (1989) 106 and pl. 20.
56. Saint-Martin (1990) 54–73, uses some of these aspects to define the variables of visual semiotics. Some of these aspects have been discussed in Hurwit (1977). The list here has been compiled with an eye toward the discussion of pictorial narrative.
57. For a discussion of different compositions within a single subject, the rape of Kassandra, see Connelly (1993).
58. On elements of configuration, see Hurwit (1977) 1–15 and Stupperich (1992) 427–8.
59. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 515, attributed to the Copenhagen Painter. *ARV*[2] 256.5; *Add.*[2] 204. See Brunnsåker (1971) 108; Boardman (1975) 113–14; Beckel, Froning, and Simon (1983) 102–3, no. 44; Bérard (1983) 29; Simon (1985) 71–2; Mattusch (1988) 126–7. Simon points out that the other side has a related composition of the tyrant's supporters fleeing, making this an example of unified narrative (see Section 4.3 in Chapter Four).
60. Hurwit (1977) 5–15 defines four different types of open modes: obstructed image, interrupted frame, overlapped and overlapping image, and free field. The effects of each type on narrative will be reserved for more specific discussions later.
61. Saint-Martin (1990) 61 discusses vectorality, but I use the term movement here for narrative art to suggest both a pictorial as well as a representational element.
62. See, for example, Touchefeu (1983) 24 and Snodgrass (1987) 144.
63. Chafe (1980) 9–50; Chafe (1990) 93–5. See also Genette (1976–7) 7.
64. Becker (1990, 1992).
65. On perspective and the rendering of depth and volume in Greek art, see White (1956); Richter (1970); Pollitt (1974) 236–53; Bruno (1977) 23–30; Hurwit (1985a) 299–309; Pollitt (1986) 187–92; Rouveret (1989) 16–127. The interpretation of *skiagraphia* is quite varied and uncertain; see Rouveret (1989) 24–59.
66. The figures are attributed to Onatos; see Paus. 5.25.8. Harrison (1985) 47–53 argues strongly that the Riace bronzes belonged once to this group. Pemberton (1989) 187–8 points out that painting did not face the restrictions of relief sculpture in developing multiple ground lines, but the shift to a ground plane can be seen in works like the Albani relief and in the shield of Athena Parthenos (with its multiple levels). A more important development for sculpture, however, is the extension of its space into that of the viewer, making sculpture in the round a more dramatic medium for narrative.
67. Whether the term *skiagraphia* signified the use of light and shadow or modeling is disputed and the interpretation of the term is quite varied; see Rouveret (1989) 24–59.
68. London, British Museum D 5. *ARV*[2] 763.2; *Add.*[2] 286. The set of three cups has been the subject of much recent discussion, especially concerning their subject matter; see Pfuhl (1923) 547 and pl. 199; Robertson (1975) 263–6 with earlier bibliography; Burn (1985); Simon (1985) 77–8; Griffiths (1986); Osborne (1988) 9–14; Schefold and Jung (1989) 75; Hoffmann (1989a); Robertson (1992) 185–8; Sparkes (1996) 159–60. For

color detail, see Robertson (1959) 130; see also Hoffmann (1989a). On Glaukos, see *LIMC* IV.1, 273–4, s.v. Glaukos II (O. Palagia).

69. On the cup context, see Burn (1985) 99–101; generally, for funerary context, see Hoffmann (1988a); (1989b); (1994b) 71.
70. As described by Paus. 10.25.11.
71. Robertson (1975) 249; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1989) 207.
72. Hyg. *Fab*. 136.
73. See Osborne (1988) 12. Burn (1985) 94, views the narrative as conflating different moments at once, viewing Polyeidos's raised stick as intended for the first, already dead snake, and showing Glaukos as alive. As Hoffmann (1989a) 79, points out, burial is a transition state between life and death, and the ancient Greeks may have believed that the soul remained in the tomb for nine days. Thus, to show Glaukos as alive but inanimate would be an understandable representation of this transition state.
74. On the spatial and temporal ambiguity of the work, see Burn (1985) 94, and Robertson (1992) 187–8.
75. The cup was, of course, intended as a grave good and not to be actually used. However, the idea that grave goods served symbolically the same purpose as real drinking vessels would argue that a coordination of the decoration with the vantage point of the deceased user would be similar to that of a real cup for a live viewer. See Hoffmann (1988a) 748, (1988b) 152–5, and (1994a) 32 and Vermeule (1979) 56–8 and Fig. 13.
76. On the general funerary implications of the iconography and the idea of death as a transition, see Burn (1985) 102–3 and Hoffmann (1989a) 69 and 81.
77. See Pliny, *N.H.* 35.65.
78. On Marathon, see Paus. 1.15.3; on Delphi, see Paus. 10.25–31 and illustrations in Section 5.3. A more detailed setting can be found in Lucian's description of Zeuxis's painting of the centaur family; see Zeuxis or Antiochos 3, tr. Pollitt (1990) 152.
79. See generally Chatman (1974–5); Genette (1980); Ricœur (1980–1); Chatman (1980–1).
80. Genette (1980) 34–6.
81. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.83. *ARV*[2] 1012.3, *Para*. 440, *Add*.[2] 314. See Alexander (1941) 203–4; Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 95–6, no. 187; Connor (1988) 45–9; Buitron and Cohen (1992) 90–1, no. 25. On Circe generally, see Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 81–131; *LIMC* VI.1, 52–5, s.v. Kirke, D (F. Canciani); Buitron and Cohen (1992) 77–94; Cohen (1995) 36–8; Reeder (1995) 403–6.
82. On the representation of metamorphosis, see Davies (1986).
83. I have chosen the term synoptic over simultaneous or complementary since its seems best to convey the idea of multiple scenes as contrasted to monoscenic.
84. Genette (1980) 39–40.
85. Boston, MFA 99.518. *ABV* 198; *Para*. 80; *Add*.[2] 53. See description in M. True, *CVA Boston* 2 (U.S.A. 19) 30–2 and pl. 88, with earlier bibliography. On the narrative qualities of this vase, see especially Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 74–6; Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 86–7, no. 171 and 283–4; Snodgrass (1982) 6–8; Raeck (1984) 5–6; Snodgrass (1987) 136–40; Shapiro (1989) 45; Buitron and Cohen (1992) 77–80; Shapiro (1994) 53–9.
86. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 81 views the closed, symmetrical composition as typical of archaic narration, as is its un-unified time. Each element carries its own story with it, and their combination in the closed composition binds them together into a single narrative panel. This is the essence of his hieroglyphic narrative system. In this case, Odysseus and Eurylochos would be excerpts from later stages, added to the core motif of Circe to create an expanded range of time. In many ways, this is similar to the structuralist school in anthropology, which views mythological figures as important for the idea that they represent rather than the role that they play within a given narrative; see Snodgrass (1987) 137–9. Snodgrass (1987) 136–7 and 139–46 and (1982) 6–8 has argued instead that time is not disregarded, but rather defied in order to place successive episodes together synoptically. This type of narration is typical of the Archaic period; cases where time is more synchronous with space (monoscenic) are more the result of the amount of material the artist felt was needed to make the story clear or where an episodic treatment was less appropriate.

