

THE IMAGE OF THE ARTIST IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREECE

ART, POETRY, AND SUBJECTIVITY

GUY HEDREEN



THE IMAGE OF THE ARTIST IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREECE

This book explores the persona of the artist in Archaic and Classical Greek art and literature. Guy Hedreen argues that artistic subjectivity, first expressed in Athenian vase-painting of the sixth century BCE and intensively explored by Euphronios, developed alongside a self-consciously constructed persona of the poet. He explains how poets like Archilochos and Hipponax identified with the wily Homeric character of Odysseus as a prototype of the successful narrator, and how the lame yet resourceful artist-god Hephaistos is emulated by Archaic vase-painters such as Kleitias. In lyric poetry and pictorial art, Hedreen traces a widespread conception of the artist or poet as socially marginal, sometimes physically imperfect, but rhetorically clever, technically peerless, and a master of fiction. Bringing together in a sustained analysis the roots of subjectivity across media, this book offers a new way of studying the relationship between poetry and art in ancient Greece.

Guy Hedreen is Professor of Art at Williams College. He is author of *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting: Myth and Performance* (1992), and *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art* (2001). He has also published essays on Dionysiac myth and ritual, choral poetry, drama, the Trojan War, primitive life, the worship of Achilles, and the nature of visual narration. His awards include the Rome Prize, a Guggenheim Fellowship, and the Arlt Award for his first book.

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107118256

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First published 2016

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Hedreen, Guy Michael, 1958–

The image of the artist in archaic and classical Greece : art, poetry, and subjectivity / Guy Hedreen (Williams College, MA).

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-107-11825-6 (Hardback)

1. Vase-painting, Greek--History. 2. Vase-painting, Greek--Themes, motives. 3. Greek poetry--History and criticism. 4. Greek poetry--Themes, motives. 5. Art and literature--Greece--History--To 1500. 6. Subjectivity in art. 7. Subjectivity in literature. 8. Arts, Greek--History. 9. Greece--Intellectual life--To 146 B.C. I. Title.

NK4645.H35 2016

738.3'820938--dc23 2015027414

ISBN 978-1-107-11825-6 Hardback

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To my parents, with love and gratitude.

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PREFACE

The basic research for this book originated in two encounters. One was the discovery of substantial affinities between the Archaic iambic poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax and the representation of the scurrilous satyrs or silens in Athenian vase-painting. The affinities consisted not of subject matter narrowly defined (there are no silens in extant *iambos*) but of point of view and manner of provocation. In both the poetry and the paintings, subtle self-mockery appeared to be a form of artistic innovation. The other encounter was Richard Neer's 2002 monograph, *Style and Politics in Athenian vase-painting*. In its highly innovative account of the early red-figure Athenian vase-painting of the so-called Pioneer Group (Euphronios, "Smikros," and others), style is a self-conscious feature of the art. The two separate strands of research, "iambic" self-aggrandizing self-mockery and pictorial style as deliberately articulated identity, came together to form the core of the present book in the writing of a paper for a conference on sympotic poetry. The long-standing puzzle of the stylistic and conceptual relationship between the "self-portrait" of Smikros (plate I, figure 1) and the "portrait" of Smikros on Euphronios' krater in Munich (plate III, figure 4) resolved itself in the hypothesis that "Smikros" was a fictitious artistic persona, like some of the narrators and characters within the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax (the initial paper is still forthcoming; a preliminary art-historical presentation is in Hedreen 2014). The relationship between Euphronios and Archilochos or Hipponax became less theoretical and more historical, and the argument acquired its present shape, in the identification of Odysseus, Hephaistos, and Kleitias, among others, as links in the same chain, manifestations of a widespread conception of the artist or poet as socially marginal, sometimes physically imperfect, but rhetorically clever, technically peerless, and a master of fiction.

Touching as it does on art and poetry of long-standing interest, the research for this book has benefitted from more friends and colleagues than I can name. My understanding of iambic poetry has benefitted over the years from the observations and suggestions of many people, including Ewen Bowie, Jaś Elsner, Mark Griffith, Richard Hamilton, Richard Janko, Ralph Rosen, Jeffrey Rusten, and Deborah Steiner. My work on the vase-painting has been improved by observations from Gloria Ferrari, Mario

Iozzo, Elizabeth Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, Liz McGowan, Richard Neer, Alan Shapiro, and Demitrios Yatromanolakis. Faculty, scholars, and students at Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, UCLA, The College of William and Mary, Williams College, and in the New Antiquity group, have made important observations, which I have tried to acknowledge in the footnotes. This book benefited in particular from conversations with Richard Ford, Paul Park, David Lang, and Suzanne Bocanegra. I am especially moved by the patience and loyalty of my two oldest friends within the field of Classical archaeology, Gregory Leftwich and Ann Steiner, who found the time to read and comment on the entire manuscript of this book. The final draft was also improved by valuable observations from two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press. I regret only that I was unable to share the book with my old friend Charles Edwards, and my former teacher, Fred Cooper.

At Cambridge University Press, I thank Asya Graf for her advice and support, and Isabella Vitti for her assistance. I am grateful to Williams College and especially the Oakley Center for the Humanities and Social Sciences for financial assistance in illustrating this book. It was possible to complete the writing of the book in a timely fashion thanks to generous support from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which allowed me time off from teaching.

For help with the often complicated process of securing images to illustrate this book, I thank Jacklyn Burns, Marcel Danner, Greet Van Deuren, Sylvie Dumont, Maria Laura Falsini, Márta Fodor, Anne Fohgrub, Laurent Gorgerat, Angelika Hildenbrand, Mario Iozzo, Hannah Kendall, Liz Kurtulik Mercuri, Daria Lanzuolo, Joan Mertens, Massimiliano Piemonte, Victoria Sabetai, Michael Turner, Angeliki Voskaki, Alexandra Zampiti, and Julie Zeffel.

Above all, I thank my family, Liz, Rose, and George. I thank them for their patience, love, interest, and examples. My wife, Elizabeth McGowan, remains my closest intellectual partner. I could not have written this book without her encouragement and insight.

Abbreviations of ancient authors and texts, as well as modern journals and reference works, generally follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, *American Journal of Archaeology* (www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations), or *L'annee philologique* (www.annee-philologique.com). Several special abbreviations are used in this book: BAPD=Beazley Archive Pottery Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk) and CAVI=Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions (also available on the website of the Beazley Archive). I provide the BAPD number for each vase mentioned in this book. A significant number of entries in the database include illustrations of the vases. In reproducing the inscriptions on the vases, I follow Immerwahr 1990 if possible, and otherwise follow CAVI (which omits diacritical marks). LGPN=*Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

Euphronios=Pasquier et al. 1990 or Goemann 1991. *GVGettyMus*=*Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*.

Unless otherwise noted, translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are after Fagles 1990 and Fagles 1996. For the Greek texts, I use the revised Loeb editions of A. T. Murray. Testimonia, texts, and translations of Archilochos and Hipponax are after Gerber 1999b, supplemented by West 1998. For the testimonia concerning Hipponax, I also follow Degani 1991.

INTRODUCTION: "I AM ODYSSEUS"

As we see it, Ulysses represents the first example of the infinite facility of the word. There is nothing one cannot say, invent, or make believable.¹

The first “selfie” in European culture seems to occur on an Athenian red-figure wine-mixing bowl (a stamnos) in Brussels, painted around 510 BC. The vase depicts a lavish party. On one side, three young men relax on fine couches. They are accompanied by young women (plate I). On the back of the vase (figure 1), two men add more wine to the party’s mixing bowl. The names of all the figures are written on the vase. On the left of the obverse, the girl Chorō sits at the foot end of a couch and enticingly unties the fillet in her hair. The young man on the couch, Pheidiadēs, reflexively responds and reaches out to her with one hand, while he balances his drink in his other. On the far right, a man named Automenēs has thrown his arm around a girl (her name is Rhodē) and draws her head toward his, all the while skillfully keeping his flat cup of wine from spilling. In the center of the composition, a girl named Helikē stands in front of the couch and plays the aulos for a young man named Smikros. He holds the back of his head with one hand, looks up, listens to the melody, and perhaps prepares to put words to it. The two men on the reverse are also named (Euarchos, Euelthōn). But the most interesting piece of writing is directly above the figures named Smikros and Helikē. It is the signature of the artist: *Smikros egraphsen*, “Smikros painted [it].”²



FIGURE 1: Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A717, red-figure stamnos, *ARV*² 20,1, signed by Smikros as painter, BAPD 200102. Photo courtesy and ©RMAH, Brussels. Reverse.

The inscribed names transform the conventional, generic figures into specific individuals. One effect is to suggest that we are looking at a unique occurrence, a real party, taking place at one particular time and place. The effect is unsettled, however, by the double occurrence of Smikros' name. Because the name of a participant at the party is also the name of the artist who claims to have painted the vase, the inscriptions drag into the picture's representational content a figure who is typically not present. The artist of this particular image, the texts claim, is someone we see participating in the fun represented within the image.

The boldness of the pictorial conception can be glimpsed by comparison to a picture admittedly more ambitious in almost every other way, the famous painting of 1656 entitled *Las Meninas* by Diego Velázquez (Madrid, Prado, [plate II](#)). In *Las Meninas*, we see not only the *infanta* Margaret Theresa and her retinue but also the painter of the picture, Velázquez himself, holding his palette, standing back from a canvas. The philosopher John Searle famously argued that the painting is a paradox: the point of view from which an image is constructed by a painter must always lie outside the painting; yet here the painter has depicted himself within the image. Of course, it is possible for a painter to construct a painting with him- or herself as part of the pictorial content (*Las Meninas* is proof). Searle’s strong claim that the image is a paradox was in part a response to the fact that *Las Meninas* is composed according to a rigorous perspectival geometry and a high standard of realism. The painted image really does pose serious questions about how it was constructed.³ The vase-painting in Brussels presents no comparable perspectival problems. The conventional features of the figures and furniture suggest that the picture was not created from direct observation. But Searle’s anxiety—if that is a fair diagnosis—is a call to notice the oddity of a vase-painting like the one in Brussels. The artist is both outside the party, as he paints its picture on the vase, and inside of it, as a participant in the festivities. It does not matter that Smikros is not seen, at the moment depicted on the vase, painting a pot, as Velázquez is seen painting a canvas roughly the size of *Las Meninas*: anyone able to read the inscriptions on the vase in Brussels is able to grasp that Smikros is in two places at once.

Within early Greek culture, there is a rough analog for the point of view taken by Smikros on the vase in Brussels. Εἶμ’ Ὀδυσσεύς, “I am Odysseus,” are the first words of the unforgettable story of adventure and adversity related by the hero to a spellbound party of Phaiakians in the *Odyssey* (9.19). This is a pivotal moment, not only within the epic but also in literary history. Though a character within the poem, Odysseus takes over the telling of the story from the narrator (i.e., “Homer”), who had invoked a supernatural power, the Muse, the daughter of Zeus, at the beginning of the epic, to sing the story of Odysseus, and then stepped back, so to speak, into the background. The importance of the shift in point of view is underscored by an important speech in the preceding Book Eight. The professional singer Demodokos has just performed a song about a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles. In a small hall-of-mirrors moment, the protagonist of both the *Odyssey* and Demodokos’ story-within-the-*Odyssey* offers the singer a compliment on the quality of his poetry: “I respect you, Demodocus, more than any man alive—surely the Muse has taught you . . . or god Apollo himself. How true to life, all too true [*kata kosmon*] . . . you sing the Achaeans’ fate [*my fate*] . . . as if you were there yourself or heard from someone who was” (8.487–491).⁴ Implicit

in Odysseus' compliment is the idea that he, having participated in the Trojan War, is an ideal arbiter of quality in poetry about the event, even as he is a character within it. In Book Nine, the hero takes a big step forward, from critic to performer. In so doing, Odysseus came to exemplify a different kind of relationship between story and storyteller from the one familiar from the opening lines of the *Odyssey* (or the *Iliad*). The point of view is personal, the narrator is embroiled in the action, and the claim to truth is implicit in the fact of his having experienced firsthand the events he relates. Like the literary character Odysseus, the pictorial figure Smikros has taken up the task of relating his own story. The obvious differences between the two works of art in medium, scale, ambition, and tradition should not be allowed to obscure this one basic similarity, that both Odysseus and Smikros narrate stories about themselves, based, seemingly, on their own extraordinary life experiences.

In the history of European art, self-portraiture is exceedingly rare before the Renaissance. It also tends to be quite different in format from the self-representation of Smikros. Renaissance and later self-portraiture tends to incorporate into the image some part of the process or experience of making the self-portrait (the hand of the artist sketching him- or herself, traces of the use of reflection, the artist shown working as an artist).⁵ The self-representation of Smikros is different. As J. D. Beazley put it, "the only certain self-portrait of a vase-painter shows him not at work but off duty."⁶ Smikros incorporates himself into the representation of activities that would seem to have nothing directly to do with the making and decorating of vases. In this respect, the image is not only at odds with the later history of self-portraiture, but also in relationship to ancient stereotypes about the way of life of ceramic artisans. It was a truism that the labor involved in the making of vases precluded participation in leisure activities like sympotic drinking. Here is what Xenophon and Plato had to say:

the illiberal arts (*banausikai*), as they are called, are spoken against, and are, naturally enough, held in utter disdain in our states. For they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the foremen, forcing them to sit still and live indoors, and in some cases spend the day at the fire. The softening of the body involves serious weakening of the mind. Moreover, these so-called illiberal arts leave no spare time for attention to one's friends and city (Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* 4.2–3, text/trans. Marchant and Todd 1923).⁷

"We could make the potters recline on couches from left to right before the fire drinking toasts and feasting with wheel alongside to potter with when they are so disposed . . . But urge us not to this, since, if we yield [the potter] will not be . . . a potter" (Plato, *Republic* 420e–421a, text/trans. Shorey 1930–1935).⁸ If the views expressed by Plato or Xenophon represent a widely held and long-standing social convention, it would seem unlikely that Smikros

the vase-painter could participate in a lavish symposium as a guest or insider. Yet the manipulation of inscriptions on the vase appears to create just such a counter-stereotypical scenario.

In teetering on the edge of the impossible, in seemingly ostentatiously portraying its own maker as denizen of high society, the vase-painting in Brussels (plate I, figure 1) works very differently from *Las Meninas* (plate II). One problem addressed by Velázquez was, what could possibly motivate or legitimize the presence of a (mere) painter within a group portrait of no less exalted company than the Spanish royal family? The solution employed by Velázquez was to paint the occasion on which the group portrait of the royal family was made. That occasion not only authorized the painter’s presence. More importantly, it is the one occasion that grants to the painter an authority or power that raises him instrumentally above the level of the other courtiers and support staff of the royal family. Indeed, one of the ideas thematized in the picture, as Michel Foucault argued, is the intimate relationship between manipulating point of view and social or political power.⁹ The strategy employed by the Spanish painter was not really available to an Athenian vase-painter. Vase-painting appears not to have been made from life, in the sense that the represented figures “sat” for the duration of the making of the images of themselves, providing tangible models for the vase-painter to copy. A vase-painting depicting a painter painting a party would not have corresponded to any real practice, any actual experience, in Archaic Greece. That may explain why Smikros has not represented himself as a painter, but it does not offer any insight into the deeper meaning of the picture.

The only other well-known self-portrait from Classical antiquity no longer exists, but it offers nevertheless some clue into the problem and perhaps the strategy or pictorial conception at work on the Brussels vase. Several ancient writers report that the preeminent Classical sculptor Pheidias was accused of offenses connected with the creation of the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos. One is embezzlement of the valuable materials used in the colossal project. The other is that Pheidias represented himself within the representation of the battle of Athenians and Amazons on the statue’s famous shield. Here is Plutarch’s account: “when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon” (*Perikles* 31, trans. Perrin 1914–1926).¹⁰ For this, Plutarch says, Pheidias was imprisoned for the rest of his life. Part of the story has been shown by archaeological discoveries to be inaccurate. It is now virtually certain that Pheidias went on to create the even more famous gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia after finishing his work on the Acropolis, so he could not have wasted away in prison in Athens.¹¹ But the story of the self-portraiture is instructive even if it is a fictional one. The

trouble arose because Pheidias, unlike Velázquez, did not represent himself in a way that justified or motivated his presence within the image. Since the subject matter was sacrosanct Athenian prehistory, the artist had no business being among the represented figures.

The earliest explicit reference to the self-representation of Pheidias within the shield is either in the (late Hellenistic?) Aristotelian text *Peri kosmou* (399 b 33–400 a 3) or Cicero (*Tusculian Disputations* 1.15, 34).¹² Is it possible that the self-portrait of Pheidias was familiar prior to the Hellenistic period? One tantalizing affirmative hint (though hardly proof) occurs in Aristophanes' *Peace*. This text includes the earliest extant attestation of the accusation of embellishment. Immediately following the charge of financial irregularity is a reference to the representation of the face in the art of Pheidias. Hermes explains to Trygaios and the chorus why the goddess Peace disappeared: "First of all Phidias had at her, when he'd gotten into trouble. Then Pericles got frightened that he'd share Phidias' bad luck" (604–606, text/trans. after Henderson 1998).¹³ So Perikles created a diversion via the Megarian decree. Trygaios and the chorus leader are amazed to learn that Pheidias had anything to do with Peace: "so that's why her face is so lovely, being related to him!" (617–618, τὰὐτ' ἄρ' εὐπρόσωπος ἦν, οὓσα συγγενῆς ἐκείνου). In this text, the only gloss or comment on Hermes' narrative mentions nothing about money but explicitly emphasizes the representation of the face. It even employs language that is ambiguous enough to allow for the idea that the face of the goddess is so beautiful because it is related to a man who is also *euprosōpos*, that is, beautifully represented in some (self-)portrait. Evelyn Harrison concluded her study of the composition of the shield of Athena Parthenos in this way: "We begin to recognize [the report of portraits of Pheidias and Perikles on the shield] it for what it must be, an invention of comedy. Plutarch's story, if it has a fifth-century origin, belongs not to the history of portraiture but to the history of political satire."¹⁴

There is a valuable point to be drawn even if the allegation of outrageous self-portraiture does not underlie that passage of Aristophanes. We tend to express low opinions, and have low assessments, of the creativity of celebrity gossip, as we browse the tabloids at the supermarket. The presence of an accusation against an artist of the stature of Pheidias within the sophisticated comic poetry of an ancient literary icon suggests that fictions about artists may have been assessed differently in antiquity, as something more interesting than just gossip. As soon as he is finished reporting the accusations against Pheidias of embezzlement and self-portrayal, Plutarch mentions that another associate of Perikles, a woman, Aspasia, was put on trial (*Perikles* 32). With a straight face, Plutarch reports that the prosecutor was the comic poet Hermippos, and an acquittal of the charges was secured by Perikles because he shed so many tears in court. Sure, the story is not impossible—Hermippos was an Athenian,

and Perikles would not be the last man in history to be seen weeping in a courtroom. But Perikles was a popular figure within late fifth-century comedy, including the comedy of Hermippos himself, who once called Perikles "king of the satyrs."¹⁵ One of the points that I hope to demonstrate in this book is that the conventions and expectations surrounding comedy—or, more precisely, the direct and indirect antecedents of those expectations within iambic poetry—are relevant to the understanding the newfangled genre of self-portraiture.