87. See Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 30–2 on the intent of this motif.
88. There are examples of general subject labels in Greek art. The fragmentary dinos by Sophilos showing the chariot race at the funeral games of Patroklos is inscribed PATROKLUS: ATLA or "games in honor of Patroklos" (Athens, National Museum 15499, *ABV* 39.16). The Lesche paintings of Polygnotos at Delphi were inscribed "Polygnotos, Thasian by birth, Aglaophon's son, / Painted the sacking of Ilium's citadel"; Paus. 10.27.4; tr. Pollitt (1990) 133. Curiously, Pausanias mentions this inscription at the end of his description of the painting, nor does he record any inscription for the subject of the other half of the program, Odysseus in the Underworld.
89. Steiner (1982) 9. See also her summary of semiotics on 19–24.
90. See Hoffmann (1990) and also Isler (1973) 37–8.
91. On the idea of the model book, see Schefold (1985a) and (1992) 1 and 303, with earlier bibliography. This idea has been treated skeptically and rightly, I believe, by Boardman (1978) 11.
92. See Bérard (1983) 5–13.
93. Paus. 5.18.4 and 5.17.11; tr. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 3, tr. W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod (London/Cambridge, Mass., 1960). On the meaning of schema and its reference to "the position of the body and the arrangement of its drapery" or to a "formula," see Pollitt (1974) 260–2.
94. Athens, National Museum 1002. *ABV* 4–5.1; *Para*. 2.6; *Add*.[2] 1–2. For detailed descriptions of the vase see Arias and Hirmer (1962) 276–7 and pl. 18–20, and Simon and Hirmer (1976) 66–7 and pls. 44–6; for other discussions, see Robertson (1975) 54–5; Hurwit (1985a) 176–9; Cook (1997) 69–70. I will follow Beazley's spelling of the painter's name, while referring to the figure of the centaur in his more common spelling of Nessos. On Nessos and Herakles, see *LIMC* VI.1, 838–47, s.v. Nessos (F. Díez de Velasco); *Vasenlisten*[3] 153–8.
95. Hurwit (1977) 29.
96. In addition to the large variations that occur in depictions of the story, there is also no literary account of the attack by sword. Nevertheless, there is a consistency in its depiction that shows the existence of at least a widespread pictorial and perhaps oral tradition for such a story.
97. Fittschen (1970) 163, lists four examples with inscriptions, one of which is Athens 1002, a second is a Tyrhennian amphora (Paris, Louvre E852 = *ABV* 96.13) and two red-figure cups.
98. Paus. 3.18.12 and 3.18.16; tr. Pollitt (1990) 25. In this passage, Pausanias assumes a high level of familiarity in the reader with what he sees, as he comments at the beginning that "To go through the reliefs one by one in detail would only be a bore to my readers. But, to give a brief description (since many of them are not unfamiliar) . . ."; Paus. 3.18.10, tr. Pollitt (1990) 23. For bibliography on the throne, see Pollitt 241, s.v. no. 10.
99. Newark, Museum, 50.279. See *LIMC* VI.1, 841, s.v. Nessos no. 44; Dusenbery (1951–2) 5.
100. Even with club and Deianeira present in the Newark kylix, there is no guarantee, only a very high probability, in the identification. For example, a red-figure stamnos in Naples (Mus. Naz. 3089) shows the basic compositional elements of the Nessos story, but the centaur is labeled Dexamenos, perhaps a mistake for Eurytion but in any case

not Nessos; see *LIMC* III.1, 385–6, s.v. Dexamenos II (D. Gondicas) and *LIMC* III.1, 359, s.v. Deianeira II, no. 2 (R. Vollkommer). See the discussion of F. Díez de Velasco in *LIMC* VI.1, 844–5.

101. On the depictions of Nessos, Deianeira, and Herakles see *LIMC* VI.1, 838–47, s.v. Nessos (F. Díez de Velasco), with bibliography; see also Brommer (1984) 48–53.
102. See Díez de Velasco in *LIMC* VI.1, 845, s.v. Nessos nos. 36, 50, 71, and 72 for the exceptions.
103. This is quite at variance with the Protoattic amphora in New York showing Nessos facing forward toward Herakles; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.210.01; see Morris (1984) 65–8 and Fig. 15, Shapiro (1994) 156–8 and Figs. 110 and 111. Another Protoattic representation of a hero with sword facing a centaur fits more closely with the New York amphora; Herakles stands on the right facing leftward, and the centaur faces forward and rightward toward him; see *LIMC* VI.1, 845, s.v. Nessos no. 114. On three other Archaic depictions illustrated in *LIMC* (Nessos nos. 33, 43, and 102), the torso of Nessos is turned frontally, but his head apparently (but unclearly due to the painting) faces rightward away from Herakles. In two cases, 33 and 102, Herakles is absent from the composition, although a striding male figure in 33 may be him.
104. The Archaic iconography of Deianeira also differs from her presentation in a chariot on the Protoattic New York amphora. Archaic depictions consistently show Nessos carrying or having carried Deianeira himself; chariots do not feature in these compositions. Even when Deianeira is standing by or fleeing, the implication is clear that Nessos has carried her to this point, a point that is not at all clear in the New York Nessos amphora.
105. Brommer (1984) 54–9. In his encounters with Pholos, Herakles is usually confronting more than one centaur and brandishes either a burning log or bow and arrow, and frequently there is a container of wine present and Pholos holding a cup. The few exceptions to the identification of the scene in figures 39 and 40 as Herakles and Nessos should not obscure the fact that there exists a very large number of uninscribed scenes that can be confidently identified as such.
106. Fittschen (1970) 163 and 170. The Nessos formula is also used in fifth-century depictions of Herakles and Dexamenos. Díez de Velasco in *LIMC* VI.1, 845 notes the general iconographic ambiguity, but concludes that most of the depictions represent the Nessos story; Vollkommer (1988) 27 concludes differently that many of the uninscribed scenes of the Classical period may represent the Dexamenos story.
107. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1983.22. *ABV* 135.46; *Add.*[2] 36. See Matheson (1984) 10–11; and Matheson (1988) 12, for color reproduction. On the birth of Athena, see Kauer (1959) for literary sources; Brommer (1961); Loeb (1979) 14–27; *LIMC* II.1, 985–9 and 1021–3, s.v. Athena, B.1 (H. Cassimatis); Schefold (1992) 7–16.
108. See H. Cassimatis in *LIMC* II.1, 1022, s.v. Athena, B.1. See also Pingiatoglou (1981) 14–19, who notes that although there is no literary account with the Eileithyia, they are present in virtually all images of the Archaic period.
109. The vases, with Beazley (*ABV* or *Para.*) and *LIMC* (no. under entry on Athena) references: 1: New Haven, Yale 1983.22 (*ABV* 135.46); 2: Paris, Louvre F32 (*ABV* 135.43); 3: Boston 00.330 (*ABV* 135.45); 4: Munich 1382 (*ABV* 135.47, Athena no. 352); 5: Würzburg 250 (*ABV* 136.48, Athena no. 368); 6: Vienna 3596 (*Para.* 56 [136.48 bis]); 7: Richmond 60.23 (*Para.* 56 [136.48ter], Athena no. 351); 8: Berlin 1699 (*ABV* 136.53); 9: Tarquinia 626 (not in Beazley, see Brommer [1961] #IIa12 and pl. 31); 10: London B147 (*ABV* 135.44; Athena no. 349); 11: Basel (not in Beazley, Athena no. 353); 12: Vatican 340 (*ABV* 138.2; Athena no. 340).
110. Frontal Zeus and Athena: Richmond 60.23, *Para.* 56; see Brommer (1961) pl. 37, and *LIMC* I.1, pl. 744 (Athena, no. 351). Athena in lap: Würzburg 250, *ABV* 136.48; see *LIMC* I.1, pl. 746 (Athena, no. 368). The Eileithyiai appear in almost all depictions of the episode, even though they are not mentioned in any literary source, see Pingiatoglou (1981) 14–19. They are not identifiable by attribute, but only by subject context.

111. On Tarquinia 626, there is a bearded figure wearing a long chiton like that of Apollo in front of Hermes, but he does not carry a lyre as Apollo does elsewhere. Apollo, however, is usually beardless.
112. The role of "observers" is a subject that needs much more exploration. See generally Scheibler (1987) and Steiner (1993). On the different roles of the Eileithyiai as spectators vs. helpers, see Pingiatiglou (1981) 18.
113. Tenos Museum. See Schäfer (1957) 72; Brommer (1961) 72–3; Schefold (1966) 32; Fittschen (1969) 129–30, no. GS1; Kontoleon (1970) 228–32; Erwin-Caskey (1976) 32–4; Simon (1982); Condoléon-Bolanacchi (1984); Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 144–5, no. 166; Morris (1992) 91–2.
114. Simon (1982) 37–8; Condoléon-Bolanacchi (1984) 21.
115. The various identifications are reviewed in Erwin-Caskey (1976) 33–4, and Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 144. See also *LIMC* II.1, 988, no. 360, s.v. Athena (H. Cassimitis), where it is regarded as the first of the series of this depiction; see also Brommer (1961) 72–3; Fittschen (1969) 129–31; Simon (1982); and Condoléon-Bolanacchi (1984). Kontoleon (1970) 229 rejects the birth of Athena and argues for the epiphany of a god springing from the head of a goddess, without making a more specific proposal.
116. Simon (1982) 35–6; see also Fittschen (1969) 131.
117. Morris (1992) 84 and 99.
118. Ibid. 92; Burkert (1992) 83–7, esp. 87.
119. Fittschen (1969) 129.
120. Osborne (1991) 261–2 and 271–2. A more general review of these issues can be found in Sparkes (1996) 114–67.
121. Osborne (1991) 261–2 and 271–2.
122. Generally on potter, painter, and patron, see Webster (1972) and Beazley (1989) 39–59.
123. Boardman (1991b) 88–9; see also Lissarrague (1987).
124. See Penny (1994) on the distribution and use of Attic vases in Etruria; Moon (1983a) 106 on the popularity of the apotheosis of Herakles in Etruria; Lissarrague (1987) 268 on adjustments to the markets. In the case of vase shapes correlating with foreign markets, the pottery of Nikosthenes and the Tyrhennian amphorae would seem to be clear illustrations.
125. Shapiro (1990b).
126. For a judicious appraisal of the place of style and attribution in the study of vase painting, see Sparkes (1996) 90–113.
127. On the development of red-figure painting see Robertson (1992) 7–42, and Boardman (1975) 11–18, 29–36, and 55–62.
128. Private collection, formerly the Hunt Collection; sold at Sotheby's June 19, 1990. Signed by Euphronios. Not known to Beazley; see *Add.*[2] 404. See Robertson (1981) 23–5; Tompkins (1983) 55–7, no. 5; *Capolavori* (1990) 58–61, no. 1, with earlier bibliography; *Euphronios* (1990) 168–9, no. 34; Robertson (1992) 22–4 and Fig. 15; Shapiro (1993) 134–5; Shapiro (1994) 21–5; D. von Bothmer in *LIMC* VII.1, 698, s.v. Sarpedon no. 3.
129. On the death of Sarpedon, see *LIMC* VII.1, 696–700, s.v. Sarpedon, esp. B (D. von Bothmer). On Thanatos, see *LIMC* VII.1, 904–8, s.v. Thanatos (J. Bazant); on Hypnos and Thanatos, see Shapiro (1993) 132–65.
130. Bothmer (1981) 76–7. On the conflation of time through the wounds, see p. 68.
131. Robertson (1992) 22.
132. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10. Signed by Euphronios. Not known to Beazley; *Add.*[2] 404. See Bothmer (1976), esp. 485–9; idem (1981); *Euphronios* (1990) 77–88, no. 4; Williams (1991b) 287; Robertson (1992) 24; Schefold

(1992) 248–50; Shapiro (1993) 133–5; idem (1994) 21–5; D. von Bothmer in *LIMC* VII.1, 698–9, s.v. Sarpedon no. 4.

133. Shapiro (1994) 24.
134. Bothmer (1981) 68; Shapiro (1994) 24.
135. Bothmer (1976) 493–4.
136. Idem (1976) 490–1 and idem (1981) 67–8 speak of a fixed viewing point and posit a slight rightward movement, as indicated by the position of Thanatos and the direction of the blood flow.
137. See illustrations in idem (1976) Fig. 2 and 12–13. On the names and political interpretation of the vase, see pp. 494–5. Vermeule (1965a) 37 proposes that the figure of Thodemos on another krater by Euphronios may reflect a gathering of Peisistratid supporters (Munich 8935, *ARV*[2] 1619.3 bis; see illustration in Euphronios [1990] 89–95, no. 5). On the use of myth and genre scenes as paradigms for Athenian youth in the Archaic period, see Scheibler (1987) 95–7, and Steiner (1993) 206 and 216.
138. Boston, MFA 63.1246; *Para.* 373.34 *quater*; *Add.*[2] 234. Vermeule (1966); Davies (1969) 240–60; Simon (1985) 72–3; Prag (1985) 3–4 (A6) and 23–6 (C21); Schefold and Jung (1989) 299–301 and Figs. 257–8; Shapiro (1994) 127–30 and 136–8.
139. Formerly Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.AE.66; not known to Beazley; returned to Italy in 1999. Published in Simon (1985) 72–3 and pls. 67–8; Prag (1985) 106–7; Matheson (1987) 4–5; Shapiro (1994) 138–40. The other version of the scene by the Aegisthus Painter appears on a volute krater, Bologna 230; *ARV*[2] 504.8; for illustrations, see Vermeule (1966) Fig. 14 (drawing); Prag (1985) 20–1 and pls. 12c–d; and Boardman (1989a) Fig. 35.
140. See review in Vermeule (1966) 15–19 and discussion in Shapiro (1994) 135–6. On the iconography, see also *LIMC* I.1, 371–9, s.v. Aigisthos (R. M. Gais) and *LIMC* VI.1, s.v. Klytaimestra (Y. Morizot).
141. Vermeule (1966) 20. Vermeule also discusses an influence of images of Orpheus here, and the desire of the painter for a novel depiction of the scene.
142. On the problems of the gestures, see Shapiro (1994) 136. Whereas the right arm makes the same movement in both cases, the left arm is done differently. Unless the hand manages to cusp the chin of the attacker, the gesture would seem to be more broadly interpreted as one of catching attention. For example, in a black-figure scene of Athena introducing Herakles to Olympos by the Phyrnos Painter (London, British Museum B 424; *ABV* 168.3; see Cohen [1994] Fig. 5), Athena uses the same gesture toward Zeus, clearly getting his attention and asking for his consideration. In the case of the Dokimasia Painter krater, the position of the left hand would seem to differentiate the gestures on both sides.
143. Shapiro (1994) 139.
144. Pelike attributed to the Berlin Painter, Vienna 3725, *ARV*[2] 204.109. See Boardman (1975) Fig. 143.
145. Simon (1985) 72; Shapiro (1994) 140. Contra see Prag (1985) 107. The identity of some of these peripheral figures is unclear. For the female figure behind Aegisthus, her gesture is more clearly one of mourning that would not be appropriate for Elektra, who is in a similar position on the Boston krater. Simon (1985) 73 proposes that two female figures on the reverse are Elektra and her sister Chrysothemis, and the woman behind Aegisthus is his daughter by Klytaimestra, Erigone. The nurse holds her child by Orestes, Penthilos. Prag (1985) 106–7, identifies the woman behind Aegisthus as Elektra, and the nurse as holding a child of Aegisthus and Klytaimestra, possibly Aletes; see also *LIMC* III.1, 714, s.v. Elektra no. 51 (I. McPhee). On Erigone, see *LIMC* III.1, 824–5, s.v. Erigone II.A, no. 1 (R. M. Gais), who notes the difficulty with the age of Erigone. Shapiro (1994) 140 sees the nurse as holding a child of Aegisthus and Klytaimestra, which would fit better with the overall chronology of events.
146. Hanfmann (1957) 76, based on Aristotle.