The story about Pheidias is relevant to the understanding of the self-portrait of Smikros (plate I) even if the comparison is not exactly apples to apples. It not only underscores the rarity and dubiousness of self-portraiture in the fifth century BC, but also highlights the potential popularity of deliberate fictions about artists. If it is true story, then the sculptural self-portrait is an original if troublesome creation of Pheidias. But if it is fiction, it is equally brilliant as a literary invention (and less litigious). How exactly is the fictional status of the Pheidias story relevant to the self-portrait of Smikros? The manner or style in which the vase in Brussels is painted has long been recognized as extremely close to the style of the painting signed by the innovative late sixth- and early fifth-century Athenian vase-painter and potter Euphronios. Thanks in part to a series of relatively recent discoveries and observations, there are now very good reasons to believe that the "self-portrait" of Smikros, and the other vases signed *Smikros egraphsen*, were painted by Euphronios. Euphronios is like Aristophanes (or some other comic poet) in inventing a story about an artist who depicts himself in such a way as potentially to raise eyebrows or ire. In the case of the story about Pheidias, the inappropriate aspect of the self-portrait is the context in which it occurs, both the type of object (quasi sacred) on which it appears and the type of event (patriotic mythology) in which he allegedly participated. The potentially implausible aspects of the pictorial fiction about Smikros are, first, that he attended a lavish party and, second, that the picture occurs on a fine stamnos. One likes to think of vases of that sort as circulating not among other members of the artisan class but among members of the social or political or economic elite, who expect to see someone like themselves in a picture of a lavish symposium. But the pictorial claim is much more, to sustain the analogy, than a piece of negative gossip ("At my last symposium," some ancient socialite might say, "I was embarrassed by the picture on my new stamnos, because it depicted an *artisan* drinking with *our* kind of people!"). The claim is, much more importantly, an extraordinary positive invention. Euphronios has transformed the relationship between pictorial style and artistic individuality from something unconscious to a fully self-conscious relationship. He is not merely trying pass his work off undetected as the work of someone else: by employing self-portraiture, and (self-)portraying Smikros in an implausible social situation, he invites his viewers to look again at the work, and begin to ask questions

about who Smikros might be, and perhaps even to begin to suspect that Smikros is too good to be true. That consequential claim I hope to substantiate in the first chapter of this book.

Here, too, there is an analog within early Greek culture, and again, it is within the *Odyssey*. In Book Nineteen, Odysseus finds himself face to face with his wife Penelope after twenty years of separation, but he claims to be someone else. “My own name is Aethon,” he says, as he unfolds his fictitious assertion to be the brother of the Cretan Idomeneus, and describes an encounter with (himself!) Odysseus long before, at the beginning of the Trojan War. “Falsehoods all, but he gave his falsehoods all the ring of truth. As she listened on, her tears flowed . . . weeping for him, her husband, sitting their beside her” (19.203–209, ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα· τῆς δ’ ἄρ’ ἀκουούσης ῥέε δάκρυα . . . κλαιούσης ἐὼν ἄνδρα παρ-ῆμενον). In the second half of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus tells his own story, in his own words, on five separate occasions, and on each occasion, the tale is different from the one he told the Phaiakians. On two occasions, one being the interview with Penelope, he even gives himself a made-up name. Telling his own story, reinventing it to suit each new situation, is the means by which this hero achieves not only the elusive goal of domestic economic success but also the traditional heroic goal of everlasting fame or *kleos*. One claim of the present book is that a meaningful thread can be traced between those two instances of fictional autobiography, between the epic stranger from Crete and the luxury-loving vase-painter from Athens.

One way to think about the motivation behind Euphronios’ invention of Smikros is along the lines of a speech made by Athena in Book Thirteen of the *Odyssey*. Having detained the hero long enough to hear his entire story, the Phaiakians returned Odysseus, while he slept, to his native island. Upon awaking, and encountering a young herdsman, and learning that he was in fact returned to his home after twenty years, the hero prevaricates: “Ithaka—I’ve heard of it” (13.256, “πυθάνομην Ἰθάκης”). The young man, who turns out to be Athena, amused, offers this appreciation of the greatest liar in Western civilization: “any man—any god who met you—would have to be some champion lying cheat to get past *you* for all-round craft and guile! . . . [N]ot even here, on native soil, would you give up those wily tales that warm the cockles of your heart!” (13.291–295).¹⁶ One way to imagine the patron or viewer of the vase-painting in Brussels (plate I) is to imagine an Athena-like spectator, who sees through the ruse of the signature *Smikros egraphsen*, and is pleased with herself, because she has matched wits with the cleverest of artists and not lost. But this is not the only way to imagine the response to Smikros as a fictional, self-portraying vase-painter. In Book Seventeen, Eumaios offers a different appreciation of the words of Odysseus to Penelope. At the moment the swineherd offers them, he is not even aware that the man who has been

staying with him for three days is the hero himself. “My queen . . . you know how you can stare at a bard in wonder . . . how you can long to sit there, listening, all your life when the man begins to sing. So he charmed my heart, I tell you, huddling there beside me at my fire” (17.518–521).¹⁷ Eumaios says this having already acknowledged, tacitly, in Book Fourteen, that at least one of the personal anecdotes related by the stranger is an *ainos*, a “fable” (14.508), a story creatively shaped to serve an ulterior purpose. In the passage in Book Seventeen, it is implied, the personal anecdotes of the stranger are so pleasurable to experience that it hardly matters whether they are true or false.¹⁸ Here is a different model of how a patron or symposiast or viewer might respond, enchanted, to the pictorial inventions of Euphronios.

Two comparisons for the pictorial proposition on the stamnos in Brussels (plate I) have been presented, but are they of the same value or nature? *Las Meninas* (plate II) is heuristic in the sense that it underscores the rarity of the self-portrait of the artist-in-society, foregrounds the potential ideological challenge to incorporating painter and patron into the same image, and makes apparent by contrast several special features of the vase-painting. The *Odyssey* is a different kind of comparison. It is not merely culturally related in the general sense of being Greek. It is both representative as well as constitutive of a particular form or model of subjectivity circulating in early Greek poetry and art.¹⁹ The *Odyssey* may have been much more influential than the Brussels vase-painting, but both are manifestations of the same specific cultural concept.

A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THIS BOOK

The aim of this book is to track the occurrence of the cultural concept of the “Odysseus”-like artist or poet: that is, the conception of the artist or poet as a socially marginal, sometimes physically imperfect, prevaricator, who triumphs artistically through an ability to fictionalize—lie about—the self. There are two more-or-less distinct bundles of threads binding together the poetic and pictorial instantiations of the creative liar, which come close to each other around the figure of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. One is found in the Archaic poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax (chapters two and three), the other in the figure of Hephaistos (chapters four and five). Hephaistos provides an explicit link between the poetry and the art examined in this book, because the god is a significant feature of both Homeric epic (chapter four) and Athenian vase-painting (chapters five and six).

The poetry associated with Archilochos and Hipponax is important because it provides evidence of the reception of two features of the epic presentation of Odysseus within later Greek culture. One feature is the self-narration of personal experience, while the other is the fictionalization of the self in first-person narrative. There is a compelling argument that the epic persona of

Odysseus is envisioned as a paradigm of a poetic narrator in the poetry of the seventh-century Archilochos of Paros (chapter two). We know that several of his first-person narrators possessed names or identities other than “Archilochos.” Like the vase in Brussels, the poems did not make the fictional identity of the speaker explicit, either at the beginning of the poem or possibly at all. That the example of Odysseus may be behind or relevant to that mode of narration is suggested by numerous other Archilochean poems. The infamous poem, “Some Saian exults in my shield which I left—a faultless weapon—beside a bush against my will. But I saved myself. What do I care about that shield? To hell with it! I’ll get one that’s just as good another time” (fragment 5W, ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνω, ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων· αὐτὸν δ’ ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη; ἔρρέτω· ἐξαυτίς κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω), was received as a shocking counter-cultural sentiment in some circles in antiquity. But it finds an excellent precedent in one of the epic fictional autobiographies of Odysseus.

A similar fascination with Odysseus, from his physical appearance to his actions and words, can be traced in the remains of the sixth-century poet Hipponax (chapter three). In Hipponax, there are additional features that occur in, are relevant to, the vase-painting. One is an interest in entering into emulation or competition with the pictorial or sculptural arts. In several poems, the narrator interacts with visual artists who appear, like Smikros, to be inventions. Hipponax not only interacts with them on a social level, competing for the attention of a woman, settling personal scores, but also interacts with the art that they make. In so doing, the aim of the poetry seems to be to explore the relative capabilities and limitations of the poetic, pictorial, and sculptural media. One would compare Leonardo’s writings about the relative capacities of pictures, poetry, and music, if the poetry of Hipponax were not also characterized by parody (that is, by a deliberate strategy of undermining traditional or conventional expectations for the sake of humor, a strategy arguably at work in a number of vase-paintings discussed in this book). The vase-painting in Brussels was painted at time when a poet occasionally reached across the line into the field of painting not merely for content but also for formal or conceptual possibilities. The vase can be understood to represent that process of intellectual exchange run in reverse.

A link between the hero of the *Odyssey* and the self-presentation of the artist in Archaic Greek culture is also manifest in the conception of Hephaistos (chapters four and five). In the literary and pictorial representations of this god, there is revealed a fascinating series of interrelationships among clever traps, technical knowledge, artistry, physical deformity, and social rejection. Because of his withered legs, Hephaistos is banished from the society and very sight of the Olympian gods despite his filial membership. His banishment provides the time, opportunity, and impetus to develop technical knowledge

and abilities foreign to life on Olympos (Zeus does not even make his own thunderbolts, but receives them from another group of imperfect immortals, the one-eyed Kyklopes [Hesiod, *Theogony* 501–506]). The technical knowledge and skills are necessary for Hephaistos to reestablish his rightful place within divine society. This is exemplified in the twin stories of the entrapments of Ares and Hera, which restored to Hephaistos not only his place within Olympian society but more importantly the respect of the gods. “Look how limping Hephaestus conquers War, the quickest of all the gods who rule Olympus! The cripple wins by craft,” is how the *Odyssey* describes the reactions of the Olympian gods, delighted by “the god of fire’s subtle, cunning work” (8.330–332: ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἥφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἄρηα, ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι, χωλὸς ἐὼν, τέχνησι, 327: τέχνας εισορόωσι πολύφρονος Ἥφαιστοιο). In the *Odyssey*, an equation is made between the techniques employed by the god Hephaistos to reestablish his place in divine society, and those employed by the hero Odysseus. The point is clearly and memorably made in the story from which that quotation was taken, the second song performed by Demodokos. In the song, Hephaistos faces infidelity in his own home. He overcomes the problem through the deployment of a clever trap that prevents the miscreant from escaping until the price is paid. The story has obvious affinities with the problem facing Odysseus at home, the presence of so many would-be adulterers, and the need to prevent them from escaping before he can pay them back. But the similarities go further than that: in the second half of the *Odyssey*, the hero is no longer welcome in his own home. In order to reenter it without meeting a bloody reception like Agamemnon’s, Odysseus impersonates a physically infirm beggar. As a result, he experiences social slights because of his appearance just like Hephaistos. The poem makes the relationship clear through its emphasis on the hero’s limp, the threat that he will be cast out by his foot (as the god was expelled from Olympos), and the taunt that the proper place for a man of his appearance is a forge.

It is true that Odysseus voluntarily adopts the look of a physically and socially marginal figure. It is part of a strategy of fictionalizing his identity, a temporary transformation that advances his goal of restoring his position within his household. At the end of the mission, he is restored physically, bodily. The reintegration of Hephaistos within Olympian society is more radical in that the god remains just as imperfect as he was when he was rejected. Divine society has changed, perforce. But just here, in the characterization of Odysseus and the narrative of his triumph, there is an overlap between two creative strategies. The one, the fictionalization of the self, is fused with the other, the employment of skill, art, and intelligence as compensation for lack of beauty, perfection, and physical force. The two paradigms are linked through the common employment of the rhetorical strategy of self-mockery. In adopting the look and the manner of a beggar, complaining often about his belly, and

having to fight another beggar for the distinction of beggar-favorite, Odysseus invites insult as well as laughter. This too is an instrumental part of a strategy to achieve the ultimate aim of eliminating the insulting suitors and restoring the hero to his proper place. Two appearances of Hephaistos within epic, the story of his solution of the Ares problem and the narrative of his intervention in the quarrel between Hera and Zeus (*Iliad* 1.571–600), are also characterized by deliberate deployment of self-mockery. Hephaistos encourages the other gods to laugh at the sight of his wife locked in embrace with another god, or laugh at his inability to hold his own against Zeus, or laugh at his futile attempt to move around the room as gracefully as a cute cup-boy. But he is no passive victim: Hephaistos, like Odysseus, engineers the laughter of others in order to achieve his larger goals of prevailing over Ares or restoring harmony to the society of the gods. A key feature of the use of self-mockery in those two cases in epic is that it essentially enhances the status of the one who deploys it. It is one of the several actions of Odysseus that confirm his reputation as the cleverest, shrewdest of mortals. It generates an appreciative laughter that includes Hephaistos in its good feeling. The impudent self-portrayal of a social-climbing vase-painter perhaps resulted in similarly high admiration for its creator when it was realized that Smikros had no real existence. It is a particular feature of artistic and poetic subjectivity in Archaic Greek culture that the seemingly independent strategies of fictionalization of self, physical impairment, social marginalization, and self-mockery are often intertwined.

The figure of Hephaistos is an important link in the chain for two additional reasons. The first is that he is celebrated in epic poetry not only for his clever tricks of the trappy bed and cup-boy impersonation, but also for his virtually incomparable skill in pictorial representation. The description of the shield that the god decorates for Achilles in Book Eighteen of the *Iliad* suggests that it pushes up against the very limit of what is possible in terms of the scope, emotional power, and capacity for realism of the imagery. As in the poetry of Hipponax, so here too in the ekphrasis of the shield (possibly a model for the iambic poet), there is an implicit invitation to compare poetry and pictorial representation in terms of their relative capabilities. At the same time, the shield of Achilles underscores the relevance of the persona of the artist emerging in my account—physically imperfect or socially marginal, with a chip on his shoulder, and the skills to make people notice—for the narrative of the shield's creation is predicated on an account of Hephaistos' woeful banishment.

The second way in which the god is important in bridging the gap between the literary development of the portrait of the artist and the self-portrait of Smikros is the immense popularity of Hephaistos within Athenian black- and red-figure vase-painting. The story of the return of Hephaistos to Olympos, which epitomizes the epic themes of physical imperfection, banishment, and compensatory technical skill and intelligence in the portrait of the artist, is

perhaps the most popular single story about the gods in all of vase-painting. Artistry often seems overshadowed within this visual narrative by the presence and importance of the gift of Dionysos and the followers of the wine god. Wine and wine-lovers are as constitutive of vase-painting as epic is constituted by war and warriors. But artistry is very much central to the fullest and most informative surviving representation of the return of Hephaistos in art, the François vase (chapter five).

In this book, considerable weight is placed on the argument that "Smikros" is a fictitious artist invented and "impersonated" by Euphronios. But it is far from the only argument or evidence for the circulation of an "Odyssean" conception of artistry as dissimulation and persuasion among Athenian potters and vase-painters. Several formal features or motifs were developed in part to advance the conception pictorially, including direct visual address and vase-paintings of vase-paintings (chapter six). And there are numerous signatures and inscriptions in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting that operate in a manner similar to the signature, *Smikros egraphsen*. Priapos, Hegesiboulos, Epilykos, and Peithinos, in various ways, appear to be too good to be true (chapter seven).

In an important survey of social-historically inflected approaches to ancient art, R. R. R. Smith suggested that "[ancient artists] sought not rupture and originality but modulation within and enlargement of an agreed visual tradition and repertoire."²⁰ The purpose of the present book is to uncover a specific artistic and poetic tradition within which rupture and originality were in fact part of the repertoire.