147. London, British Museum. See Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz (1975) 54–5 and 153, along with earlier bibliography on p. 170; see also Ridgway (1981) 94–6; Hurwit (1985a) 15–16; Stewart (1990) 169–70.
148. See the discussion in Hurwit (1985a) 15–32, esp. 16–18. Gombrich (1960) 128–9, following Hanfmann (1957), links the development of mimesis to a change in the nature of narrative. As the discussion of the Exekian suicide of Ajax shows (Section 5.3), the ability to render character or ethos as an object of narration works in an archaic style by the choice of moment in the narrative. Mimesis certainly helps in focusing on character, but its development in Greek art is gradual and its role is just one element of the narrative discourse.
149. See Pollitt (1974) 37–41; Keuls (1978); Stewart (1990) 73–85, esp. 81–5.
150. Else (1958); Sörbom (1966) 41–98; see also Keuls (1978) 19–22.
151. P. Oxy. 2162; see text and discussion by H. Lloyd-Jones in *Aeschylus II*, ed. H. Weir Smyth and H. Lloyd-Jones (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1983) 541–56; Hallett (1986) 75–8. On this passage, see also Morris (1992) 217–20, and Stieber (1994) 87–94.
152. Tr. Morris (1992) 218.
153. Fraenkel (1942) 244–5.
154. Halliwell (1986) 56 and further 110–13 and 115. Alternatively, Sörbom (1966) 52 argues it more generally indicates images that are "vivid, vital, and concrete representations of the 'models' appearing directly and immediately to the beholders 'as if they were living.' " Keuls (1978) 20–22 suggests that movement is implicit in the use of the term, and not a static reproduction.
155. See Hallett (1986) 77 and also Vernant in Zeitlin (1994) 190–1. For a contrasting opinion, see Stieber (1994), who argues that Aeschylus is referring more to "archaic" than to "classical" images. Although I do not agree that a kouros or kore is a true portrait, I think that it is wise to remember that the development of naturalism in Greek art is gradual and that even an artist like Polygnotos appeared "old" in style to later eyes. For example, Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 12.10) states that "the first artists whose works should be inspected not only for the sake of their antiquity [but also for their artistic merit] are said to have been those famous painters Polygnotos and Aglaophon, whose simplicity of color has still such zealous advocates that these almost primitive works, which are like the primordial beginnings of the great art of the future, are preferred to the works of artists who came after them (tr. Pollitt [1990] 221). An ancient viewer would have been aware of whether one image that was more lifelike than another and may have reacted differently to each. If, as Stieber (1994) 97–8 proposes, Aeschylus truly prefered a high Archaic style because it was more "godly," then it would suggest that reverence or awe would be the most appropriate reaction to a narrative in that style, as can be seen in the shields of Achilles and Herakles. The reactions to the satyrs' images, however, suggests a more emotional response from the viewer that fits with the discussion of mimesis and reactive emotion in Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle.
156. Tr. Pollitt (1990) 156. See Halliwell (1986) 112–13.
157. Schweitzer (1953) 82–7; Sörbom (1966) 99–175; Pollitt (1974) 41–9; Keuls (1978); Halliwell (1986) 116–21.
158. Sörbom (1966) 117–25; Woodruff (1992) 75.
159. Woodruff (1992) 76.
160. Keuls (1978) 24–8; Woodruff (1992) 77 points out that painting does not really deceive like poetry in that it deals with objects, whereas poetry deals with morality.
161. The arts, too, must be required to show only beauty, and not bad character, ill-discipline, meanness, or ugliness (401A-B). Judging from his discussion in the *Laws* of Egyptian art and its timeless and unchanging quality (656D-E), Plato would seem to prefer the "beautiful forms" (*kala schemata*) of a more Archaic style of art, where codified forms are reproduced faithfully from an idealized prototype. The illusionism necessary

to convince viewers that they are seeing an object or figure is deceptive and inappropriate. That this is contrary to well-established conventions in art by Plato's time signals in some belated sense the shift taking place in narrative art during the Early Classical period. See Pollitt (1974) 46–8 on a discussion of Plato's attitude toward "*eikastike*, the production of images that are other than but like what they imitate (235D), and *phantastike*, the production of images that appear to be like what they imitate but are in reality quite unlike it." See also Rouveret (1989) on this element in the interpretation of *skiagraphia*.

162. See Halliwell (1986) 122–7, quotation from p. 123.
163. Woodruff (1992) 81, 87, 91–2. On necessity and probability, see *Poet.* 9 and also Halliwell (1986) 99 and 146–8, and Golden (1992) 74.
164. See summary in Hallett (1986) 82–4 on mimesis and sculpture.
165. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G.249. See Gardner (1893) no. 262; Walters (1892–3) 81–2; Wolters and Bruns (1940) 109, no. M16; Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 99–100, no. 195 and 120–1; Snowden (1970) 27, 161; Vickers (1978) 62–3; Buitron and Cohen (1992) 92, no. 27. On Cabiran ware, see Cook (1997) 97–8.
166. Seated in a chair, see *LIMC* VI.1, s.v. Kirke no. 17.
167. On the nature of the distortions, see Wolters and Bruns (1940) 126 (burlesque and comedy); Snowden (1970) 27, 161 (representation of Africans); Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 120 (exoticism and caricature); Schacter (1986) 109–10 (caricature/humor).
168. On the Cabiran ware representations of the subject see Touchefeu-Meynier (1968) 98–101, nos. 192–7.
169. See Schachter (1986) 98–100 and 108–10.
170. See Boardman (1974) 167–70; Sparkes (1996) 17, 118–19.
171. On the use of frontality as a kind of apostrophe and indication of death, see Frontisi-Ducroux (1986). See also idem (1995) 77–94.
172. See Buitron and Cohen (1992) 92. On wine, see Lissarrague (1990) 3–18.