SYMPOTIC CONTEXTS

The links between the representations and self-representations of Odysseus, Hephaistos, Hipponax, Archilochos, Smikros, Euphronios, and others are not merely similarities on the level of description. Many of them share a common cultural context, namely, the somewhat ritualized, sometimes anarchic, drinking party known as the symposium. Either the poem or the vase-painting was designed for, or experienced in, one or more symposia, or the symposium is part of the content of the poetic or pictorial representation, or both. Perhaps the best indication that many painted Athenian vases were intended for use in symposia is provided by the painted pottery itself, for mixing and drinking vessels are included within many vase-paintings of symposia (e.g., plate I, figure 1).²¹ The pictures on the pots are veritable "instructions for use." One series of "vases on vases" is particularly important, because it shows that the represented vessels are made not of metal but out of clay and decorated in the very same fashion as the black- and red-figure vases that bear the representations (see chapter six).²² Of course, the function of some Athenian painted vases was not sympotic. In a Venn diagram made up of three circles,

denoting Attic pottery, Archaic poetry, and sympotic drinking, the intersection of the three cultural activities will not correspond to the union, but only to a subset.²³

The contexts in which poetry was performed in antiquity also varied widely, from public Panhellenic festivals, such as the vast gathering of Ionians on Delos described in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (146–164), to intimate private occasions, such as the solo concert of heroic songs, which Achilles offered to his friend Patroklos alone in the *Iliad* (9.186–191). But among the performative contexts for poetry, the symposium was fundamental.²⁴ Like vase-painting, some Archaic poems self-identify the symposium as the context in which they are at home. Consider for example the programmatic statement attributed to Theognis, in which the poet speaks about a principal subject of his poetry, his boyfriend Kyrnos: “I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sound of pipes will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices” (237–243, text/trans. Gerber 1999a, Σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ’ ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς’ ἐπ’ ἀπείρονα πόντον πωτήση, κατὰ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος ῥηϊδίως· θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνησι παρέσση ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, καὶ σε σὺν ἀυλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλά τε καὶ λιγέα ἄσσονται). The poem not only describes the convivial setting that, it suggests, is its natural performance context, but also envisions its own re-performance, over and over, for many years to come, at such gatherings. Vase-painting occasionally represents the performance of poetry within the symposium, when it depicts symposiasts performing songs—with the words written on the vases—that are known from literary sources, such as Praxilla or the corpus attributed to Theognis.²⁵

Some insights into the similarities and differences in poetic and pictorial representations of the symposium may be grasped from a consideration of an elegy of the late sixth-century poet Xenophanes. The poem brings into view an important distinction in point of view between the straightforward manner in which the narrator characterizes himself as leading symposiast, and the more indirect manner adopted by Euphronios:

For now the floor is clean and clean the hands of everyone
 and the cups; (one servant) places woven garlands round (the heads of the guests),
 and another offers sweet-smelling perfume in a saucer;
 the mixing-bowl stands filled with good cheer; on
 hand is additional wine, which promises never to
 run out, mellow in its jars and fragrant with its bouquet;
 in the middle incense sends forth its pure
 and holy aroma and there is water, cool, sweet, and
 clear; nearby are set golden-brown loaves and a
 magnificent table laden with cheese and thick

5
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honey; in the centre an altar is covered all over with
 flowers, and song and festivity pervade the room.
 For men of good cheer it is meet first to hymn
 the god with reverent tales and pure words, after
 pouring libations and praying for the ability to do 15
 what is right—for in truth this is a more obvious thing to do,
 not deeds of violence; it is meet to drink as much as you can hold and
 come home without an attendant unless you are very old,
 and to praise that man who after drinking reveals noble thoughts, so
 that there is a recollection of and striving for excellence;
 it is not meet to make an array of the wars of 20
 the Titans or Giants or Centaurs, creations of our
 predecessors, or violent factions—there is nothing
 useful in them; and it is meet always to have a good
 regard for the gods.²⁶

The poem graphically evokes the multisensory experience of a luxurious symposium. The scents, snacks, drink, and, above all, music, songs, and stories are all present. The one discordant note in this otherwise idyllic image is the surprisingly specific list of narrative subjects that contain “nothing useful” for sympotic entertainment: the wars of the titans, giants, and centaurs. It seems likely that the list is alluding in part to traditional poetry such as the epics attributed to Homer or Hesiod. One clue is the specification that the battles of titans, giants, and centaurs are *plasmata tōn proterōn*, “creations or fictions of former generations.” The war between the titans and the Olympian gods is also very rare in early Greek poetry or art outside of Hesiod, and therefore the name “titans” ought to have evoked the *Theogony*.²⁷ Xenophanes was celebrated by early Christian apologists for his critiques of the unvarnished depictions of the gods in epic: “Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods all sorts of things which are matters of reproach and censure among men: theft, adultery, and mutual deceit.”²⁸

The poetry of Homer and Hesiod per se does not appear, however, to be the sole or even principal concern. First of all, the three specific subjects censored make up one half of an either-or construction in which the other half consists of *stasias sphedanas*, “angry seditions.” The phrase may be an allusion to the factional fighting within the aristocracy familiar from, for example, the poetry of Alkaios, and often associated with sympotic intrigue. What is objectionable about the mythological battles is that they pitted one faction of gods against another, or guest against host at a noble banquet.²⁹ More interestingly, those battles are called *plasmata*. Andrew Ford pointed out that the expression, *plasmata tōn proterōn*, “fashionings of men of old,” is a reworking of an epic expression for heroic narratives, *kleia proterōn anthrōpōn*, “fames of men of long ago.” The reworking subtly associates epic narratives with the anthropomorphic images of the gods that Xenophanes famously critiqued: “if horses or oxen or lions had hands or could draw with their hands

and accomplish such works as men, horses would draw the figures of gods as similar to horses . . .” (fragment 15, εἰ <δέ> τοι <ἵπποι> ἔχον χέρας ἢ βόες ἢ ἐλέοντες ἢ γράψαι χεῖρεςσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες, ἵπποι μὲν θ’ ἵπποισι . . . θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον). In the other early attestations of the word *plasmata*, it evokes modelling in clay.³⁰ *Plasmata tōn proterōn*, “fashionings of men of old,” may recall the epic formulation, but it also calls to mind sculptural representations or representations in clay.

In fact, around the time when Xenophanes’ poem was composed, the gigantomachy and centauro-machy had been popular subjects on painted pottery for several generations. In surviving Archaic poetry, on the other hand, the gigantomachy and centauro-machy are relatively rare.³¹ There is a case to be made that, if narratives on the battles of giants and centaurs regularly circulated in symposia in the late sixth century, they did so in the form of painted pottery. The presence of a cup within a symposium such as the late sixth-century cup in Basel depicting Herakles drinking wine with Pholos exemplifies the point (figures 2–3).³² On one side, it depicts the centaur Pholos reclining with Herakles, who appears to have recently removed the heavy stone lid from the centaur’s private reserve, in order to fill his drinking vessel. A pair of centaurs have just materialized in response to the scent of the newly uncovered wine. They reach pleadingly, like addicts, toward the drug. Pholos gestures toward them, as if to say to the hero, “don’t say I didn’t warn you that this would happen.” On the other side of the cup, one can see how centaurs can ruin a nice party, for Herakles is no longer relaxing with his friend but clubbing the centaurs, who, having gone berserk, pick up rocks and sticks with which to fight. The subject matter of this cup might have struck Xenophanes as “nothing useful,” but one can envision the opportunities it might have afforded symposiasts to discuss the differences between men of today and men of the past, like Nestor does in the *Iliad* (1.259–263), or the power of wine to ruin a fellow, as Antinoos does during the final fatal feast in the *Odyssey* (21.293–304), both of these passages citing centaurs.

That is one point on which Xenophanes’ poem intersects with contemporary vase-painting. Another is the representation of the setting within which sympotic storytelling and entertainment occurred. The first half of the poem describes many material features of the ideal symposium, the well-swept floor, the altar strewn with flowers, the cups and mixing bowl, the supply of wine and cheese, the perfume and garlands. The setting of Xenophanes’ sympotic poem resembles those in the roughly contemporary vase-paintings of symposia on pottery, such as the one on the stamnos in Brussels (plate I, figure 1) or the party depicted on a krater in Munich attributed to Euphronios (plate III, figure 4). The krater is especially similar to the poem, because it not only gives explicit, concrete form to many of the material objects of the symposium, including cups, mixing bowl, food, and furniture. It also gives form to the idea



FIGURE 2: Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 489, red-figure cup, ARV² 454, H. P. Painter, BAPD 217401. Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Obverse.



FIGURE 3: Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BS 489, red-figure cup, ARV² 454, H. P. Painter, BAPD 217401. Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Reverse.



FIGURE 4: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8935, red-figure krater, *ARV*² 1619,3bis, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 275007. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Reverse.

of remembering the gods in song, a major preoccupation of Xenophanes. On the vase, one of the drinkers hymns, “Oh Apollo, and the other blessed gods, . . .” the words written on the vase.³³

Xenophanes’ poem not only explicitly describes the setting of the symposium, but also expresses the idea that the poem is being performed at the very symposium it is describing. The present tense of the verbs in the first half of the poem, and the explicit reference to the here and now in the first line, “*now* the floor is clean, . . .” suggest that the listener is present in the very room in which the party is unfolding.³⁴ The language invites its audience to see itself in the poem as if in a mirror. Many vase-paintings of symposiasts, like the ones in Brussels or Munich (plates I, III, figures 1, 4), similarly seem like invitations for the drinkers who examined the pots within the setting of a symposium to see themselves within the imagery. On the krater in Munich, the frontal face of the figure on the left (named Thōdēmos) is particularly inviting.

Though several interpretations of the frontal face of this figure are possible (see [chapter six](#)), one possibility is that the symposiast-spectator seems to see himself as if in a reflection.

The poem and the vase-paintings depict symposia lavish enough to require the help of servants, but there is an important difference in the manner in which they are given form. In the vase-paintings, the servants are given an equal amount of pictorial space, even if greater pictorial attention (e.g., detail) is paid to the symposiasts (see [figures 1, 4](#)). Notice, however, how evanescent are the persons peripheral to the drinking group in the poem. Someone has to hand out the garlands, pass the perfume, and provide the musical accompaniment entailed in the performance of the various types of song mentioned in the poem (*molpē, paian*, and hymns). But the presence of a servant to fit the garlands is merely implied by the fact that the verb *amphititheĩ* needs a subject (line 2). The presence of an additional person to pass around the perfume is indicated by an anonymous *allos* “another” (line 3). One might venture to suggest that this wealthy drinking group is self-sufficient, taking up the garlands and the perfume itself, but for the allusion to the possibility that an older member might require assistance returning home later that night (line 18). There the word *propolou*, “servant,” reminds us that, even in this idealized, high-minded drinking world, we are still within a structure of socioeconomic hierarchy. The cups mentioned in the first sentence of the poem are associated with no human agent at all. The potter who supplied the vessels for this drinking party is of even lower visibility than the ghostly servants.

Related to the discretion surrounding the presence of support staff is the emphasis on self-sufficiency in the second part of the poem, the part that concerns the entertainment. The central feature of the symposium, which appears to be of greatest concern to Xenophanes, the discourse, is not left to the discretion of the paid entertainers. It is the responsibility of the symposiasts themselves: *chrē de prōton men theon humnen euphronas andras*, “it is necessary [or fitting] first of all for merry men [literally, men of good cheer, i.e., drinkers] to hymn the god . . .” The verb and subject, “it is fitting for merry men,” appear to govern the other infinitives and participles in the second part of the poem: praying for the capability to do what is right, to drink in a moderate fashion, to praise the man who, in his cups, reveals noble thoughts, rather than refighting old internecine battles, and to always remember the gods.³⁵ It is the drinking men themselves, not the servants, who arrange the most important part of the sympotic experience. In its hortatory character (“it is necessary or fitting to . . .”), the voice of the poem is like the voice of a symposiarch. “The poet plays the role of a toast-master at the drinking-party.”³⁶ This poetic utterance, which conjures out of words a fragrant room full of friends enjoying pinot noir and brie, entering into deep conversation, fashions the voice of the poet into the voice of an insider.³⁷

In this respect, the poem of Xenophanes is reminiscent of one passage in particular of the *Odyssey*. The setting is a banquet of the Phaiakians in the palace of Alkinoos. The stranger (Odysseus) is the guest of honor. The king has interrupted the paid singer Demodokos, in the middle of the account of Odysseus' role in the Sack of Troy, because the stranger is crying. The king insists that the stranger identify himself, tell them all his story. This is how Odysseus replies:

What a fine thing it is to listen to such a bard as we have here—the man sings like a god. The crown of life, I'd say. There's nothing better than when deep joy holds sway throughout the realm and banqueters up and down the palace sit in ranks, enthralled to hear the bard, and before them all, the tables heaped with bread and meats, and drawing wine from a mixing-bowl the steward makes his rounds and keeps the winecups flowing. This, to my mind, is the best that life can offer. But now you're set on probing the bitter pains I've borne, so I'm to weep and grieve, it seems, still more. Well then, what shall I go through first, what shall I save for last? What pains—the gods have given me my share. Now let me begin by telling you my name. . . . (*Odyssey* 9.3–16).³⁸

Like Xenophanes' poem, Odysseus' speech begins with a description of the sensual delights of the perfect banquet. A godlike singer, tables heaped with bread and meat, plenty of wine in the mixing bowls, servants to keep the drink flowing. Like Xenophanes, he turns to the subject of his "song," and reflects on its contents. The hero implicitly distances himself from the traditional song of Demodokos. That song of strife, like the traditional tales about titans and other seditionists cited by Xenophanes, did not please Odysseus. In its place, he offers a new "song," based on his own experience.

The vase-painting in Brussels signed *Smikros egraphsen* (plate I, figure 1) appears, on the surface, to be structurally similar to the poetic description of the symposium by Xenophanes. Very likely, however, in actual circumstances of creation, in intended effect, and in its reception, it stands at some distance from the poem. Like the poem, the vase-painting seems to assert the authority of its creator not only to fashion a representation of a luxurious symposium, but to participate in it as well. That pictorial proposition collides with what appears to have been a shared sentiment that artisans have no place among the guests at a nice party. It would be like a beggar or sweaty blacksmith taking the place of honor at the banquet of the Phaiakians, rather than Odysseus, and offering his own recent life story. Smikros the socialite has not even disguised his incompatible alter-ego as artisan, but flaunted it, in the placement of his signature as painter of the vase. But there is much more that stands in the way of seeing the man, who takes credit for depicting himself as a sophisticated man of means and taste, as a historical anomaly within ancient conceptions of social class, a Leonardo-esque Renaissance man with a taste for nice things. Detailed

examination of the relationship between this vase-painting and other painted vases will reveal that Smikros is a *poseur* in an even deeper sense than his ambiguous social status. Behind the brash and self-assertive facade of Smikros is the partially concealed persona of Euphronios. In attributing this sympotic self-portrait to an alter-ego, Euphronios has adopted a much more complex and nuanced point of view than the one embodied in the poem we have been considering. For it is easy to think of Xenophanes himself as the narrator of that poem, even if it is not necessary to do so to appreciate the verse. The vase-painting of Smikros, on the other hand, confounds any simple identification of depicted figure with its alleged vase-painter.

CHAPTER ONE

SMIKROS AND EUPHRONIOS: PICTORIAL ALTER EGO

The vase-painting in Brussels (plate I, figure 1), discussed in the introduction, is not the only vase-painting to depict a symposium attended by young Smikros. On the krater in Munich (plate III), four men recline on two couches, drinking wine and singing. On the reverse (figure 4), three men supply wine for the party. All the figures in the main picture are identified by name. The figure on the far right, belting out a tune, lyrics of which are written on the vase, is Ekphantidēs. The bearded man who directs his attention away from the depicted figures is Thōdēmos. The name of the man straining to hear the music is Melas. In the center of the image, a woman stands before the couches and plays the aulos. Her name is Sukō. The youngest member of the drinking group, the one with beard-fuzz on his cheek, gesticulating toward Sukō, is named Smikros. The krater was attributed to Euphronios by a dealer, the attribution confirmed by J. D. Beazley, and a number of apt and specific comparisons offered by Emily Vermeule in her initial publication of the vase.¹

There is no doubt that, in depicting young Smikros on the krater, Euphronios had in mind the vase-painter who signed the stamnos in Brussels *Smikros egraphsen*. There is no doubt because the similarities between the vase in Munich and the one in Brussels are perhaps as extensive as the similarities between any other pair of extant Athenian vases thought to be by different artists. Indeed, the compositional similarities between the two vases are extensive enough to make one confident that the painter of one vase had actually seen the other. That is an extraordinary circumstance given the fact that neither

vase would have been visible to an Athenian artist once it had been exported to Etruria, where the vases were, most likely, found. Here is how Dieter Ohly explained the extensive similarities between the two vase-paintings: “Euphronios and Smikros created their symposion vases at the same time and in direct contact, in the same workshop, bench next to bench, so to speak, or in the closest vicinity within the potter’s quarter in the Kerameikos. One can ask, whether they painted their pictures on the same day, or the one wished to surpass in collegial competition the just completed work of the other, which he saw before him.” Both vase-paintings feature a standing flute girl in the center of the main composition, and a swooning symposiast, head tilted back with hand on top. The positions of the legs of the left-most symposiast in each scene are identical. The arrangement, orientation, and decoration of the tables, couches, and mattresses are similar. Note the food similarly depicted in added red and added white on the tables, and the presence of light and dark drinking vessels in both scenes. On the back of each vase, servants fill a dinos on a dedicated stand. One servant steps toward the dinos, supporting a pointed amphora on his back with one hand, and raising the other hand in the air. The standed dinos is a rare, old-fashioned type of vessel at this date, and so its occurrence in both vase-paintings is not insignificant. Finally, on both vases, a figure named Smikros reclines immediately to the right of the aulos-player.²

The one vase-painting is not simply a copy of the other. On the obverse of the vase in Brussels, there are three couches, not two, and the men have female, not male, companions; on the reverse, there are only two servants, and not three. The dinos-stand has a convex molding on the Munich krater, a concave molding on the Brussels stamnos.³ There are differences in the treatment of hair and eyes. On the vase in Brussels, the hair of Smikros is a solid mass of black glaze, and the pupil of his eye is solid black (for detail, see figure 5). On the vase in Munich, the hair of Smikros is lighter (detail, figure 6). It was created with many individual strokes of a brush that left wavy lines of dilute glaze. The eye of Smikros is also lighter on the Munich vase. It consists of a small black dot surrounded by a black ring with a reserved ring in between. Yet it seems certain that the same individual is referred to in the two vase-paintings, because the pictures otherwise share so many compositional features, including the explicit label, “Smikros.”

Vermeule suggested that the stamnos in Brussels “openly copies several details” of the krater in Munich. “The Smikros stamnos is so close to the Euphronios krater that it seems an experimental reflection made while the krater was still in the shop at Athens, unsold.”⁴ Implicit in her understanding of the relationship between the two vase-paintings is an idea that goes back as far as 1925, namely, that the vase-painter Smikros was an imitator of the great ceramic artist Euphronios. When the stamnos in Brussels was published in 1902 by Camille Gaspar, it was thought to have been painted by the same artist



FIGURE 5: Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A717, red-figure stamnos, *ARV*² 20,1, signed by Smikros as painter, BAPD 200102. Photo courtesy and ©RMAH, Brussels. Detail: Smikros.

who painted the great unsigned volute krater of Herakles and the Amazons in Arezzo (plate IV).⁵ Although the subject matter of the two vases was very different, Gaspar believed that the two were linked through a vase in Paris with a mysterious inscription. The vase in Paris and the enigmatic text will concern us later. For the moment, it is enough to note that, subsequent to Gaspar's



FIGURE 6: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8935, red-figure krater, *ARV*² 1619,3bis, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 275007. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Detail: Smikros, Sukō, Ekphantidēs.

publication, the principal vase-painting on the krater in Arezzo was recognized by Adolf Furtwängler as the work of the same hand who signed other vase-paintings as the work of Euphronios. Furtwängler detached the stamnos in Brussels from the krater in Arezzo, in terms of attribution, without any detailed stylistic analysis.⁶ The absence of argumentation is perhaps not surprising. Once the volute krater was convincingly attributed to Euphronios, its decoration could no longer be understood as the work of the artist who painted the Brussels stamnos, so long as the signature on the stamnos, *Smikros egraphsen*, was taken at face value. The stylistic similarities between the painting on the vase in Brussels and that on the Arezzo krater were now accounted for according to a hypothesis that the artist who called himself Smikros was an imitator of Euphronios. That hypothesis was given a long-lasting authoritative stamp by J. D. Beazley, in 1925, when he emphatically separated the two artists, memorably describing Smikros as a “kümmerlicher Nachahmer des Euphronios,” “very poor imitator of Euphronios.”⁷

The publication in 1965 of the krater in Munich made possible for the first time a detailed, like-for-like, symposium-to-symposium comparison of the painting on the stamnos in Brussels signed *Smikros egraphsen* and the painting of Euphronios. Although Vermeule appears to have taken the imitator-hypothesis for granted, her word “experimental” is telling. The combination of similarities and variations in composition is not easy to square with the hypothesis that the vase in Brussels was painted on the basis of careful visual examination of the vase in Munich. In pose, orientation, and compositional position, the flute girls are identical (compare figures 5 and 6); but the hairstyle and name of the girl on the one vase betray no awareness of hairstyle or name of the other. The pose of Ekphantidēs on the Munich vase—right arm over the back of the head, head tilted back, and wine cup in left hand—is the very pose of Smikros on the Brussels vase (compare figures 5 and 6). But the hairstyles bear no comparison, and Smikros is not singing whereas Ekphantidēs emphatically does so. Curious is the difference in the drawing of the hands on the heads of the two men, for one is reversed; if the painter of the Brussels vase is copying the figure of Ekphantidēs, it is puzzling that he failed to notice this. It is also curious that the vase in Brussels accords with the vase in Munich in the position of Smikros vis-à-vis the aulos-player, but not in the pose. The model for the Brussels Smikros, in pose, is not the figure of Smikros on the krater in Munich but the one adjacent to him. It is as if the one vase were painted with the other vividly in mind but not physically present.

WHO PAINTED THE BRUSSELS STAMNOS SIGNED *SMIKROS EGRAPHSEN*?

In fact, the similarities between the vase-paintings in Brussels and Munich are such as to undermine the confidence in the traditional understanding of the

relationship between the two works of art. Martha Ohly-Dumm, who has offered the most extensive comparison of the two vase-paintings, acknowledged that the inner muscular detail of the self-representation of Smikros is hard to distinguish from the anatomical drawing on the Munich vase.⁸ One may compare the hooked lines for the clavicles, the two converging lines in dilute glaze for the muscles of the neck, the single gentle W-like relief line for the pectorals, the vertical line in dilute glaze for the sternum, and the line in dilute glaze encompassing the abdominal muscles, which curves back on itself. All of those features may be seen on one or another of the male figures on the Munich krater (compare [plate I](#) and [figures 1, 5](#) with [plate III](#) and [figure 6](#)). Ohly-Dumm nevertheless reasserted the hypothesis that the vase in Brussels was an imitation of the vase in Munich by a lesser artist. She singled out two details that, she believed, signal the inability of the imitator to follow the model. On the stamnos, the fingers of the flute player Helikē are stiff in comparison with the more dynamic-looking fingers of the accompanist Sukō on the krater (compare [figures 5](#) and [6](#)). And the left leg of the drinker Pheidiadēs ([figure 7](#)), which is shown from the front, lacks an arrangement of drapery to conceal the connection between foreshortened leg and body, an arrangement that occurs on an amphora attributed to Euphronios in the Louvre ([figure 8](#)).⁹ She argued that Smikros failed to understand this Euphronian optical effect. Dietrich von Bothmer also identified two features on the vase in Brussels as indicative of the inability of its self-identifying creator Smikros to keep up with the model provided by Euphronios. Smikros forgot to depict himself with an open mouth, even though he is meant to be singing, like his model Ekphantidēs on the krater in Munich (compare [figures 5](#) and [6](#)). And Automenēs has two left hands.¹⁰



FIGURE 7: Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A717, red-figure stamnos, *ARV*² 20,1, signed by Smikros as painter, BAPD 200102. Photo courtesy and ©RMAH, Brussels. Detail: Pheidiadēs.



FIGURE 8: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G30, red-figure neck amphora, *ARV*² 15,9, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200071. Photo courtesy Erich Lessing/Art Resource. Obverse.

The weakness in all of those arguments is that the alleged deficiencies in the painting abilities of Smikros can be found within the painting of Euphronios. The krater in Munich, like the stamnos in Brussels, depicts a drinker (Thōdēmos) with a foreshortened left leg (figure 6). A fragment of the vase is missing from the critical area, but it is still possible to see that the drawing of the himation around the waist and above the knee of Thōdēmos is more similar to the handling of the clothing of Pheidiadēs on the stamnos (figure 7) than to what is drawn on the amphora in Paris (figure 8). On the krater, Thōdēmos also has two left hands (plates I and V), as Richard Neer perceptively noted.¹¹ On the other side of the amphora in Paris attributed to Euphronios (plate VI), one symposiast is depicted with his lips pressed together in spite of the fact that he is obviously singing to his own lyric accompaniment: the words of his song, ΜΑΜΕΚΑΠΟΤΕΟ, a variation perhaps of Sappho's καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι (fragment 36 Lobel-Page), are written on the vase as if emerging from his (closed) mouth.¹² The fingers of Sukō (figure 5) are hardly an objective criterion for attribution. The fingers of flute-players vary considerably within the oeuvre of Euphronios, and those of the accompanist on a hydria in Dresden, for example, are closer to those on the stamnos in Brussels than to those on the krater in Munich.¹³ Furthermore, as Ingeborg Peschel persuasively argued, the vase-painting in Brussels represents a different sort of musical experience compared to the lively sing-along depicted on the krater in Munich. The more meditative response of Smikros is in keeping with the emphasis in the Brussels vase-painting on sensuality.¹⁴ On the Brussels vase, Barry White is playing in the background, whereas the Munich vase depicts karaoke.

Even the most obvious difference between the two vase-paintings, the difference in hair and eye color, is not a reliable guide to distinguishing between the vase-painting of Euphronios and the painting signed *Smikros egraphsen*. The figures on the obverse of the Munich krater (plate III) may have light-colored hair and eyes, but those on the reverse (figure 4) have solid masses of black bounded by incision for hair, and solid black pupils, just like the figures of Smikros and his friends on the stamnos (plate I, figure 1).¹⁵ Light hair and light-colored eyes are not universal within the painting of Euphronios, but reserved for certain figures in particular situations.¹⁶ On the krater in the Villa Giulia depicting the aftermath of the death of Sarpedon, a vase signed by Euphronios as painter, dilute glaze is used for the hair of Sarpedon and Thanatos, light-colored eyes for Thanatos and Hypnos, but solid black masses and solid black pupils for the hair and eyes of all the other figures. Both styles of hair and eyes, the darker and the lighter, are depicted on the same, signed vase.¹⁷ The conventions employed for the representation of hair and eyes on the stamnos in Brussels correspond to the conventions employed for numerous male figures on vases signed by Euphronios as painter. There is, in addition, one example of “blue” eyes on the stamnos, the eye of the girl named Chorō (figure 7).

In short, it is not easy to distinguish stylistically between the painting on the stamnos in Brussels and that on the krater in Munich, and therefore the hypothesis that Smikros was a distinct artist from, and imitator of, Euphronios is worth reconsidering.

THE OEUVRE OF WORKS SIGNED *SMIKROS EGRAPHSEN*:

The name Smikros occurs as part of a vase-painter's signature on at least three, very likely four, and possibly five vases. In addition to the stamnos in Brussels is a ruined stamnos signed *Smikros egraphsen*, inventoried by the British Museum in 1892.¹⁸ Until 1967, that was the only other known signature of Smikros. The vase was and is virtually impossible to assess stylistically in its current ruined condition, and it therefore has not provided information adequate to assess the imitator-hypothesis. But shape, format, and ornament all accord with the work of Euphronios. The shape of the vase, along with the shape of the stamnos in Brussels, belong to the same class as a stamnos attributed to Euphronios.¹⁹ The figural decoration of the vase in London is thematically unified, like the Euphronian kraters in Munich and elsewhere. The central compositional figure of Athena is comparable to the central figure of Hermes on the Sarpedon krater signed by Euphronios (*Euphronios* no. 4). In pose, the lunging warrior on the obverse of the London stamnos, and the collapsing warrior on the reverse, bear comparison to the figures of Herakles on the attack, and Kyknos in collapse, on a fragmentary krater signed by Euphronios.²⁰ For the black-figure pattern band of inscribed palmettes, compare the fragmentary Euphronian stamnoi in Leipzig and Paris (where the palmettes are upside down or sideways).²¹ For the very simple continuous black-figure meander, compare the meander running around the rims of the reverse of the krater in Arezzo (plate IV) or the neck amphora in Paris (Louvre G107, figures 11–12) discussed below—identical in form, but running in the opposite direction.

Over the last forty-five years, two new discoveries have made the imitator-hypothesis, quite simply, untenable. The publication of an amphora in Berlin in 1967 (plate VII, figure 9), depicting a single silen on each side of the vase, signed *Smikros egraphsen*, forced scholars to acknowledge that the affinities between Smikros and Euphronios were even closer than hitherto thought.²² The shape of the vase, with its twisted, rope-like handles, corresponds to amphorae attributed to Euphronios or bearing the name of the artist.²³ The decorative scheme of placing a single figure, without ground line, in the middle of each side of the vase also occurs on amphorae attributed to Euphronios.²⁴ It even appears that Euphronios decorated an amphora with a silen on each side of the vase. Although the vase is known only from two small fragments formerly in Princeton, one of which is now in New York, the attribution to Euphronios is warranted by the presence of the painter's



FIGURE 9: Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.19, red-figure neck amphora, *Para* 323,3 bis, signed by Smikros, BAPD 352401. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

hallmark eyelashes and raised-relief blobs.²⁵ In the heavy, black, down-curving moustache, and the gently S-curving eyebrow with fine “billeting,” the faces of the silens on the amphora in Berlin are very similar to the face of the silen on the fragment once in Princeton. The sole difference is the presence on the



FIGURE 10: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G33, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV²* 14,4, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200066. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

latter of eyelashes, which are an optional feature in Euphronian vase-painting. On another vase attributed to Euphronios, the silen have comparable billeting on moustaches and eyebrows, but no eyelashes (figure 10).²⁶

Turning to the drawing, in his initial publication, Adolf Greifenhagen concluded, “on the Berlin amphora, ‘the imitator’ Smikros has caught especially well, with good understanding, the manner of Euphronios.”²⁷ That is an understatement. The muscular silen dancing the pyrrhic on the obverse of the amphora in Berlin (plate VII) is virtually indistinguishable in terms of anatomical detail from the muscular figures in the signed or attributed work of Euphronios. The figure of Antaios on the krater signed by Euphronios (plate VIII) is obviously different in his shaggy, uncivilized hairstyle (though his eyebrow is like that of the silen).²⁸ But the definition of the pectorals on the amphora is virtually identical to that of Euphronios’ Antaios: a pair of relief lines curving from shoulder to sternum do not meet; a short line connects the pair, and then two shorter, fainter lines are added above, like a flourish. On both silen and fiend, the relief line enclosing the abdominal muscles curves back on itself at the sternum and runs to the bottom of the serratus muscles.

The right arm of the silen is comparable to that of Herakles on the Antaios krater in the articulation of knuckles and the system of lines for the muscles and tendons of the forearm (one curve, one long straight line, one or two short straight lines). The lower legs are similarly defined (a curved line for calf muscle, two or three vertical lines for the tendons, and set of three more or less L-shaped marks for the ankle [two angled forward, one backward, with slight undulations in the short lines]). The noticeable difference is the amount of time and detail lavished on the toes of Herakles, compared to those of the silen (only one toenail is drawn on the latter; but similarly cursorily drawn toes can be found on the reverse of the Antaios krater, [figure 21](#)). In short, the comparisons reveal not only a virtually identical set of anatomical markings, but, significantly, no difference in the sureness of the line.²⁹

In attempting to single out what is *not* Euphronian about the painting or draftsmanship on the Berlin amphora, Ohly-Dumm relied in part on a fragmentary neck amphora in Paris ([plate IX](#)). The amphora, which depicts a single athlete on each side of the vase, was attributed to Euphronios by François Villard and the attribution accepted by Beazley.³⁰ The anatomy of the athletes compares closely to the muscular figures on the Antaios ([plate VIII](#)) and Kyknos kraters, both of which are signed by Euphronios as painter. Ohly-Dumm acknowledged that the anatomical forms on the Smikrean amphora in Berlin are very similar. (Notice the identical arrangement of lines in the complex drawing of the inner knee on both the silen and the athlete, the short curved lines for the inner shoulder muscles, the tiny curves connecting the compartments of the “six pack,” and the tiny mark placed inside the triangle of the elbow.) But she perceived a lack of power and proportion in the silen compared to the athlete.³¹ The great significance of this comparison lies in the fact that, in 2002, Richard Neer reported that a significant portion of the inscription *S[mikro]s [e]graphse[n]* could be read on the fragmentary neck amphora in Paris. It is possible to see the lower bar and part of the middle bar of the initial sigma underneath the left arm of the athlete along the edge of the fragment even in a good digital photograph.³² Although relatively few letters are legible, the space available for the name of the artist will not accommodate the name of Euphronios, but is just about right for the name of Smikros. This reading of the inscription is of the greatest importance. It documents within the painting signed *Smikros egraphsen* not only a range of capability in painting the human body equal perhaps to anything in the signed work of Euphronios, but also light-colored hair.

In a sense, my specifically stylistic claims are not new. Specialists in the attribution of Athenian red-figure vase-painting have acknowledged, explicitly or implicitly, the difficulty in distinguishing, on a purely stylistic basis,

between the vase-painting signed by Euphronios and the vase-painting signed *Smikros egraphsen*. When the latter begins to look too much like the former, for example, it is suggested that Euphronios “helped out.”³³ The few distinctions that have been identified are essentially judgments of quality, rather than stylistic analysis in a Morellian sense. No one has demonstrated that the vases assigned to Smikros reveal a unique and consistent set of features likely to have been rendered unconsciously or semiconsciously, which is the goal of the Morellian method. Smikros remains a bona fide artist primarily by virtue of the existence of signatures bearing his name. That point is brought out very well in a recent assessment by Dyfri Williams: “Smikros began to be able to imitate his master so closely that it is sometimes difficult to tell them apart . . . The armed dancing satyr on the [Berlin amphora] is very powerful and matches almost line for line what one would expect of Euphronios at his height. Nevertheless, there is beside him the signature of Smikros as painter.”³⁴

If it is impossible to identify any significant and consistent feature that is unique to the vase-painting of Smikros, the traditional interpretation of the signature *Smikros egraphsen* should be reconsidered. Stylistically, the vase-paintings signed *Smikros egraphsen* are compatible with a hypothesis that they were painted by the ceramic artist who signed numerous other works *Euphronios egraphsen*. But then what to make of the non-Euphronian signatures? Why did the artist not sign the vases in Brussels, London, Berlin, and Paris (plates I, VII, and IX) with his more familiar name? One possibility is that “Smikros” was a nickname by which Euphronios was known inside and perhaps outside the potter’s quarter.³⁵ But there are good reasons to suspect that the “artist” Smikros is a much more ambitious and sophisticated pictorial proposition. In several vase-paintings, Euphronios arguably planted questions about the identity of Smikros. One obvious example is the stamnos in Brussels (plate I). On this vase, the signature *Smikros egraphsen* occurs in close proximity to the inscription identifying the most fashionable drinker within the image as the same man. The juxtaposition of the two inscriptions, asserting two identities or occupations not obviously compatible with each other, unique in the history of ancient vase-painting, practically *invites* investigation. If modern commentary is an accurate indication, the pictorial proposition that a vase-painter attended a lavish symposium would have ignited discussion.³⁶ Up to now, doubt has always focused on the truth value of the pictorial proposition that Smikros attended swell parties, not the claim that he painted vases. The stylistic comparison between the painting of the Brussels vase and that of Euphronios suggests, however, that the inscriptional conundrum concerns both parts of the complex pictorial proposition. Perhaps Smikros was, historically speaking, neither a symposiast nor an artist at all? Perhaps he is nothing more than a fiction?

SMIKROS AS A SUBJECT OF EUPHRONIAN VASE-PAINTING,
I: WHERE DOES A REAL ARTIST PLACE A SIGNATURE?

Other vase-paintings raise similar questions. The effect of the questions is to incorporate a figure not usually any part of the representational content of vase-painting—the vase-painter—into the pictorial propositions of the art. To begin with a vase that we have already examined, on the amphora in Berlin (plate VII), the placement of the signature *Smikros egraphsen* is located so that it appears to have been spurted out of the erect penis of the silen dancing a war dance. Surely this is not best signatory practice. Given the expanse of this black-bodied vase, the location of the signature cannot be explained away as due to limitations of space. Encouraging the viewer moreover to think seriously about the placement of the signature in relation to the penis is the fact that, on the other side of the vase (figure 9), the artist has unambiguously deployed an inscription in such a way that it represents something coming out of a tube. This is the remarkable inscription $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$.³⁷ The inscription represents, in the manner in which the letters tumble out of the pipe, the sound emerging from the tip of the aulos played by the silen well-named Terpaulos, or “aulos lover.”³⁸ Martin Steinrűch has argued that the letters can in fact also be read as a statement: $\nu\eta\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\langle\rho\rangle\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, *nētēn ar<r>en eteineto*, “he stretched (his) manliness like a bass string.” The word *nētē* refers to the bottom string on a musical instrument and was used of the musical scale generally, even in relation to wind instruments.³⁹ Although the *nētē* is the bottom string of the instrument by position, it is the most tightly wound of all the strings and the top note of the scale. Greg Leftwich offered this translation of the inscription: “he tightened his manhood to the highest pitch.”⁴⁰ This inscription, which is, pictorially, an emission from a tube, and calls attention verbally to the male sex organ, encourages the reading of the signature *Smikros egraphsen* on the obverse in a similar manner: it is an ejaculation of the proposition from the silen’s erect penis.⁴¹ The very name of the silen who ejaculates the signature “Smikros painted (me)” calls attention to his sexual equipment, if the inscription immediately above his head, $\sigma\tau\upsilon\sigma\iota\pi\lbracket\ .\ .\ \rceil$, *stusip*/. . .]s, is his name. The name “Stusippos,” which is related to the Greek verb $\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ meaning “to make stiff, erect” and used in Aristophanes of the male sexual member, has obvious potential relevance to the physique of the silen.⁴² The contrast between the massive size of the silen’s member and the diminutive connotations of the name of the artist, Smikros, “tiny,” seems ridiculous. But the most significant connotation of the inscription concerns the competence of the implied artist Smikros. About the signature, Ann Steiner perceptively wondered whether a “real artist pokes fun at himself, with the crude placement of his signature that suggests a stream of semen?”⁴³ Exactly the sort of scrutiny given to the inscription by Steiner—would a “real” artist have failed to know

where *not* to place his signature?—is the sort of response, I imagine, that the location of the text was intended to solicit.