CHAPTER FOUR. NARRATIVE EXTENSION

1. This approach for Greek art, based on literary models, has been developed by A. Stewart in studies of the François vase and the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens: (1983a) and (1985). For discussions of these terms in a literary context, see Culler (1975) 12–14. See also Brilliant (1984) 65–73 on tropes and modes and the use of rhetoric as a basis for understanding essentially paradigmatic relationships, and further Schofer and Rice (1977) 121–49, esp. 122–7 and 136–40.
2. See Saint-Martin (1990) 61–4 and 105–7 for a discussion.
3. Payne (1925–6) 127, no. 4; Kähler (1949) 34 identifies this definitively as a pursuing Gorgon.
4. See the discussion of Kähler (1949) 34–6.
5. See generally ibid.
6. Apollonios, *Bibl.* 3.14.8. See generally *LIMC* VII.1, 527–9, s.v. Prokne et Philomela (E. Touloupa). Schefold (1966) 36 says they are mourning; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 133, sees them as performing their deed. See also Fittschen (1969) 198, SB119.
7. Kähler (1949) 35; Hurwit (1977) 11.
8. On the Gorgon, see Payne (1925–6) 130–1; Morris (1984) 44.
9. Minneapolis Institute of Arts 61.59, attributed to the Antimenes Painter. *Para.* 119, 8ter (= *ABV* 267.8ter); *Add.*[2] 69. See Beazley (1962); Burow (1989) 92, no. 110. See *LIMC* VII.1, 975, s.v. Kyknos no. 58 (A. Cambitoglou and S. A. Paspalas).
10. On Herakles and Kyknos, see Vian (1945); *Vasenlisten*[3] 102–8; Shapiro (1984); Brommer (1984) 81–3; *LIMC* VII.1, Suppl. 970–1, s.v. Kyknos I (A. Cambitoglou and S. A. Paspalas).

11. On the apotheosis of Herakles see *Vasenlisten*[3] 159–73; Shapiro (1983b); Carpentar (1991) 133–4; Schefold (1992) 33–46; *LIMC* V.1, 121–32, s.v. Herakles VIII (J. Boardman). It should be noted that the large number of attendants to Athena is more typical of the apotheosis than of Athena alone in a chariot. Boardman (1972) 60–5 makes a controversial link of the apotheosis in late Archaic art to a Peisistratid program of linking the dictator to Herakles and Athena to Phye, a statuesque woman who impersonated Athena. See also review of the question in Cook (1987b).
12. See Stewart (1983b) and Tersini (1987).
13. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473. *Para.* 164, 31 bis; *Add.*[2] 96. See *CVA* Boston 224–5 and pl. 82 with bibliography (M. True); see also Vermeule (1965b); Johansen (1967) 149–51; Shapiro (1994) 29–31. On the dragging of Hektor, see *LIMC* I.1, 138–47, s.v. Achilleus XX (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
14. See *ABV* 135.43, 135.44, 135.45, 135.46, 135.47, 136.48, 136.53, Para. 56 (135.48 bis and 135.48 ter).
15. Cleveland Museum of Art 71.46, attributed to the circle of the Antimenes Painter. See Kathman (1979) 54–7; Moon (1979) 110–11, no. 63; Burow (1989) 26, n. 144.
16. Steiner (1993) proposes a similar linkage of mortal and mythological in the repetition of scenes on the same vase by Group E. In her theory, Group E made changes in the basic mythological scene that transformed it into a generic scene. A similar transformation was proposed for the apotheosis scene on the Minneapolis hydria (see Section 4.1 and Fig. 51). The theory is appealing but needs to be demonstrated on a much broader range of examples before we can conclude that it is a paradigmatic strategy for Archaic or Classical art.
17. Olympia, Inv. B 1654. See Kunze (1950) 10–11 and passim, Form IV, no. 8; Johansen (1967) 51; Mallwitz and Herrmann (1980) 107, pl. 69.1.
18. See catalog in Kunze (1950) 7–42. Forms with no repetition include I, II, III, IV, V?, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII?, XIII, XIV, XV, XXIV, XXVI, XXIX, XXIX bis?, XXXII, XXXV, XXXVI, XL, XLVII, XLIX, L. Forms with repetition include X (Zeus), XVI (Herakles), XVII (Ajax, Achilles?), XXII? (Helen?), XXX (Herakles), XXXIII (Achilles), XLI (Herakles). The repeating examples come from a wide chronological range of 600 to 475.
19. On the rape of Kassandra, see Connelly (1993) 91–9 and *LIMC* I.1, 339–49, s.v. Aias II, C (O. Touchefeu).
20. The convention of victor moving rightward from the left side would imply that Athena is defeated in this composition; see Connelly (1993) 106.
21. Kunze (1950) 174–6; see also Schefold (1966) 81–2. On the theme, see *LIMC* I.1, 698, s.v. Amphiaraos (I. Krauskopf).
22. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. *ABV* 76.1, *Para.* 29–30, *Add.*[2] 21. For detailed discussions of the vase, see esp. FR I, 1–14 and 55–62 and pls. 1–3 and 11–13; Pfuhl (1923) 255–8 and pls. 51 and 52; Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton (1962) 286–92 and pls. 40–6; Simon and Hirmer (1976) 69–77 and pls. 51–7; Christofani (1980); Stewart (1983b). On the shield, the Lapiths and centaurs fight with spears and pine trees, respectively, and are locked in hand-to-hand combat in a form exactly like the composition of the François vase. See Janko (1986) 40. Kleitias does not seem to be illustrating the scene in the poem directly, but may draw on a similar source as the poet of the shield. Common to vase and shield are the figures of Kaineus, Theseus, and Hopleus (Hoplon on the shield) for the Lapiths, Petraios and Asbolos (Hasbolos) for the centaurs. The differences between the two lists of combatants on vase and shield are greater than the similarities, and the numerical superiority is with the centaurs on the François vase and with the Lapiths on the shield. One of the centaurs on the vase is named Melanchaetes, which may be a misunderstanding of the adjective μελαγχαίτην from line 186 according to Janko (1986) 40, who uses the François vase as a *terminus ante quem* for the poem.