SMIKROS AS A SUBJECT OF EUPHRONIAN VASE-PAINTING,
2: SMIKROS THE SCULPTOR?

The scope and ambition of Smikros' artistic practice are ambiguously addressed by the decoration and enigmatic inscription on a neck amphora in Paris. On one side of the vase (figure 11), a figure of Herakles stands on a reserved rectangle. In the conventional language of vase-painting, it is a representation of a statue on a base. On the other side of the vase (figure 12), an Amazon named Barkida draws back the string on her bow, preparing to shoot. Within the



FIGURE 11: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G107, red-figure neck amphora, *ARV*² 18,1, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200088. Photo: Claude Gaspari. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



FIGURE 12: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G107, red-figure neck amphora, ARV² 18,1, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200088. Photo: Claude Gaspari. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

reserved rectangle representing the statue base, written in black glaze, is the inscription ΔΟΚΕΙ ΣΜΙΚΟΙ ΙΝΑΙ (δοκεῖ Σμίκ<ρ>φ Ἴναί, *dokei Smik<r>oi inai*).⁴⁴ The meaning of this enigmatic inscription will concern us shortly. For the moment, consider the relationship between the occurrence of the name “Smik<r>os” and the question of who painted the vase. Gaspar’s principal argument in favor of attributing the krater in Arezzo (plate IV, figure 13) to Smikros was the undeniable similarities between the figures of Herakles and the Amazon Teisipyle on the krater, on the one hand, and those of the Amazon Barkida and the statue of Herakles on the amphora, on the other. Most significant, because it is so rare, is the view of the right foot of both Amazon archers, which is shown in a dramatically foreshortened manner, so that one can see the bottom of the foot.⁴⁵ The simple black-figure meander around the



FIGURE 13: Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, 1465, red-figure volute krater, *ARV*² 15,6, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200068. After Adolf Furtwängler, and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1900–1925), volume 2 (1905–1909); reproduced with permission. Obverse.

rim of the amphora and the palmette and lotus chain on its neck also correspond to bands of ornament on the krater. Gaspar took the enigmatic inscription on the amphora in Paris to mean that Smikros was responsible for the design of the figures on this vase as well as the krater. By the time Beazley compiled his attributions, however, the krater was already firmly part of the oeuvre of Euphronios. The striking similarities in drawing between the two vases ought to have swept the Paris neck amphora into Euphronios' oeuvre as well (as it has for many scholars). Indeed, Beazley listed the amphora under "manner of Euphronios" but offered this proviso: "the inscription does point to Smikros (imitator of Euphronios) as having painted the vase: this is possible, but the resemblance to his work is not strong enough for one to say so."⁴⁶ Beazley's published remarks on the vase-painting of Smikros are rare, and it is worth noting how influential the inscription appears to be in the deliberation over assigning a vase to Smikros rather than Euphronios.⁴⁷

At first glance, it seems natural to take the verb *dokei*, "it seems," in the inscription, *dokei Smik<r>oi <e>inai*, with the dative name, a standard expression meaning "it seems to so-and-so" or "so-and-so thinks." That interpretation is discouraged, however, by the lack of both subject and predicate for the verb *einai*, "to be." If the inscription expresses an opinion of Smikros, it is difficult to say what the object of the opinion might be, and impossible to say what the opinion itself is. To read *dokei* with *Smik<r>oi*, it has been necessary to take the *image* of Herakles as the subject or object. There remains, however, the absence of any indication of what his opinion might be: "[the statue of] Herakles] seems to Smikros to be . . ." To be what?⁴⁸ Any restoration that presumes the existence of additional words now lost is unlikely in view of the

format of the inscription: its placement within the rectangular confines of a statue base, and the careful insertion of interpuncts, suggest that the three-word inscription is meant to be understood as complete. More importantly, the format suggests that it is an imitation of a sculptor's signature on a statue base.⁴⁹ These considerations encourage one to override the impulse to take the dative personal name with the verb *dokei* and to take it, instead, with the verb *einai*, as an indirect object. "It seems to belong to Smikros," in the sense that "it seems to be by Smikros." Many commentators have suggested that such an expression should require the genitive case: "it seems to be [a work] of Smikros."⁵⁰ Beazley (*AV* 61–62) considered the reading "it seems to be by Smikros," to be "kein Griechisch, auch nicht einmal 'Vulgärgriechisch'." The compressed, elusive, riddle-like construction of the inscription, however, suggests that grammatical correctness was not the writer's primary concern.

Understood to mean something like "it seems to belong to, or be by, Smikros," the potential significance of the inscription is very broad. It is possible to read it, like a sculptor's signature, as claiming ambitiously that the *statue* is the work of Smikros. Smikros is such a towering figure in the arts that he works not only in vase-painting but even in sculpture! And this is not just any statue. Erika Simon's observation that the lack of contact between Herakles' foot and the statue base, which might be taken as a sign of relative incompetence on the part of the painter (who would therefore be not Euphronios but the imitator Smikros), can alternatively be understood as a subtle means of suggesting that the statue is alive. Barkida's response to the image—she draws her bow—suggests that she thinks it is the living hero himself. Mobile statues are associated above all with the legendary sculptor Daidalos, whose works had to be restrained. Daidalos was particularly well known, Simon emphasized, for his statues of Herakles, one of which even fooled the hero himself.⁵¹ On the amphora, the combination of inscription and imagery suggests that Smikros is a sculptor of the stature of no less an artist than Daidalos himself. What a modest self-comparison! At the same time, the verb *dokei*, "it seems," insinuates the possibility that the entire proposition of Smikros as sculptor is a fraud. The choice of verb, together with the brevity and ambiguity of the inscription, shrouds the identity or artistry of Smikros in a certain mystery.⁵² Like the placement of the signature on the Berlin vase (plate VII), the choice of verb on the Paris vase encourages one to interrogate the truth value of the claim to authorship or artistry of the paintings.

SMIKROS AS A SUBJECT OF EUPHRONIAN VASE-PAINTING, 3: A PORTRAIT OF "EUPHRON" BY SMIKROS?

A lovely, sadly fragmentary, calyx krater in the Louvre contains an elusive but highly suggestive signature.⁵³ The most prominent picture on the vase

(plate X) depicted Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion. What remains of the scene bears close comparison to the representation of Herakles fighting Antaios signed by Euphronios as painter on another calyx krater in Paris (plate VIII). Both vase-paintings feature a tightly composed knot of hero and foe. Like the Antaios krater, the fragmentary Nemean lion krater also juxtaposes an ambitious picture of heroic labor with a less serious subject, a scene drawn from the world of men's leisure. On the reverse of the Nemean Lion krater (plate XI), young men dance to the music of an aulos, drink from a skyphos, and play with a greased and inflated wineskin. On the obverse of the vase, the impenetrable skin of the Nemean Lion confronted Herakles with his first life-threatening challenge; on the reverse, the greased skin poses no more threat than a sprained ankle to these men, who live long after the age of heroes. Many of the vases signed by or attributed to Euphronios exhibit some thematic relationship between the obverse and reverse; here, the action on the reverse appears to be deliberately contrasted with the action on the obverse in terms of the danger or consequences inherent in the challenge.

The signature: on the reverse of the fragmentary krater (plate XI), between two wildly gyrating dancers, are the letters ΕΥΦΡΟΝ, *Euphron*. Below, and at a forty-five-degree angle to them, are the letters ΝΙΚΟΣ, *nikos*, and, immediately below them, ΕΓΡ[Α]ΦΣΕΝΤΑΔΕ, ἔγραψεν τάδε, “painted these.” The letters “Euphron” have always been thought to have continued “. . . ios” on the other side of the dancer whose raised right arm nearly touches the border of the picture at the top (and who is identified by name as ΕΥ[.]ΕΛΟΣ, *Eu[trap?]elos*). The full signature was originally understood to read *Euphron[ios] egraphsen* and then, when the letters *tade* were recognized by Martine Denoyelle, understood to read *Euphron[ios] egraphsen tade*, “Euphronios painted these.” The letters *nikos* were understood to have been part of a personal name of one of the dancers, perhaps [Elpi]nikos.⁵⁴

Daniele Maras recently and rightly questioned, however, whether the name of Euphronios is not too far removed from the verb *egraphsen* to be taken as the subject. Maras also noted that the letters immediately above and running parallel to the verb *egraphsen*, traditionally identified as . . .]nikos, can just as plausibly be restored as]mikos. Maras suggested that the letters were part of the name Smik<r>os; they should be read with the words *egraphsen tade*: “*Smikros* painted these.” If that reading of the letters is correct, then here, as on the neck amphora in Paris (figure 11), the letter rho has been omitted from the name Smikros. This would accord with the known variant spellings of the word *smikros*, including *mikkos* or *mikos*. The variant spellings of the name of the artist, all of which appear to be forms of the Greek word for “little,” support the idea that the artist is a concept rather than an individual person, who would presumably spell his name in a more consistent manner.⁵⁵

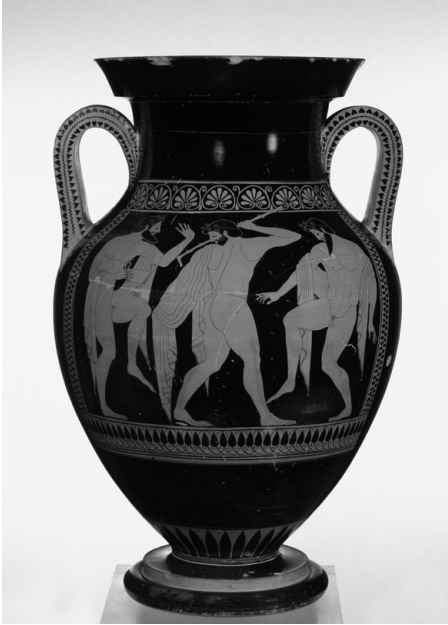


FIGURE 14: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2307, red-figure amphora, ARV² 26,1, signed by Euthymides, BAPD 200160. Photo: Renate Kühling. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

Maras' reading of the inscriptions on the fragmentary vase in Paris (plate XI) offers an attractive alternative explanation of why the demonstrative adjective was added as a direct object of the verb *egraphsen*. Martine Denoyelle had originally suggested that the demonstrative adjective expressed Euphronios' satisfaction at successfully painting bodies in motion. She compared the well-known amphora in Munich signed by Euthymides as painter, on which is written, in a picture of three dancing komasts, ὧς οὐδέποτε Εὐφρόνιος, "as never Euphronios" (figure 14). That picture has often been taken as a challenge to Euphronios in the drawing of its lively dancers.⁵⁶ The inscription, "Euphronios painted *these*," referring to the komasts on the fragmentary Parisian vase, was a response, Denoyelle suggested, to Euthymides' challenge.⁵⁷ That explanation of the demonstrative adjective has the disadvantage, however, of requiring knowledge of the vase in Munich,

in order to understand fully the inscription on the vase in Paris. The amphora in Munich explicitly references Euphronios; the fragmentary krater nowhere mentions Euthymides. One must read him into the proposition. More importantly, Denoyelle's explanation is founded on one big assumption, namely, that the verb to be supplied to the expression "as never Euphronios"—as never what?—is "to paint." One is accustomed to taking the design and the writing in a vase-painting together, rather than disassociating them. The verb needed to complete the inscription "as never Euphronios" ought to be derived from the imagery: Euphronios never danced, drank, or led a *komos* like this (presumably because he was a lowly artisan and not a man about town).⁵⁸

Maras suggested, alternatively, that the demonstrative adjective *tade* serves to limit the scope of the claim to authorship to a subset of the figures on the vase: Smikros painted *these* figures of party-goers, but *not* the figures of Herakles and the lion on the front of the vase. Maras assumed that a painter's signature, *Euphronios egraphsen*, would have been written above the scene of Herakles and the lion, as it occurs above the principal scene on other calyx kraters signed by Euphronios. Maras took the inscription at face value, to mean that two different painters actually worked on the same vase. But no one, so far as I know, has ever doubted that the style of the party-goers is that of the painter Euphronios.⁵⁹ The inscription poses a conundrum for any viewer attending

closely to the manner in which the figures are painted: how can *these* figures be by Smikros, if the others are by Euphronios? Once again, a signature is deployed in such a way as to encourage inquiry into the reality or identity of Smikros. The inscription suggests that frivolous subjects like greased-wine-skin-dancing are all that Smikros is up to painting.

But that is not all. The inscription ΕΥΦΡΟΝ, “Euphron,” has always been understood to be incomplete. It is assumed that the letters ΙΟΣ, “ios,” were written in an area of the vase to the right of the elbow of the dancer named Eu[. .]elos, an area now lost. But the idea that Euphronios wrote his name in two halves widely separated by the elbow of the dancer is completely unsupported by his other signatures. The *egraphsen*-signatures of Euphronios are never broken in the middle of the personal name. More significantly, the painter could have completed writing the name Euphronios if he wished to do so within the space available to the left of the arm of the dancer. Not only is it apparent to the modern observer that there is enough empty space for three more letters, but the painter actually filled that space with the final letters of the word *tade*. Finally, more than the availability of space, the sequence in which the letters must have been written raises insurmountable doubt that the painter ever intended to write anything longer than Euphron. The painter wrote “Euphron,” then stopped (even though there was room to write “Euphronios” in full), turned the vase forty-five degrees, and wrote *Smikros egraphsen tade*, in two rows (exactly as the inscription *Euchsitheos epoïesen* is written, diagonally and in two parallel rows, with the noun a little in front of the verb, on the Sarpedon krater). Is it plausible that the painter *only then* completed writing his name, “. . . ios,” on the other side of the picture? If the painter *did* break his name in half, why would he not have written the verb following the last letters of the name, along the top edge of the picture, as he did on the closely related Antaios krater or the Sarpedon krater (where the name is, however, unbroken), rather than diagonally and much lower down? And why would he have signed the back of this vase as painter, when he places his *egraphsen*-signatures on what is obviously the more important picture on his other calyx kraters?⁶⁰ And if he wanted to write a two-line or two-row painter’s signature, rather than a single-line inscription across the top of the picture, why would he not have placed the verb directly under the name, and running parallel to it, as on the Kyknos krater? In fact, above and parallel to the verb *egraphsen* on the fragmentary krater in Paris, there is a personal name, which would make sense as the subject of the verb, but it is the name *Smikros*, not Euphronios. Finally, the fragmentary cup from the Athenian Acropolis, signed by Euphronios as painter, shows that he was not unwilling to continue writing his signature right over the top of Athena’s foot! If he wanted to write “Euphronios” across the top of the picture on the reverse of the krater in Paris, why did he not just continue writing the name right over the elbow of the dancer?

Admittedly, we are deep in a thicket of speculation in trying to reconstruct the thought processes underlying the writing of a name. I contend, however, that the best explanation of the arrangement of the letters is that the name “Euphron” is complete as such and is the personal name of the wildly gyrating dancer. As in other vase-paintings by Euphronios, the personal label begins very close to the head of the figure it identifies. The verb *egraphsen*, unusual in its occurrence on the reverse of the vase if part of the signature of Euphronios, and unusual in its qualification by a demonstrative adjective, is best understood together with the name placed immediately above it: [*S*]mikos *egraphsen tade*, “Mikos (or Smikos) painted these.”

In the picture on the reverse of the Nemean Lion krater, Euphron is an alarmingly limber dancer, not a painter. But the homonymy of the names of the dancer and the painter will have been obvious to anyone bothering to read the inscriptions on this vase (particularly if Euphronios left his accustomed *egraphsen*-signature on the obverse of the pot). The artisan has inserted himself into the picture of the silliness of idle young men—but only partially. In two ways, Euphronios has fuzzied over his presence among the dancing komasts and his responsibility for inserting himself among them. First, the name Euphron is not identical with the name Euphronios. Second and more significantly, the painting of this scene of foolery is epigraphically attributed to his alter ego, Smikros.

EUPHRONIOS ON THE MAKE IN MALIBU

One other vase offers a conceptually sophisticated image of the artist Euphronios interacting socially with seemingly well-to-do young men. A red-figure psykter in Malibu depicts five pairs of men courting boys (plate XII). One of the men courting a boy is identified by inscription as ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ, *Euphronios*. Euphronios is the young man, leaning on a stick as if he stood around, ogling young athletes, all the time. He reaches for the chin of a particularly attractive boy identified by an inscription as ΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, *Leagros kalos*, “Leagros the beautiful.”⁶¹ The name of Leagros is a pregnant one. It occurs on dozens of vases together with the word *kalos* and is the most popular *kalos*-name in vase-painting. The name is often thought to refer to a prominent historical individual, known to have served as a *strategos* or general in 465/464 BC.⁶²

Jiří Frel essentially took the pictorial proposition on the psykter in Malibu at face value: “as the figures identified here belong to the cream of Athenian society, the vase in fact might be seen as an historical document.”⁶³ It seems inherently improbable that a craftsman, however successful he may be, actually played the active, elder role in a homosexual courtship with a wealthy, politically well-connected boy. But we are not limited to speculation about what was or was not

socially possible, for aspects of the vase-painting themselves arguably underscore the fictive nature of this pictorial proposition. First, the figure of Leagros, alone of all the figures on this vase, is given eyelashes. Eyelashes occur frequently in the work of Euphronios, where they most often adorn gods or heroes in complex pictorial narratives. Perhaps the addition of eyelashes accords with the status or importance of Leagros the Athenian. Eyelashes, however, are much more common in the work of Euphronios than in that of any other vase-painters of the Pioneer Group. Eyelashes are emblematic of Euphronios' style.⁶⁴ Second, it is significant that the love-interest of Euphronios is identified by inscription not simply as "Leagros" but specifically, via a so-called tag-*kalos*, as "Leagros *kalos*." The *kalos*-name of Leagros is very rare in the work of the Pioneer Group—except for Euphronios, who wrote "Leagros *kalos*" at least sixteen times.⁶⁵ On the psykter in Malibu, then, Euphronios is depicted as making a pass at a figment concocted out of Euphronios' own pictorial repertoire. The picture seems to say that he is infatuated with his own manner of figure painting. The psykter incorporates the artisan Euphronios into a scene of elite social life, but does so in a manner that introduces a note of uncertainty about the reality of the depicted scenario. It is not Leagros himself, but the figure of Leagros *as painted by Euphronios*, that the painter loves. The image need not to be taken at face value but may be appreciated for its conceptual originality.

Conceptually, the vase-painting is reminiscent of the early krater in Paris, on which "Euphron" cavorts with other attractive young men (plate XI). It is also reminiscent of a slightly later psykter in St. Petersburg, which is signed by Euphronios as painter (figure 15).⁶⁶ Four women are depicted reclining on mattresses and cushions. They are nude but for head-scarves, wreaths, or diadems. One plays the aulos and the others drink—heavily, it seems: each woman holds two drinking vessels, and the vessels are mostly capacious kotylai or skyphoi, rather than dainty kylikes. One of the girls offers a toast: ΤΙΝΤΑΝ-ΔΕΛΑΤΑΣΣΟΛΕΑΓΡΕ, τὴν τάνδε λατάσσῶ, Λέαγρε, "I toss this one for you, Leagros."⁶⁷ The psykter in St. Petersburg is like the one in Malibu in envisioning a scenario in which Leagros is propositioned by a person who decidedly does not belong to wealthy society.

The psykter in Malibu is not signed by any artist. Stylistically, it undoubtedly betrays an awareness of the experiments in depicting parts of the body



FIGURE 15: St. Petersburg, Hermitage, 644 (B1650, ST1670), red-figure psykter, ARV² 16,15, signed by Euphronios as painter, BAPD 200078. Photo courtesy HIP/Art Resource, NY.



FIGURE 16: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 82.AE.53, red-figure psykter, attributed to Smikros, ca. 510 BC. BAPD 30685. Photo courtesy the J. Paul Getty Museum.

from varied vantage points, which characterizes the vase-painting of Euphronios above any other artist of the late sixth century BC. The figure cleaning himself with a strigil (figure 16), for example, is seen from the back, his buttocks delineated by two nearly complete circular lines. The back view of the human body is extremely rare in vase-painting of this date, and the closest parallel occurs on a calyx krater in Berlin, widely accepted as early work by Euphronios himself (figure 17).⁶⁸ There, the pose is a more complex, three-quarter back view.



FIGURE 17: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2180, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV*² 13,1, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200063. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

But the articulation of the right buttock, which is predicated on a nearly complete circular line, and the left shoulder blade, which is defined by a single oblong curve, is similar to the forms on the psykter.

In fact, the krater in Berlin offers a number of stylistic parallels for the drawing on the psykter (see also [figure 18](#)). Consider the hooked lines for the clavicles, which curve slightly one way before swinging around in a loop in the other direction; the gentle W-like curve delineating the line of the pectorals, which begins and ends with a short, countercurving flourish; rather strong chins; frontal view of knee with teardrop-shaped patella; incised contours of the hair; short, spiky incision for the forelocks; spiky incision for the hair at the nape of the neck; and short daubs of black glaze for the fringe around the face. In both vase-paintings, the clothing is often terminated with two parallel zigzag or scalloped lines, the changes in direction of which do not correspond closely with the vertical folds of the cloth. One piece of fabric in each vase-painting is devoid of folds. The construction of the young man holding out a folded piece of cloth on each vase is similar in the lines defining



FIGURE 18: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 82.AE.53, red-figure psykter, attributed to Smikros, ca. 510 BC. BAPD 30685. Photo courtesy the J. Paul Getty Museum.

the right art. The dilute glaze wash over the cloak of Andriskos recalls the use of dilute glaze for the himation of the aulos-player on the Munich fragment or the skin of Herakles on the Kyknos krater.⁶⁹

The krater in Berlin (figure 17) is generally understood as an early work of Euphronios, its drawing characterized by infelicities as well as innovations, and its overall composition lacking in unity. “As the vase is not signed and the style is still very elementary, the attribution to Euphronios has been accepted only reluctantly and belatedly.”⁷⁰ The psykter in Malibu is similar in drawing in many respects to this early krater in Berlin. The occurrence of the name of the ceramic artist Euphronios for one of the dandies in the picture recalls the more subtle occurrence of the name Euphron as a party-goer on the (presumably slightly later) krater in Paris (plate XI). No one has hitherto suggested that the psykter was painted by Euphronios himself, because the painting seems so much less careful than even

the most cursorily drawn of the vases assigned to him. If the vase-painting is the work of Euphronios, it is either a very early and uncharacteristically slapdash experiment in drawing the bodies of young men (and quite different in drawing from the very early signed cup in Rome), or the painter has gone to some effort to parody or distance himself from his own style.⁷¹ The latter possibility, implausibly “modern” or “post-modern” as it may sound, however, is worth considering.

ATTRIBUTIONS OF UNSIGNED VASES TO SMIKROS

The psykter in Malibu has, perhaps not surprisingly, been associated with Smikros—that is, with a historical artist distinct from Euphronios—since its first appearance in literature.⁷² Subsequently, two additional psykters have been assigned to Smikros.⁷³ On the basis in part of comparison with the psykter in Malibu, there is even speculation that he painted some or all of the figures on the neck of the krater in Arezzo (figures 19–20), the body of which is now universally attributed to Euphronios.⁷⁴ The arguments in favor of these attributions to Smikros are hardly overwhelming. Consider, for example, the case for assigning the psykter in Malibu made by Jíří Frel. His account,



FIGURE 19: Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, 1465, red-figure volute krater, ARV² 15,6, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200068. After Adolf Furtwängler, and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1900–1925), volume 2 (1905–1909); reproduced with permission. Detail: neck, obverse.



FIGURE 20: Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, 1465, red-figure volute krater, ARV² 15,6, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200068. After Adolf Furtwängler, and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1900–1925), volume 2 (1905–1909); reproduced with permission. Detail: neck, reverse.

brief as it is, is the fullest published explanation of the attribution. Frel specifically mentions just two stylistic features that link the painting of the psykter to that of the vases signed *Smikros egraphsen*, the hook-shaped collar-bones and “hirsute profiles.”⁷⁵ By hirsute profiles, he presumably means the spiky forelocks rendered in incision. Forelocks such as these, only tidier, occur on one of the silens on the amphora in Berlin signed *Smikros egraphsen* (figure 9). But they do not occur on the stamnos in Brussels with the same signature (plate I, figure 1). They occasionally appear in other vase-painting close in date to the early work of Euphronios (the Andokides Painter and

Oltos). But the closest parallel for incised spiky forelocks arguably occurs on the krater in Berlin attributed to Euphronios (figure 17), where they may be seen on every figure. The hook-shaped collarbones are common in the work of Euphronios, but not unknown in the work of artists from his circle such as Phintias, the Proto-Panaetian Group, and Eleusis Painter, among others. Neither stylistic feature definitively rules out Euphronios or another contemporary painter.

Frel admits that “at first glance the poor drawing may seem unworthy of this pupil of Euphronios.” He narrows the gap in quality of drawing essentially by moving the goalposts: on Smikros’ best work, “one suspects some help from the master.” In this way, Frel tries to sharpen the distinction in quality between Euphronios and Smikros. A very different view of the attribution of the psykter (plate XII, figures 16, 18), however, was expressed by Martin Robertson: “I believe that even as a painter Smikros was better than some ascriptions to him suggest. The signed pieces show him as a painstaking, serious pupil of Euphronios, and I do not see how he can be the author of two rough psykters in the Getty Museum which have been attributed to him. These seem to me imitations, even perhaps parodies, of Pioneer style by a painter who can never have been trained by any of the group.”⁷⁶ An important methodological point is at stake. Robertson took the vase-paintings signed *Smikros egraphsen*, on principle, as the primary evidence on which to base attributions of unsigned work to the same hand. By allowing Euphronios to have worked on the vases signed by Smikros, Frel changed the rules of the attribution game to “deuces wild.”

The figures on the krater in Arezzo (plate IV, figures 13, 19, and 20) epitomize the methodological problem of recognizing the range or limitation of what was possible stylistically for the artist Euphronios. Paolino Mingazzini suggested that a comparison between the figure of Herakles on the body of the vase and the figures of cavorting komasts above is sufficient to rule out the possibility that the differences are due to the relative amount of care and time devoted to the painting of the different parts of the vase. For the Amazons on the reverse of the body of the vase are beautiful and without error, even if less complex in technique than their sisters on the obverse. The figures of the komasts, on the other hand, are the work of a less able artist. He attributed the komasts to Smikros in part on the basis of comparison between a figure dancing on one foot and a figure in a similar pose on a psykter in Paris attributed by Beazley to Smikros (though it bears no signature of Smikros and, in Beazley’s earliest writing, is described as “close to Euphronios and perhaps his in spite of its poor quality”).⁷⁷ The differences between the drawing of the komasts and that of the figures on the body of the Arezzo vase, however, are not so obvious as to lead everyone else to the same conclusion. Dyfri Williams suggested that the drawing of the little figures on the obverse was

probably the work of Euphronios himself. The komasts on the reverse appeared to him to be imitative of the ones on the front of the vase. They recall figures attributed to Smikros, such as the one dancing on one foot on the Paris psykter just mentioned or (in hair or clavicles) the figures on the Malibu psykter.⁷⁸

Of course, it is possible that more than one vase-painter worked on the krater in Arezzo, as it appears that vase-painters occasionally collaborated on other vases.⁷⁹ To judge from the lists compiled by the careful observer Beazley, however, the great majority of vases appeared to him to have been decorated by a single artist. It is also the case that the quality of the painting of even a single vase could vary markedly. It is important to note that the pictures on one side of vases signed by or attributed to Euphronios are often less complex, ornate, detailed, or challenging than the main pictures. It is surprising how staid, simply drawn, and physiologically homogeneous is the rat-pack on the reverse of the well-known “Antaios” krater in Paris (figure 21), given the monumental, physiognomically varied, and compositionally experimental knot of hero and anti-hero on the obverse (plate VIII).⁸⁰

The question posed by the little figures of komasts on the krater in Arezzo (figures 19–20) is as much methodological as critical or evaluative. The simplicity and awkwardness of the drawing, compared to the drawing of Herakles, is evident; but what means is available to us for determining how many shortcuts Euphronios was willing to take when painting quickly, apart from the drawing that occurs on various parts of the same vase? What I am suggesting is that one reasonable working assumption is that the artist who decorated the body of the Arezzo vase also decorated the neck, and the figures on this krater, altogether, give us a sense of the full range of what Euphronios was able and willing to paint. Concerning specific observations about the little figures, I note that the drawing of the torsos of two komasts on the obverse gives the bellies the awkward appearance of being distended. Although some of the komasts on the obverse have reserved forelocks or hairlines, others have incised hair-contours and spiky forelocks. In other words, the distinction between the drawing of the little figures on the obverse and that on the reverse is less than obvious. The komast on the reverse, dancing on one foot, seen from the front, has attracted much attention because of the general similarities in pose to a figure on the (unsigned) psykter in Paris attributed to Smikros. But the dancer on the krater is much more similar, in pose and arrangement of legs, arms, and head, to the silen “(I)a(m)bos” on the krater in Paris, which is attributed to Euphronios, and not to Smikros (figure 10).

If the recent history of attributions of unsigned vases to Smikros is bewildering, that is in part at least because two essentially different sorts of criteria are employed. One, relatively rarely employed in fact, is an internally consistent set of markings appearing on vases signed by Smikros as well as unsigned vases attributed to him. The other is quality of line or care of execution among

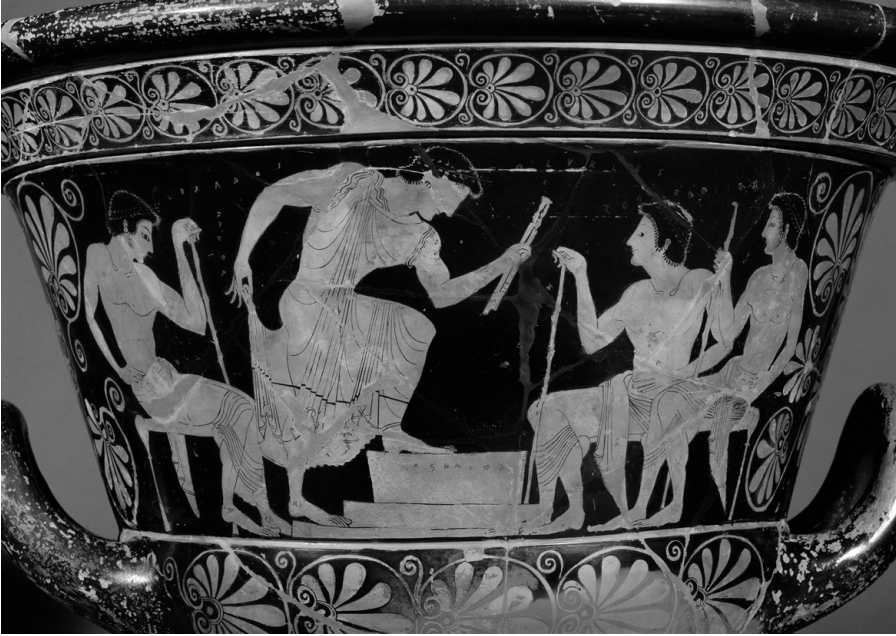


FIGURE 21: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G103, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV*² 14,2, signed by Euphronios, BAPD 200064. Photo courtesy Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

vases that look more or less Euphronian in style. The latter set of criteria is based on an assumption that Euphronios was not able or willing to paint carelessly or sloppily; those vases (or parts of vases) that are vaguely Euphronian but fall below the carefulness-threshold are assigned to the imitator Smikros. The idea that quality can serve as a criterion for attribution in any rigorous way increasingly appears questionable. Even Bernard Berenson conceded at the end of his career, “[t]oday, I would be less certain that the inferior quality of some drawings is sufficient proof to exclude the possibility that they were executed by Castagno, or by Pollaiuolo, or by Michelangelo himself.”⁸¹ But even if quality were an adequate criterion, it is not clear how it is useful in sorting out the work signed by Smikros and Euphronios. The trouble is that the vases signed *Smikros egraphsen* are very carefully painted. If “Smikros” is capable of painting some vases meticulously and others sloppily, why, on what methodological ground, are we to deny this possibility to Euphronios?

SMIKROS THE POTTER?

For some years, a large number of fragments of a magnificent early fifth-century phiale resided in Malibu. The fragments contain the signature of Douris, presumably as painter.⁸² They also include a potter’s signature: the inscription is written in two parallel lines, reading, in part, . . . κροϛ, *kros*, and

then, in the next line, [εποι]εσεν, [*epoi*]ēsen. Robertson suggested that the most likely restoration of the name of the potter is Smikros, because names of ceramic artists ending in *-kros* are unknown apart from Smikros. Several other members of the Pioneer Group who regularly signed as painters also signed as potters, including Euphronios, Phintias, and probably Euthymides.⁸³

There are very few clay phialai comparable to this red-figure masterpiece in size and conception.⁸⁴ Two (both in Malibu) are somewhat smaller (32–33 centimeters in diameter versus 42) and have no figure work, only pattern decoration.⁸⁵ Those pattern-decorated phialai display upright circumscribed palmettes, sideways palmette-and-lotus running around in a circle, running spirals in outline drawing against the clay ground of the vase, and a band of tongues. All four of those ornamental patterns, or close variations, occur on the phiale signed by Douris. On the basis of the similarities in painted ornament, Robertson argued that all three phialai were produced in the same workshop. Importantly, the coral-red ground of the two pattern-decorated phialai limits the range of potters who conceivably could have made such special vases. Only a small number of potters appear to have been familiar with the seemingly advanced coral-red technique. In the late sixth century BC, the potter most closely associated with the technique is Kachrylion, who was a collaborator of Euphronios.⁸⁶ Perhaps the closest parallel in terms of size, shape, and liberal use of coral red to the pattern-decorated phialai is in fact the coral-red cup in Munich signed by Kachrylion as potter and Euphronios as painter.⁸⁷ The phiale signed by Douris, however, dates not to the floruit of Kachrylion, which is the late sixth century, but to the first two decades of the fifth century, when Euphronios had given up painting vases and (to judge from the change in signatures from Euphronios *egrapsen* to Euphronios *epoiēsen*) taken up potting.⁸⁸ Carol Cardon suggested that Euphronios, familiar with coral-red ground from collaboration with Kachrylion, began to produce pottery with coral-red ground himself in the early fifth century. She suggested that the pattern-decorated phialai in Malibu were made by Euphronios. If that is correct, the phiale with the signature [*]*kros [*epoi*]ēsen was made in the workshop of Euphronios, and possibly fashioned by the master himself.⁸⁹

That the single surviving potter's signature of Smikros occurs on a tour de force of shape that is rare in the extreme and, perhaps, among the most difficult shapes in the potter's repertoire is curious, to say the least. The oddity of the evidence was noted by Robertson: if Smikros actually made this phiale with his own hands, "then Smikros shows himself a more talented potter than painter: the phiale fragments are of very fine technique indeed."⁹⁰ Is it plausible that an *imitator* of Euphronios might have acquired not only the master's style of painting but also the master's manner of potting a shape of such rarity, size, and delicacy? It seems more likely to me that the name of the potter "Smikros" corresponds to no one other than the potter Euphronios. One further detail

perhaps supports a sophisticated as opposed to literal reading of the signature. According to Diana Buitron-Oliver, the full signature reads [..]κροϝ [επο]ιεσεν . . . [ho]δε, “[Sm]ikros potted this.” One is reminded of the unusual use of the demonstrative adjective in the signature on the krater in Paris (plate XI), “[S]mikros painted these.”⁹¹ In the discussion of the krater, I suggested that the demonstrative adjective effectively raised questions about the status or truth value of the signature. Just so, the potter’s signature on the fragmentary phiale draws critical attention to itself through the unexpected occurrence of a direct object. On the krater, the demonstrative adjective arguably narrows the object of the verb *egraphsen* to some subset of the figures on the vase. The potter’s signature intimates perhaps in a similar way that Smikros did *not* pot something else—“Smikros potted *this*” but did not pot . . . what? Perhaps any other vase! The potter’s signature accords well with the pattern documented earlier of manipulating the signature of Smikros to raise questions about his status or even existence as an artist.