23. Janko (1986) 40.
24. Cohen (1983b). On the unification of the composition and temporal consistency of the action, see idem (1983a).
25. For an analysis of the Iliupersis kylix of Onesimos see Anderson (1995) and earlier Williams (1991b).
26. For Euphronios, see Shapiro (1992) 37–8, with pls. I–IV and LIII. Examples include Euphronios's Amazonomachy krater in Arezzo (for which there is an intriguing earlier, but unrelated black-figure example), and a cup on the Acropolis with the story of Peleus and Thetis. In both cases, handles and filling ornament serve to separate the two scenes. Other examples, such as the death of Aegisthus on a pelike by the Berlin Painter or a kylix in Basel by Oltos, show that this idea is not an isolated example in the Late Archaic period. For Oltos: Basel BS459, *Para.* 327, see Shapiro (1992) pls. LIV-LV. For Berlin Painter: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3725, *ARV*[2] 204.109; see Boardman (1975) Fig. 143.
27. Delphi Museum. The bibliography on this building is vast. See the detailed description in Coste-Messelière (1957) 82–103 and passim and idem (1966), and earlier in Coste-Messelière (1923) 396–413; additionally, see Kähler (1949) 55–8 and 79–83; Robertson (1975) 167–71; Ridgway (1977) 236–8; Hoffelner (1988); Stewart (1990) 132–3; Boardman (1991a) 159–60.
   The date of the building and its sculpture has ranged between 510 and 480 and even later, mostly on the basis of the relationship between a ledge where the trophies were displayed that was next to the building itself. Following Harrison (1965) 9–11, perhaps the most widely accepted dating is between 500 and 490; see Hoffelner (1988) 78; Neils in *LIMC* VII.1, 928 (s.v. Theseus 54). For earlier than 500, see Brommer (1982) 68. Cooper (1990) presented a reexamination of the building fabric that concluded that the shelf was supported by the foundations of the building, and that the whole project must postdate 490. A date of after 490 was favored by Coste-Messelière (1923) 419 and idem (1957) 179–82, and has recently been used by Stewart (1990) 132 and Boardman (1991a) 159.
28. Shapiro (1992).
29. Mykonos Museum 2240. See the detailed publication in Ervin (1963); see also Schefold (1966) 46–7; Johansen (1967) 26–30; Fittschen (1969) 182–5, nos. SB99, 101–2; Kontoleon (1970) 228; Christiansen (1974); Zindel (1974) 87–92; Ervin-Caskey (1976) 28–9 and 36–7; Kannicht (1982) 82–4; Hurwit (1985a) 173–6; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 77–85; Shapiro (1994) 162–3; Morris (1995) 226–7. The numbering system used follows that of Ervin (1963) and Ervin-Caskey (1976) 36.
30. Published by Christiansen (1974); also illustrated in Ervin-Caskey (1976) Fig. 19 and Hurwit (1985a) Fig. 76. See Christiansen (1974): identification as Deiphobos; Ervin-Caskey (1976) 36–7; Hurwit (1985a) 175–6. Ervin-Caskey posits an alternate tradition, in which Echion is the first killed in battle, much like Protesilaos at the beginning of the Trojan war.
31. Two metopes, nos. 11 and 18, are missing most of their fabric. Only part of their contents can be determined.
32. See the discussion in Hurwit (1985a) 174–6. The neck panel, as Hurwit explains, most closely fits into the category of synoptic narration, combining different phases of the episode into a single picture.
33. Ervin (1963) 56.
34. Hurwit (1985a) 172–4 for the combination of metopes on the body of the pithos. On pages 175–6, Hurwit names the progression from the neck to the body as progressive, but I reserve this term to designate a continuous pictorial field as explained below.
35. See Harrison (1972b). For other recent discussion of the painting see Harrison (1972a); Hölscher (1973) 50–84, esp. 78ff.; Jeffrey (1965); Francis and Vickers (1985); Francis (1990) 85–90; Castriota (1992) 76–87; Morris (1992) 313–17. On the excavation of the Stoa Poikile, see Shear (1984).
36. Paus. 1.15.3; tr. Pollitt (1990) 144. Pausanias does not name the painter in his description, but does name Panainos, brother of Pheidias, as the painter when describing his paintings at Olympia (5.11.6). Pliny, *N.H.* 35.37 also names Panainos as the painter. Mikon is named more indirectly; see the review of evidence in Jeffrey (1965) 43, n. 14. Mikon also painted the Amazonomachy and perhaps, given the scale of the Battle of Marathon, he and a younger Panainos collaborated. Certainly, battle paintings seem to have been Mikon's forté; see testimony in Pollitt (1990) 141–3.
37. Harrison (1972b); see testimony on 370–8; for an earlier graphic reconstruction, see Robert (1895). The reconstruction diagram here is based on Harrison (1972b) 364, ill. 1, with the addition of some directional lines of movement. Hölscher (1973) Tafel 5 makes a similar reconstruction, but shifts Kallimachos and Kynegeiros to the right.
38. See Harrison (1972b) 353–6.
39. On the potential significance of the tripartite structure for this painting and early Classical culture see Morris (1992) 315–16.
40. Harrison (1983) 237–8 after Weitzmann (1947) 12. Also used by Hurwit (1985a) 176 and Stewart (1990) 83–4.
41. Pliny, *N.H.* 35.57. On the use of portraits within the painting, see Hölscher (1973) 60.
42. See Harrison (1972b) 356–7 and Fig. 13.
43. See ibid. 354–5 and 358–63 and Fig. 1.
44. See ibid. 358–60 and Fig. 16.
45. Hölscher (1975) 79 mentions the similarity of the Battle of Marathon's narrative structure to the Chigi olpe.
46. Delphi Museum. See the detailed description in Coste-Messelière (1957) 37–81 and idem (1966); additionally, see Kähler (1949) 55–8 and 79–83; Robertson (1975) 167–71; Ridgway (1977) 236–8; Brommer (1982) 68–9; Neils (1987) 46–51; Hoffelner (1988); Stewart (1990) 132–3; Boardman (1991a) 159–60.
47. Coste-Messelière (1957) 27 and 54.
48. Ibid. 78–81, where Herakles and Kyknos are suggested for the metope and no. 30 as an alternative for the south side; Coste-Messelière (1966) 702 places no. 30 in the Herakles cycle; Neils (1987) 50. Hoffelner (1988) 102 makes metope no. 29 an Amazonomachy. Hoffelner instead would place metope no. 30 and restore the sow as its subject and fragment no. 77 as the encounter with Skiron.
49. Coste-Messelière (1957) 78–81; Neils (1987) 48–51; Neils in *LIMC* VII.1, 928 (s.v. Theseus no. 54). For other arrangements, see the diagrams in Hoffelner (1988) Figs. 33 to 37, and also Kähler (1949) 81–2. The reconstruction by Hoffelner (1988) 104–17, diverges significantly from the reconstruction of Coste-Messelière. Two principles guide his overall reconstruction. First, he notes a fundamental asymmetry in the overall organization of the Treasury's themes, with Herakles on the west and north sides, away from the lines of sight, and Theseus on the south and east. He rearranges the metopes to place the deeds of Herakles on the east end, next to the deeds of Theseus on the south side. Herakles and Geryon fill the west end, and the Amazonomachy fills the north metopes, creating an east–west axis with Herakles and a north–south axis with Theseus. This maintains a principle of polarity for the Treasury. In arranging the scenes of the south side, he maintains a closed composition for the frieze, so that the rightward-facing metope of Theseus and the Amazon would be inappropriate; rather metope no. 2 with Prokrustes is the only candidate for this space, pendant to the leftward metope with Periphetes (no. 4) on the other end of the frieze.
50. See Brommer (1982) 73–6 and Fig. 11.
51. Such an effect can be seen, for example, on a Theseus cup by Euphronios that shows Theseus wrestling Kerkyon and facing leftward, and next is a rightward Theseus wresting

the bull. Paris, Louvre G104, and Florence, Mus. Arch. PD321, *ARV*[2] 318.1; see *LIMC* VII.1, Theseus no. 36.

52. See Brommer (1982) 3–34 and 65–76; Hurwit (1985a) 314–15; Neils (1987) 31–43; Schefold (1992) 175–82; Shapiro (1994) 109–17, *LIMC* VII.1, 925–8, s.v. Theseus nos. 32–53 (J. Neils). See also Schefold and Jung (1988) 236–51, on fifth-century versions and transformation from adventure to inner journey under Polygnotos.
53. There are five episodes that make up Theseus's journey from Troizen to Athens, as described by the Early Classical poet Bacchylides (18), all of them involving the death of scourges or villains who had menaced the countryside and previous travelers: (1) Sinis; (2) the Kremmyon sow; (3) Skiron; (4) Kerkyon; and (5) Prokrustes (Procoptes). This is the same order that Plutarch uses in his much later biography of Theseus, with the addition of the subduing of Periphetes as the first of his labors. See discussion of literary sources by Neil (1987) 5–16, esp. 11–12. Contra see Schefold (1985e) and idem (1992) 175–83, who dates the Theseid before 510 because of its earlier appearance on cups. Shapiro (1989) 144–5 concludes that the developments expressed in the Theseus cups and the Athenian Treasury were the culmination of a longer development over the sixth century and were not the first innovation in his iconography in Athens.
54. London, British Museum E36. See Neils (1987) 38–9 and Figs. 12 and 13; Shapiro (1994) 112–13 and Figs. 76 and 77; *LIMC* VII.1, 926, s.v. Theseus no. 34 (J. Neils). For other examples, see Theseus nos. 33 and 36.
55. See generally Wegner (1973), Robertson (1975) 229–32, Seki (1985), and especially Stupperich (1992) 425–9.
56. London, British Museum E48 (GR 1843.11–3.13). *ARV*[2] 431.47; *Add.*[2] 236. See Williams (1993) 33–5, no. 19 with earlier bibliography and pls. 26 and 27; see also Wegner (1968) 106–16; Neils (1987) 92–5; Buitron-Oliver (1995) 78, no. 87 and 25, 29–30. The designation of sides A and B follows Williams (1993) 34.
57. My thanks to Alan Shapiro for the suggestion of the personification. On personifications generally, see Shapiro (1993).
58. Williams (1993) 34.
59. Robertson (1992) 48 argues that the black background tends to separate rather than unify the scenes.
60. Stupperich (1992) 432 and his discussion of the cups of Makron on 434–5.
61. On the relationship of these images to each other see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1995) 327–9.
62. On the related point of artistic needs guiding the use of monoscenic or synoptic narrative, see Snodgrass (1982).

CHAPTER FIVE. THE NARRATIVE OBJECT

1. See Castriota (1992).
2. In considering the concepts and definitions in this chapter, I have relied heavily on Else (1986), Halliwell (1986), Davis (1992), and Golden (1992). The discussion of action and character in this chapter owes a particular debt to Halliwell, particularly since his discussions seem most germane to the problem of applying literary concepts to pictorial narrative.
3. *Poet.* 6.12, tr. Halliwell (1987) 37.
4. *EN* 1178b 20f, tr. Halliwell (1986) 140. For the definition of *ethos*, see Halliwell 151.
5. *Poet.* 8.1, tr. Halliwell (1987) 40. On unity, see Halliwell (1986) 144.
6. *Poet.* 6.24, tr. Halliwell (1987) 38. On *ethos*, see Halliwell (1986) 151.
7. See Halliwell (1986) 154–5.
8. *Poet.* 6.16, tr. Halliwell (1987) 38.

9. *Poet.* 2.1–6, tr. Halliwell (1987) 32. On the application to the Olympia pediments of the ethical categories of better, worse, and the same as ourselves, see Stewart (1990) 82.
10. Golden (1992) 91–2 defines comic character as ignoble, showing ridiculous behavior arousing righteous indignation in the spectator.
11. Halliwell (1986) 141–2. See also Else (1986) 104–6.
12. Halliwell (1986) 144. See also Davis (1992) 46.
13. *Poet.* 6 and 9. See Halliwell (1986) 96–108 and 140–6; Else (1986) 106–7; Davis (1992) 49–55.
14. *Poet.* 10.4, tr. Halliwell (1987) 42.
15. *Poet.* 6.2, tr. Halliwell (1987) 37. See also *Poet.* 7.2.
16. *Poet.* 7.10, tr. Halliwell (1987) 39.
17. *Poet.* 8.3, tr. Halliwell (1987) 40.
18. For an overview of the suicide of Ajax and its history, see *LIMC* I.1, 328–32, s.v. Aias I.XXV (O. Touchefeu) and Shapiro (1994) 149–55.
19. Berlin 3319. See Furtwängler (1895) 33–4; Friis Johansen (1923) 92, 103, 112, 144 and passim; Payne (1931) 137; Neugebauer (1932) 14; Benson (1953) 14, List 5, no. 3; Dunbabin and Robertson (1955) 176, no. 4; Friis Johansen (1967) 30–3; Steuben (1968) 67 and nn. 235–6; Fittschen (1969) 181, no. SB93; Papastamos (1970) 37–9; *LIMC* I.1, 328–32, s.v. Aias I, no. 118 (O. Touchefeu); Amyx (1988) 23, no. 3, 367, and 637; Markoe (1989) 113–14; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 74, no. 52; Benson (1995) 343–4.
20. On the Archaic choice of moment, see Brommer (1969) 29. This is also the idea of the "pregnant" moment; see Steiner (1988) 154.
21. See Halliwell (1986) 154 and 166, based on *Poet.* 13.
22. *Poet.* 6.14–15: "Besides, without action you would not have a tragedy, but one without character would be feasible, for the tragedies of most recent poets are lacking in characterization, and in general there are many such poets"; tr. Halliwell (1987) 38. Ideally, of course, one would have both action and character in tragedy.
23. *Poet.* 10.2–3, tr. Halliwell (1987) 42.
24. *Poet.* 11.1, tr. Halliwell (1987) 42. See discussion in Halliwell (1986) 212–19.
25. *Poet.* 11.4 and 6, tr. Halliwell (1987) 43.
26. Berlin 1685. *ABV* 109.24; *Add.*[2] 30. See Wiencke (1954) 296–7; Schefold (1992) 286; Castriota (1992) 97–8; Shapiro (1994) 163–4.
27. The aspects of bridal imagery as formalized abduction perhaps make it less jarring than otherwise, but the reaction is still not commensurate to the threat. On bridal ceremony and abduction, see Jenkins (1983); Oakley and Sinos (1993) 11–21, esp. 12–13; Reeder (1996) 126–8.
28. My thanks to Ann Steiner for the question that led to this discussion.
29. See Else (1986) 139–41 and Golden (1992) 76–9 on pity and fear. Else emphasizes that for Aristotle, ethos and daianoia are not enough by themselves to elicit pity and fear, but require action as well.
30. *Poet.* 11.10, tr. Halliwell (1987) 43.
31. See Pollitt (1985) 102 for definition and discussion of term.
32. One might also look at the open mouth and teeth of Antaios on the krater in the Louvre (G 103, *ARV*[2] 14.2) by Euphronios as quite expressive of the stranglehold that Herakles has obtained; Herakles in contrast betrays a more impassive, heroic demeanor. See Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton (1962) pls. 108–10; Boardman (1975) Fig. 23.
33. See Halliwell (1986) 66–71 and 169–78; Golden (1992) 64–6.
34. *Poet.* 14.
35. *Poet.* 13.5, tr. Halliwell (1987) 45.
36. See also Castriota (1992) 96–101. On a different interpretation of Neoptolemos as idealized hero, see Wiencke (1954) 303.
37. See Hurwit (1982) 196–7 who defines this particular type of pathetic fallacy as "sympa-

thetic," in which nature responds to the feelings of the poet or character. See Madden (1983) and Hurwit (1983) for debate on this point. Wiencke (1954) 303 earlier suggests that the palm tree represents nature joining in the lamentation.