THE INVENTION OF THE ARTIST IN EUPHRONIAN VASE-PAINTING

About the self-representation of Smikros on the stamnos in Brussels (plate I), Beazley once wrote, “[f]or a moment the artist, one might say, seems to edge his everyday personality a little farther into the world of his creation.”⁹² My findings on the relationship between the painting of vases signed *Smikros egraphsen* and that of Euphronios, which suggest that Euphronios was responsible for painting the vases bearing the signature of Smikros, invites a rethinking of Beazley’s formulation. Beazley was mistaken in assuming that, on the Brussels vase, the artist who edges his personality into the world of his creation is the historical artist of the work. What remains of value is Beazley’s understanding of the purpose of pictorial and inscriptional references to ceramic artists, namely, to enhance the “world of his creation.” In the vase-painting of Euphronios, artistry, artistic activity, and artistic personality have become part of the *content* of the painting. What is at stake is not primarily the actual lifestyle or aspirations of the artist, as much as his pictorial or conceptual inventiveness.

Consider the vase-paintings in Brussels and Munich with which we began (plates I, III). Both incorporate the artist pictorially within the work he created. At the same time, they distance the painter of the vases from the painter *in* the representations through the use of the pseudonym Smikros. Yet there does not appear to be an exhaustive effort to uphold the identity of the “pen name.” Some vase-paintings signed *Smikros egraphsen* seem “straight,” and perhaps part of the fun of those, for Euphronios, was to cover his tracks as completely as possible (e.g., plate IX). But others seem deliberately to invite skepticism

about the reality of Smikros, by insinuating questions about his competence (plate VII), unrealistic artistic ambition (figures 11–12), or implausible social standing (plates I, III). The verb *dokei*, “it seems,” on the amphora in Paris (figure 11) is emblematic. The intention informing the creation of the oeuvre of Smikros appears not to be effective forgery but self-serving self-representation.

This is exemplified by the fragmentary krater in the Louvre, if the readings of the inscriptions proposed earlier are correct (plates X–XI). On the reverse, there is a representation of a young man with the suspiciously similar-sounding name of Euphron, rather than a “straight” self-portrait of Euphronios. And this is not exactly a *self*-portrait because the painting of Euphron and his fellows is assigned through a signature to the mysterious artist Smikros. Enhancing the distance placed by the artist between himself and his self-portrait is the artist’s obvious preferment of the figure of Herakles on the other side of the vase. It is likely that an explicit acknowledgment of Euphronios’ responsibility for the painting on the vase occurred only here, in proximity to the real hero. This is a remarkably complex balance of incorporation and denial, or self-representation and self-effacement.

Noticing the degree of denial of responsibility in the self-representation of Euphronios on the fragmentary krater in Paris is helpful in assessing the possibility that Euphronios himself was responsible for the representation of “Euphronios” courting “Leagros *kalos*” on the psykter in Malibu (plate XII, figures 16, 18). Robertson’s suggestion that the picture is a parody of the vase-painting of Euphronios (perhaps an echo of a lost vase-painting by Euphronios himself depicting the painter’s “relationship” with Leagros?) by a vase-painter other than Euphronios is reasonable, given the picture’s careless and ungainly style. If the fragmentary vase-painting in Paris (plate XI), however, is an indication of how the artist Euphronios would have framed his own self-representation as suitor to Leagros, he would have attributed it to another painter. On the psykter in Malibu, the distancing or denial takes the form perhaps not of attributing the painting to a fictitious artist via writing a signature, but of the deliberate alteration of his (Euphronios’) customary style of painting. The vase invites two possible readings: it is a malicious, perhaps scandalous, if hapless and ultimately laughable (mis-) representation of Euphronios’ social impudence; or it is a masterpiece of covering one’s own tracks.

If those readings of the psykter in Malibu are near the truth, they suggest that Euphronios was highly self-conscious of his own pictorial style. They dovetail with the findings of the analysis of the fragmentary krater in Paris (plates X–XI). There, the painter has arguably capitalized in the inscription *Smikros egraphsen tade*, “Smikros painted these,” precisely on the possibility that a beholder might take the compositionally simpler, less detailed, and

thematically more frivolous picture of wrestling with a greased pigskin to be the work of a “lesser” artist than the more heroic picture of Herakles’ deadly struggle with the impermeably skinned lion, which surely required an artist firing on all cylinders. If such stylistic self-awareness and conceptual complexity is evidenced by the writing on the fragmentary Parisian krater, then perhaps even self-parody is not outside the range of possible explanations of the [self-?]“portrait” of Euphronios on the Malibu psykter. The stylistic self-awareness of Euphronios is a significant finding for the history of art, since that sort of subjectivity is generally considered to be a much later historical development.⁹³

The interpretation offered in this book of the vase-painting signed *Smikros egraphsen* is obviously not the one that has immediately leapt to mind since the rediscovery of the vases. I am not claiming, however, that interpreting these vases as creations of Euphronios is merely a fun way to think about them in a “post-modern” age in which identity is intensely mediated through widespread image circulation and manipulation. I am arguing that the complex pictorial strategies employed by Euphronios for the incorporation of the artist into the work of art were understandable and appreciated in his own time, by himself and by his fellow artists and patrons. The historical evidence of the reception of his vase-painting is admittedly limited. The most important evidence is the vase-painting in Munich signed by Euthymides as painter with the inscription *hōs oude pote Euphronios*, “as never Euphronios,” written in proximity to an image of men drinking and dancing (figure 14). If the inscription “Euphron” on the fragmentary vase in Paris (plate XI) is the personal name of the nimble dancer in the picture, the vase in Munich begins to appear as part of a dialogue with the vase-painting of Euphronios in a way hitherto unsuspected. “As never Euphronios” refers not to the drawing of the human form in three-quarter view, nor to the real, historical social life of Euphronios when he is not painting vases, but to the presence of Euphronios as a fictive figure, a regular party-man, within his own imagery. The inscription on Euthymides’ vase seems to be saying, “Euphronios never partied like this *in his own vase-painting*.”

THE “SEAL” OF THEOGNIS AND THE PROBLEM OF GUARANTEEING INDIVIDUAL ARTISTIC STYLE

Fortunately, the indirect evidence available for the reconstruction of the horizon of expectations surrounding the creation and use of Euphronios’ painted vases is extensive. Fictionalization of self, pseudo autobiography, self-incorporation of creator into creative work, and strong characterizations of artisans are significant features of early Greek poetry. Smikros is not the only

fictitious artist in early Greek culture. For the moment, let us focus on one specific point, namely, self-awareness of the problem of securing a recognizable personal style. Consider this poem:

Κύρνε, σοφισζομένω μὲν ἔμοι σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,
 οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
 ὄδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· “Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
 τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός.”

“For me, a skilled and wise poet, let a seal (*sphrēgis*), Cyrmus, be placed on these verses. Their theft will never pass unnoticed, nor will anyone take something worse in exchange when that which is good is at hand, but everyone will say, ‘They are the verses of Theognis of Megara, and he is famous among all men.’” (Theognis 19–23, text/trans. Gerber 1999a)

Here is a cultural artifact, dating sometime to the late seventh or sixth century BC, that prominently identifies its creator by name, like a vase-painter’s signature, yet voices anxiety about the strength of the connection between name and work. The nature of the *sphrēgis* or “seal” that promises to guarantee recognition of the verses of Theognis is an unsolved riddle. The difficulty does not lie in the understanding of the function of seals in antiquity, for there is adequate evidence to suggest that seals were used to establish ownership and not to bar access, like a lock. The difficulty lies in understanding how a seal might guarantee that Theognis’ poetic verses would never be palmed off as someone else’s poetry. The suggestion that a literal seal was placed on a manuscript of Theognis’ poetry in some ancient Greek temple has one obvious difficulty, namely, oral tradition.⁹⁴ Consider another poem from the Theognidean corpus, sometimes envisioned as a kind of pendant to the first: “I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sound of pipes will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices” (237–243, Greek text in the introduction above, trans. Gerber). The poem envisions, hopefully, that songs about the poet’s beloved, Kyrnos, such as the one speaking of the seal, will circulate widely throughout Greece, thanks to the custom of singing popular, familiar songs during symposia. How could a manuscript locked in a temple possibly guarantee that verses learned through singing and listening, at party after party, in city after city, would remain connected to Theognis?

Among the many figurative or metaphorical interpretations of the *sphrēgis*, the most consequential is the idea that the seal is writing itself.⁹⁵ In a transitional period such as Archaic Greece, when the transmission of poetry via oral performance was being modified by writing and literacy, one can perhaps envision a growing awareness of the possibility of fixing one’s own words,

and of discriminating them from someone else's words. Marcel Detienne suggested that writing made possible a new kind of memory, word-for-word memory, and that the new kind of memory gave rise to the idea of faithful reproduction.⁹⁶ The Theognidean poem itself seems to acknowledge the oral culture out of which it comes in the continuation of line 27 and following: "[i]t is with kind thoughts for you that I shall give you advice such as I myself, Cymus, learned from noble men while still a child" (σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εἶ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτός, Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον). Presumably, he means not that he was poring over books as a boy but listening to his elders.

What most elucidations of the *sphrēgis* or "seal" poem have in common is a focus on authorial intention or processes of production of poetry. For my purposes, the poem is of interest with respect to its likely reception. Lines 237–243 suggest that it will be sung out loud and listened to by young men as they drink. In its ancient context, *sphrēgis* or "seal" will, I suggest, have been no less opaque than it is in modern scholarship. How many symposiasts will jump to the conclusion that the seal refers to writing, when there are no books or manuscripts amid the krater, cups, and couches? When the drinkers are singing the songs from memory and not reading them from manuscripts? If the primary purpose of the poem was to articulate unambiguously how to avoid plagiarism of one's own poetry, why not simply say "writing is going to seal these words as my own forever"?⁹⁷ The point is, there remains a mysterious, riddle-like quality in the reference to *sphrēgis*, even if it is correct to think that it is related, in part at least, to writing.⁹⁸ What is particularly amusing about the poem is that language expressing, it seems, real anxiety about the possibility of someone plagiarizing the poet's verses, or passing inferior lines off as Theognis' work, and a real interest in eternal, personal fame, is coupled with a one-word, unexplained, and to this day completely mystifying reference to a "seal."

In ancient Greece, the practice of signing a vase as its maker appears to be as old as writing. The earliest known signature occurs on a geometric-style fragment of Euboian manufacture, dating to the late eighth century, only one or two generations after the earliest known inscriptions in Greek of any type.⁹⁹ From that moment on, the names of persons claiming to have made or painted an object sporadically occur on vases, statues, gems, and several other types of objects throughout antiquity. Robin Osborne eloquently articulated the general significance of the practice:

The artist's name was always an element in which the viewer is presumed to be interested—as interested as he was in who was being portrayed in a picture or who had made a dedication. Signing marks out pots, sculptures, and gems—as it surely also marked out wall paintings and panel-

pictures, given the anecdotal material about the artists of such works—as sharing something with poems and letters that they did not share with buildings or furniture. What they all share is the sense that there is an “author,” that the identity of the creator of these works is something worth knowing—and worth knowing because they are works that demand, and establish a relationship with, “readers.”¹⁰⁰

Thomas Hubbard went so far as to suggest that the practice of signing vases was itself the inspiration for Theognis’ notion of embedding his name (and that of his beloved, like the *kalos*-name on a vase) in his written text of poetry.¹⁰¹ But there is much more to be said about the affinities between Theognis 19–38 and Euphronian vase-painting.

The complex proposition advanced in this poem—its emphatic assertion of authorial ownership, its claim to unique recognizability, coupled with an unhelpfully terse reference to a mysterious means of guaranteeing those things—is significantly similar to the complex propositions of the vases signed *Smikros egraphsen* (or *epoiēsen*). Like the poem, the vases positively assert that they were made or decorated by Smikros, but in a variety of different ways, they also undermine the basis or guarantee of the assertion. The stamnos in Brussels (plate 1), for example, goes to great lengths to pin down, through painting and writing, the existence and agency and character of its maker. It identifies in writing one of the depicted figures as the maker himself, characterizes the maker pictorially as a particularly cool individual, and places the identifying label as close as possible to the signature, so that anyone not too drunk to read can make the connection. Yet this very combination of pictorial and epigraphical elements mystifies the situation, for how can the hardworking painter of a picture of men of leisure be simultaneously one of their number? Both poem and picture seem self-conscious about the tenuousness of claims to, or proofs of, individual artistic agency.

The poem of Theognis is also of interest in relation to the vase-painting of Euphronios with respect to the intriguing notion of counterfeiting. The poem envisions the possibility of passing off someone else’s verses undetected, and a related possibility of substituting inferior verses for superior (Theognidean) ones. The relationship between the vase-painting signed *Smikros egraphsen* and painting of Euphronios has been described essentially as theft. Consider again the remarks of Dyfri Williams: “Smikros began to be able to imitate his master so closely that it is sometimes difficult to tell them apart . . . Nevertheless, there is beside him the signature of Smikros as painter.”¹⁰² In this conception, the presence of the name of Smikros, in the form of a painter’s signature, provides the reassuring guarantee that the imitator has not tried to pass off his inferior vase-painting as that of the master himself. But the poem of Theognis nicely illustrates the problem that the presence of the name of the creator by itself is

no guarantee that someone has not stolen Theognis' verses, or passed off worse verses as those of the master. Something else is needed to ensure that verses attributed to Theognis really are the verses of Theognis. The anxiety cleverly and amusingly articulated in this poem is realized in the vase-painting studied in this chapter: the genuine work of Euphronios is stolen, "unnoticed," by another man who passes it off as his own. At the same time, Smikros has become so adept at imitating the master that he could pass off "something worse in exchange." What is described in the poem as a (seemingly) genuine anxiety, however, has been engineered entirely and deliberately and knowingly by Euphronios. A symposiast, examining the krater now fragmentary and in Paris (plates X–XI), acknowledging the inscription on the reverse, "[S]mikros painted these," recognizing the painting of Herakles and the lion on the obverse as the painting of Euphronios (thanks perhaps to a signature on the obverse), wondering what differentiates the two vase-paintings on the one vase, might envision a situation not unlike the one described in Theognis' poem. The *self-consciousness* with which the "theft" of Euphronios' figures by Smikros is engineered suggests that Theognis' anxiety is not so genuine.

In short, the poem and the vase-painting share a riddle-like quality that may very well have appealed to the expectations of the symposiasts who were the primary audience for both works. But the raw materials out of which the riddles were constructed are sophisticated concepts, and not lowbrow humor. They include the ideas of individual ownership of some part of cultural production, stealing intellectual property (to use a modern formulation), counterfeiting the special qualities of one's art, and, above all, personal style. Even if Andrew Ford and others are right in suggesting that "clearly, the Theognidea are something more than the life's work—however long that life may have been—of a single poet," and "the name of Theognis guarantees not the origin of these *ēpē* but their homogeneous political character and their aristocratic provenience"¹⁰³—the poem nevertheless creates the *illusion* of artistic individuality. The voice of the poem is embodied, it addresses itself to a boy for whom it expresses concern, it refers to its own boyhood, it identifies itself with the particular personal name of Theognis. It speaks of personal fame. Most of all, it attempts to articulate a notion of ownership of something ineffable (at least in an Archaic context)—*my verses*. I contend that "Smikros" is doing much the same kind of intellectual work in Euphronian vase-painting.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHILOCHOS, THE FICTIONAL CREATOR-PROTAGONIST, AND ODYSSEUS

Homer, the aged self-absorbed dreamer, the type of the Apollinian naïve artist, now beholds with astonishment the passionate head of the warlike votary of the muses, Archilochus, who was hunted savagely through life. Modern aesthetics, by way of interpretation, could only add that there the first ‘objective’ artist confronts the first ‘subjective’ artist (Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Walter Kaufmann [New York: Vintage, 1967], Section 5, p. 58).

For many years, it seems fair to say, the first-person poetic narratives of the seventh-century BC poet Archilochos of Paros were understood in the same way that Jiří Frel interpreted the representation of Euphronios on the psykter in Malibu (plate XII), or the self-representation of Smikros on the stamnos in Brussels (plate I): that is, as historically truthful.¹ When Archilochos composed ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνω, ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων, “some Saian exults in my shield which I left—a faultless weapon—beside a bush against my will . . .” (frag. 5W.1–2), the argument goes, he was describing his own personal experience. The most influential interpretation of that sort was offered by Bruno Snell:

Perhaps the most striking difference between [epic and lyric poetry], as regards the men behind the works, is the emergence of the poets as individuals . . . [T]he lyrics announce their own names; they speak about themselves and become recognizable as personalities. The era of lyric poetry is the first to introduce upon the stage of European history a number of highly individualized actors, with a great variety of roles. Party-leaders, law-givers and tyrants, religious thinkers and, somewhat

later, philosophers, plastic artists who are beginning to record their names on their works: all these pierce through the veil of anonymity which covers the earlier period. Literature, i.e. the lyric, evinces the intellectual significance of this development more clearly than any other sphere of art, for it allows the new outlook to make itself known by word of mouth, the only means of explicit expression for things of the mind.²

“Plastic artists” who identify themselves by name, like the vase-painter Euphronios, no less than poets, in this model, are symptomatic of an epochal collective psychological development of individualism. Perhaps needless to say, there are several nontrivial difficulties entailed by this account. One is the claim that verbal expression is the “only means” by which the “emergence of the individual” is elucidated for us, since it is the only explicit form of expression of thought. The vase-painting of Euphronios, as interpreted in the [previous chapter](#), is hardly inarticulate or unexpressive on the subject of self-representation. But the point I wish to address in this chapter is the assumption that the biography, personality, and very consciousness of a poet such as Archilochos (who was “exhibit a” in Snell’s account) can be read out of his poetry. Like the vase-painting of Euphronios, the poetry of Archilochos can be seen to exhibit multiple fictitious first-person narrator-characters. What is more, the poetry points to one particular model for this sort of subjective self-presentation, itself a fiction, namely, the mythical hero and sometimes-narrator of the *Odyssey*.