38. On the function of the base to denote a sacred space, see Bérard and Durand (1989) 26.
39. Cohen (1993) 43–5 points out the jarring note that the beauty and eroticism of the figure of Kassandra creates in this violent scene; Connolly (1994) 116, emphasizes the erotic pursuit element of the scene.
40. See Connolly (1994) 109–10. The depiction does match other characteristics of this group, including turning the shield to the profile view to expose fully the figure of Kassandra. Athena is differentiated more clearly as a statue, and the scene is often set within the broader context of the sack of Troy than before (compare here Fig. 73).
41. Translation from *Aeschylus* I, *Oresteia*, tr. R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1953) 45.
42. Paris, Louvre G 152. *ARV*^{2} 369.1. See Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton (1962) 338–9 and pl. 139. For the identification of this figure as Polyxena on the Naples hydria, see Williams (1991b) 52.
43. My thanks to A. Shapiro for this observation.
44. See Schefold and Jung (1989) 285.
45. Boardman (1976) 15; Simon (1985) 67. See also Castriota (1992) 99.
46. Pollitt (1985) 103.
47. On this reversal generally in Classical tragedy, see Hall (1989) 203–23. Taplin (1992) 110–27 argues that a sympathetic view of the Trojans also exists in the *Iliad*. This makes an important point that we cannot be sure that in Archaic art the Trojans were always the bad guys and the Greeks the good guys, but the contrast between the Berlin Iliupersis and Naples Iliupersis would argue for a change in perception. Trojans continued, however, to serve as metaphorical equivalents to the barbarity and hubris of the Persians, Centaurs, Amazons, and Giants, as the metopes of the Parthenon attest.
48. Paus. 10.31.8; tr. Pollitt (1990) 140. On these figures, see also Stansbury-O'Donnell (1990) 227–8.
49. Halliwell (1986) 151; see also Pollitt (1985) 104. On *prohairesis*, see Halliwell 154–5 and 165. On the applicability to painting, see also Rouveret (1989) 129–35.
50. *Poet.* 13.5, tr. Halliwell (1987) 44.
51. Basel, Antikenmuseum. See Schefold (1976), *LIMC* II.1, Aias I, no. 105. Schefold discusses the relationship of the Basel lekythos to the Sophoklean version of the story. For other unusual Late Archaic depictions of Ajax, see Davies (1971, 1973).
52. Boulogne 558. *ABV* 145.18; *Para.* 60; *Add.*^{2} 40. See Pfuhl (1923) 269 and pl. 59 (drawing); Simon and Hirmer (1976) 88; Moore (1980) 431–2; Hurwit (1985a) 271–2; Beazley (1986) 62; Schefold (1992) 280–1; Shapiro (1994) 151–2.
53. On Exekian narrative imagery, see Moore (1983).
54. See Brommer (1969) 29–30.
55. The interpretation of the program as involving the aid of Poseidon to Pelops to win the race, or treachery on the part of Pelops, is debated by Stewart (1983a), Hurwit (1987), and Stewart (1990) 81–2 and 144. It is entirely likely that the program resonates at two levels, depending on which figure or catalyst one views as important.
56. *Poet.* 2.2, tr. Halliwell (1987) 32.
57. *Poet.* 6.15, tr. Halliwell (1987) 38. On *ethnographia* in painting, see Pollitt (1976) and (1985) 104–6.
58. On the reconstruction of these paintings, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1989) and (1990) with earlier bibliography. The illustrations here are generated from a three-dimensional, computer-generated model with these reconstruction drawings scanned onto the walls of the Lesche. See also Robertson (1975) 248–52 and Castriota (1992) 109–27 for a discussion of the ethnographic and compositional qualities of the painting. Some of the following material was presented in a talk at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America; see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1992). The reconstructions of Robert (1892, 1893) have also been widely reproduced, but place the entire painting within one visual field. For reproductions of other reconstructions and an argument against the exercise, see Faedo (1986).
59. For a related discussion of viewing context and its effect on the presentation of a composition in the Parthenon frieze, see Osborne (1987).
60. The use of water as a transition between the Nekyia and Iliupersis on the north wall might be classified as continuous narration, but the intervention of the doorway on the south wall would have more effectively segregated the paintings, leading to my choice of cyclic for the whole.
61. On this scene as a reflection of Polygnotos as painter of *ethos* see Rouveret (1989) 135–9.
62. Paus. 10.25.5, tr. Pollitt (1990) 131. All translations of Pausanias are from Pollitt (1990) 127–40.
63. See Goldhill (1984) 33–42 and idem (1992) 37–46 on the reversal of sex roles and the conflicts between the genders in Aeschylus. This can also be seen with Paris and Penthesileia in the *Nekyia*; see Fig. 86.
64. See also Castriota (1992) 115. Contra, Kebric (1983) 22–3 and 29 sees Neoptolemos, an ancestor of Kimon, "the most impressive single figure."
65. Paus. 10.26.4, tr. Pollitt (1990) 132. The grave was below the Lesche according to Paus. 10.24.6.
66. The presence of the statue may also be a reference to the Palladion that the Greeks had to steal before Troy would fall; see Robertson (1967) 6 and Stansbury-O'Donnell (1989) 207, n. 18. The other signs in the painting are the fountain outside Troy where Achilles ambushed Troilos and the tomb of Laomedon (represented by his body) at the city gate, broken to allow the horse to be brought in the city.
67. Castriota (1992) 113–15.
68. Ibid. 114–15. On Antenor as traitor, see Robertson (1975) 250. Tr. Pollitt (1990) 133.
69. On the women in the *Nekyia*, see Buitron-Oliver and Cohen (1995) 38–40.
70. See also Robertson (1952). Castriota (1992) 121–2 sees a more laudatory role for Theseus, as does Kebric (1983) 21.
71. Castriota (1992) 114 and 120–5.
72. Jones (1962) 83–8; Conacher (1987) 31–8; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (1988) 47.
73. Aeschylus's tale, however, stands between the shifting time of the epic and the more consistent time of later drama; see Romilly (1968) 6.
74. Kitto (1961) 31 and 107; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (1988) 42. See also Goldhill (1986) 5–13.
75. Lesky (1966) 249; Romilly (1968) 12.
76. See Kitto (1961) 110–11; Fowler (1967) 26–7; Conacher (1987) 17. See also Smith (1965).
77. Gais (1974). See also Davis (1992) 43–6.
78. See Goldhill (1986) 152–61.
79. Ibid. 46–7; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (1988) 18–19 and 34.
80. 16.150, *The Greek Anthology*, tr. W. R. Paton (London and New York, 1927) 5, 249.

CONCLUSION

1. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G.249. See Section 3.8 in Chapter Three and Fig. 48 for bibliography.
2. Buitron and Cohen (1992) 92 suggest that the scene may refer to Odysseus's companions unleashing the bags of winds before the encounter with Circe. They describe Odysseus as simply fishing for his dinner.
3. For an effort to define comedy, see Golden (1992) 91–2 ff.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AbhMainz	*Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature in Mainz*
ABV	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956).
Add.[2]	T. H. Carpenter et al., eds., *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV*[2] *and Paralipomena*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989).
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
ArchDelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
ArchEph	*Archaiologikon Ephemeris*
ARV[2]	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963).
BABesch	*Bulletin antieke beschaving*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BClevMus	*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*
BdA	*Bollettino d'arte*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
BMMA	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity*
ClMed	*Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
CW	*The Classical World*
FdD	*Fouilles de Delphes, Ecole française d'Athènes*
FR	A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1900, 1905, 1932).
GettyMusJ	*The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*
HallWPr	Hallisches Winckelmannsprogram
Heldensage[3]	F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed. (Marburg, 1979)
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
JWarb	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

Kerameikos	*Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1974–97)
Meded	*Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*
MedKøb	*Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* [København]
OlForsch	*Olympische Forschungen*
OpArch	*Opuscula archaeologica*
OpRom	*Opuscula romana*
Para.	J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SIMA-PB	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. Pocketbook
SkrAth	*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
YaleBull	*Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*

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