WHO IS THE SPEAKER OF NARRATIVES OF ARCHILOCHOS?

Snell’s assumption was seriously challenged in an essay of 1964 by Kenneth Dover. He called attention to a crucial passage of Aristotle, in which it is claimed that Archilochos did *not* always speak as himself.³ “Since sometimes . . . when speaking of another, we may be accused of abuse or boorishness, we must make another speak in our place . . . Archilochus uses the same device in censure” (*Rhetoric* 1418 b 23–33, trans. Freese).⁴ Aristotle gave two examples. He claimed that the speaker of the famous poem (fragment 19W) beginning οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, “the possessions of Gyges are of no concern to me,” is a carpenter named Charon, and that the speaker of the lovely poem (fragment 122W), χρημάτων ἄελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ’ ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲ θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδὴ Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων ἐκ μεσαμβρίας ἔθηκε νύκτ’, “nothing is to be unexpected or sworn impossible or marvelled at, now that Zeus father of the Olympians has made night out of the noonday,” is a father talking about his daughter. Aristotle explicitly says that the line from the Gyges poem is the first line of the poem. The quotation from the other poem is also very likely its opening words, because the late-antique anthologist Stobaios gives nine lines of the poem, and the line quoted by Aristotle is the first in Stobaios’

version. In neither poem is there any indication, within the surviving lines, that the listener was explicitly informed of the speaker's identity. The poet, like Euphronios, makes the audience wait. In fact, there is no direct evidence to suggest that the narrative voice of the poem ever slipped out of character and into the voice of the poet.⁵ Those are not the only poems of Archilochos in which the first-person narrator appears to be someone other than the poet. The speaker of fragment 25W is a prophet (*mantis*, line 5); the speaker of 67W, perhaps a doctor; and that of fragment 24W, possibly a member of a mercantile family.⁶ But the two examples given by Aristotle are ones about which we can be certain. Here are two Archaic poems featuring points of view that appear to be similar, formally, to the pictorial conception informing the stamnos in Brussels (plate I). The figure occupying the position equivalent to first-person poet-narrator, the person who purports to be telling the story and simultaneously appearing in it, Smikros, is not identical with the creator of the work, Euphronios.

Elsewhere in the limited remains of Archaic Greek poetry, first-person narrators unambiguously unidentical with the poet are unusual. But they are not unknown. And it is important to note that the function of the formal feature is difficult to accommodate within Aristotle's limited formulation of masking.⁷ The easiest examples to detect are those in which the narrators are female. For example, ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον ἄνδρα φέρω, καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀνηρότατον. πολλάκι δὴ μέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν φεύγειν ὠσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἠνίοχον, "I am a fine, prize-winning horse, but I carry a man who is utterly base, and this causes me the greatest pain. Often I was on the point of breaking the bit, throwing my bad rider, and running off" (Theognis 257–260, text/trans. Gerber). The feminine forms of adjectives and participle clearly establish that the narrator is female, yet the elegiac poem is attributed to a male poet and was almost certainly intended for presentation in a symposium, where poetry was performed primarily, if not exclusively, by men.⁸ Admittedly, the female of that poem is a horse. But two fragments of lyric poetry attributed to male poets feature first-person female narrators who are certainly human: ἔμε δείλαν, ἔμε πάσαν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισιν, "me, wretched woman (*eme deilan*), me, sharing in all misery, . . ." for example, was composed by Alkaios according to Hephaisteion.⁹ Ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἵπνέρχομαι πάντα φέρουσα λαμπρά, "I come up from the river bringing [the washing] all bright," is attributed to Anakreon by Hephaisteion.¹⁰ Those fragments do not begin with a meta-narrative introduction to the effect that "I, a male voice, am going to quote the speech of a woman"; rather, the poems appear to begin emphatically in the voice of a woman.¹¹ Among the remains of iambic poetry, there are two fragments in which occurs this narrative strategy, in addition to those of Archilochos. One is attributed to Semonides (frag. 16W) and probably from an erotic

narrative: *κάλειφόμην μύροισι καὶ θυώμασιν καὶ βακκάρη· καὶ γάρ τις ἔμπορος παρῆν*, “and I was anointing myself with unguents and scents and *baccaris*; for in fact a merchant was present.”¹² Another is a fragment of Anakreon (432 *PMG*): *κνυζή τις ἤδη καὶ πέπειρα γίνομαι σὴν διὰ μαργοσύνην*, “already I am becoming a wrinkled old thing, over-ripe fruit, thanks to your lust,” iambic in both meter and sentiment.¹³ Ewen Bowie summarized the evidence in this way: “possibly, as some hold, these songs were actually composed and sung by women . . . [But] taken together the songs are better seen as evidence for male symposiasts entertaining each other by taking on-in song at least—a female role.”¹⁴

WHAT IS SO “INVECTIVE” ABOUT THIS POETRY?

Let us return to Aristotle’s examples of first-person poetic narrators who are different in identity from the poets who created them, because they are accompanied by Aristotle’s interpretation of them. The explanatory framework offered by Aristotle is inadequate to account for the sympotic poems featuring first-person female narrators, because they appear to be erotic rather than invective in intention. In fact, the rationale offered by Aristotle for the use of aliases in Archilochos does not even adequately account for his own examples. Aristotle coupled their use for criticism with the use of aliases for self-praise. Here is the full context: “[i]n regard to moral character, since sometimes, in speaking of ourselves, we render ourselves liable to envy, to the charge of prolixity, or contradiction, or, when speaking of another, we may be accused of abuse or boorishness, we must make another speak in our place, as Isocrates does in the *Philippus* and in the *Antidosis*” (1418 b 23–33, trans. Freese; Greek text above). Aristotle adds an additional example of censure being attributed to someone other than the speaker, when Sophokles makes Haimon refer to the opinion of “the people” in advancing criticism of Kreon’s treatment of Antigone (*Antigone* 692–700). The passages of Isocrates and Sophokles differ like apples from oranges in comparison with the passages of Archilochos. In the former, the presence of two voices, the voice of the booster or censurer and the fictitious voice in which the boast or censure is articulated, is never in doubt. Isokrates and Haimon are present, by name, within the texts, themselves placing their own opinions into the mouths of others. The passages of Archilochos are different. “The opening words represented the utterance of someone other than the poet himself, and in neither case is the hearer warned that this will be so.”¹⁵

The trouble is, Aristotle identifies the poet’s intention to be invective (*hōs Archilochos psegei*), yet the poems cited by Aristotle as examples are not easily construed even as veiled criticism. The poem beginning, “The possessions of Gyges are of no concern to me (fragment 19W),” continues in a

contemplative in tone: οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἔρέω τυραννίδος· ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὄφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν, “not yet have I been seized with jealousy of him, I do not envy the deeds of the gods, and I have no love of tyranny. That is beyond my sights.” That the poem in its entirety was gnomic, rather than invective, is suggested in particular by an imitation of this very poem that occurs in the corpus of works attributed to Anakreon. The first four lines of the imitation follow the Archilochean poem closely in identifying things that the speaker does not like; then the Anacreontic poem shifts gear and enumerates the pleasures that the speaker craves, including drinking, gambling, and drenching his beard with perfume.¹⁶ The Anacreontic poem may depart from the Archilochean model in the specific identities of the desirable things (how many carpenters desire to perfume their beards?). But the structure of the Anacreontic poem suggests that the original Gyges poem ended with an enumeration of pleasures available to Charon as a carpenter, and not with a verbal attack on someone else. Of the other poem mentioned by Aristotle, nine astonishing lines survive from the speech of the stunned father. Perhaps half of the poem has come down to us, it contains no trace of criticism, and it is entirely devoted to fantastically imaginative expression of the psychological effect of a total eclipse of the sun.¹⁷

In describing the intention of Archilochos in those two poems as *psegei*, “criticizing,” Aristotle expresses an interpretation of the poetry of Archilochos that was, and is, widespread. The view seems firmly ensconced in the earliest reference to Archilochos in surviving Greek poetry: ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν. εἶδον γὰρ ἐκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανία ψογερόν Ἀρχιλόχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν παινόμενον, “But I must flee the persistent bite of censure (*kakagoria*), for standing at a far remove I have seen Archilochos the blamer often in straights as he fed on dire words of hatred” (Pindar *Pythian* 2.52–56, text/trans. Race 1997). This early fifth-century BC passage of Pindar has been taken as definitive. “By virtue of being singled out, even within epinician praise poetry, as a ‘man of *psogos*’ (ψογερόν Ἀρχιλόχον: Pindar *P.* 2.55), the figure of Archilochos surely qualifies as a master of blame poetry.”¹⁸ Within the economy of the poem, it is true, the reference to Archilochos marks the transition from the preceding, negative, critical account of the mythological villain Ixion to the positive praise of the victor Hieron, which is the primary purpose of the victory ode.¹⁹ In this sense, Archilochos stands for blame. There is more to the poetry of Archilochos than fault-finding, however, as Pindar himself attests in another epinician ode (*Olympian* 9.1–2): Τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλὸς κεχλαδῶς, “The song of Archilochos resounding at Olympia, that triumphal hymn swelling with three refrains . . .”²⁰

Pindar’s Second *Pythian* Ode itself implicitly acknowledges that the poetry of Archilochos embraced a broader range of material and poetic conceptions

than the word *psogos*, “criticism,” might suggest. Deborah Steiner persuasively argued that the animals in the enigmatic conclusion of the poem (72–97) are allusions to the poetry of Archilochos.²¹ And those allusions are not all negative. The first of the animals, the ape, is part of a fable featured in Archilochos’ fragment 185W. In that poem, in its behavior and appearance, the ape represents both the target of criticism and also a critic himself. The second animal in the final section of *Pythian* 2, the fox, plays a role in the same Archilochean fable (fragment 185W), where it is the opponent of the ape. The fox is also one of the protagonists of Archilochos’ most important fable, the fox and eagle (fragments 172–181W). That fable functions as criticism of the most prominent of the poet’s alleged enemies, Lykambes (details below). The fox is the stand-in for Archilochos, the eagle the representative of Lykambes. The third animal to be mentioned in the coda to *Pythian* 2, the wolf, is the most important, because Pindar identifies *himself* with this animal: φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν· ποτὶ δ’ ἐχθρὸν ἄτ’ ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι, ἄλλ’ ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς, “let me befriend a friend, but against an enemy, I shall, as his enemy, run him down as a wolf does, stalking now here, now there, on twisting paths” (83–85). The wolf has many associations in early Greek poetry, including duplicity and insatiable appetite. But it also has a special place in Archilochean poetry in the name of the poet’s enemy Lykambes, which means “wolf-walker.” Steiner nicely notices how Pindar evokes the Archilochean name in the manner in which the wolf runs down his enemy, “stalking now here, now there.” Hammering home the intertextual allusion is the language of Pindar’s distinction between the ways he treats friends and enemies, for the formulation recalls fragment 23W.14–15 of Archilochos: ἐπιῖσταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έο]ν[τα] μὲν φ[ι]λεῖν, [τὸ]ν δ’ ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν, “I know how to repay love with love and hatred with hatred.”²² In short, implicit within the Pindaric allusions to the poetry of Archilochos is the recognition that its scope goes well beyond blame, to include cleverness. Steiner suggests that “Pindar’s (otherwise unlikely) appropriation of the wolf” is a means of beating Archilochos at his own game. He does this by taking on the role of Lykambes the wolf-walker and capping Archilochos, who is embodied in the fox. In so doing, however, Pindar also tacitly acknowledges, I would add, the central importance of role-playing and fictionalization of self within the poetry of Archilochos. To beat Archilochos at his own game, it is necessary for the epinician poet to come down from his lofty perch and take up a position as a hungry, wily character. In the manner in which Pindar structures his competition with Archilochos, he expresses a deeper appreciation of the complexity of Archilochean verse than that encapsulated in “Archilochos the blamer often in straights as he fed on dire words of hatred.”

THE POETRY OF ARCHILOCHOS IN THE PROCRUSTEAN BED
 OF ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS*

What is the explanation of the characterization of two not-obviously-critical poems of Archilochos as *psogos* or "criticism" in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*? Elsewhere in Aristotle, Archilochos, iambic poetry, and *psogos* occur primarily in relation to other, more fundamental principles. Among the very influential theories of literary genre to survive from antiquity is a famous passage of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1448 b 23–1449 a 6). In the beginning, he suggests, poetry split into two different types, κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦθη, "according to its creators' characters" (text/trans. after Halliwell 1995). The σεμνότεροι, "more pious, serious," represented people doing good things, while the εὐτελέστεροι, "cheaper, more vulgar, less worthy," represented the actions of φαύλοι, "low or common" people. The more vulgar people first made *psogoi*, "invectives," where the more serious poets composed hymns and encomia. For *psogoi*, the iambic meter was introduced, since "it was in this metre that they lampooned (*iambizein*) one another . . . And when tragedy and comedy had been glimpsed, those whose own natures gave them an impetus towards either type of poetry abandoned iambic lampoons to become comic poets, or epic to become tragedians, because these newer forms were grander and more esteemed than the earlier."²³

In this sweeping epitome, Aristotle presents a theoretical account of the origins of poetry, which attributes its creation and development to innate or natural tendencies among humans, rather than to divine inspiration.²⁴ What is striking about the account, first of all, is the primacy granted to the opposition of high and low—well educated, noble, beautiful, versus poor, common, and ugly. More striking still, Aristotle posits a correlation between the temperaments of the figures represented within poetry and the *ēthē*, "characters," of the poets who create them.²⁵ Strange as it may seem to us, familiar with the idea that a writer might work in several different modes or genres, the passage claims that there is a natural correlation between what the poet writes about and what sort of person the poet is.

In Aristotle's theory, the single most important criterion in discriminating poetry and its creators is the distinction between noble and base, or serious and frivolous. The preeminence of that criterion is established earlier in the *Poetics*: "since mimetic artists represent people in action, and the latter should be either elevated or base (for characters almost always align with just these types, as it is through vice and virtue that the characters of all men vary)" (1448 a 1–4).²⁶ We can get a sense of what Aristotle specifically has in mind in this distinction from a passage of his *Politics* (1342 a 18–21, trans. Jowett): "Since the spectators are of two kinds—the one free and educated, and the other a vulgar crowd composed of artisans, labourers, and the like (ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεατῆς διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλευθερός καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ φορτικός ἐκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ

ἄλλων)—there ought to be contests and exhibitions instituted for the relaxation of the second class also.” It is fair to say that Aristotle was fully aware that the emphasis placed on the distinction between noble and coarse skewed his sketch of the early development of poetry. He explicitly acknowledged that his third analytical criterion, mode of representation—that is, narrative versus dramatic presentation of subject matter—leads to a different categorization: “in one respect Sophocles could be classed as the same kind of mimetic artist as Homer, since both represent elevated characters, but in another the same as Aristophanes, since both represent people in direct action” (1448 a 25–28).²⁷ But the *Poetics* emphasizes the distinction between high and low poets or subjects over differences in mode of representation.²⁸ This is important, because it helps to explain why Aristotle used the verb *psegō*, “criticize,” to describe what Archilochos was doing even in poems that contain no obvious invective. The focus on ethics rather than form results in Archilochos being pigeon-holed as a low poet, producing low poetry, even though the mode of presentation employed in “The Possessions of Gyges” or “Nothing Is To Be unexpected” links those poems with the (more elevated) Homeric mode of mixed narrative and dialogue.²⁹

The pigeon-holing of Archilochos into the category of iambic *psogos* was also motivated by Aristotle’s apparent determination to drive a wedge between invective in iambs and the dramatic genre of Comedy. Having just correlated the fine and serious subject matter of poetry with more august poets, and common subject matter with low poets, Aristotle carves out an exception. Homer is at the origin not only of serious poetry, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but also of *psogos*, since the *Margites*, the earliest surviving example of *psogos*, is attributable to Homer: “[n]ow, we cannot name such an invective earlier than Homer, though probably many poets produced them; but we can do so from Homer onwards, namely the latter’s *Margites* and the like” (1448 b 28–30). But there is a crucial difference, Aristotle argues, between what Homer created and other early poetic criticism: “just as Homer was the supreme poet of elevated subjects . . . so too he was the first to delineate the forms of comedy, by dramatizing not *psogos*, ‘invective,’ but *to geloion*, ‘the laughable’: thus *Margites* stands in the same relation to comedies as do the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to tragedies” (1448 b 33–1449 a 2).³⁰

The distinction is refined in the subsequent section: “Comedy, as we said, is mimesis of baser but not wholly vicious characters: rather, *to geloion*, ‘the laughable,’ is one category of *to aischron*, ‘the shameful.’ For the laughable comprises any fault or mark of shame which involves no pain or destruction: most obviously, the laughable mask is something ugly and twisted, but not painfully” (1449 a 31–36).³¹ Now we have one specific characteristic of Aristotle’s distinction between *psogos* and *to geloion*, between “invective” and “the laughable”: the laughable is restricted to what is low but not vicious.

A further distinction appears several chapters later, in the pivotal statement about the function of poetry per se. Aristotle argues that the purpose of poetry is not to relate real actions taken by a particular person, but rather hypothetical actions, which unfold according to what is probable in life:

[P]oetry is more philosophical and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars. “Universal” means the kinds of things which it suits a certain kind of person to say or do, in terms of probability or necessity: poetry aims for this, even though attaching names to the agents. A “particular” means, say, what Alcibiades did or experienced. In comedy, this point has by now become obvious: the poets construct the plot on the basis of probability, and only then supply arbitrary names; they do not, like iambic poets, write about a particular person. (1451 b 5–14)³²

Notice how Aristotle implicitly links iambic poetry with biographical history rather than fictive plot-making. Now we have a second specific point of distinction between invective and the laughable: the former addresses particular individuals; comedy, on the other hand, addresses types of people and situations via narration. This is very important: if mode of poetic representation had been privileged over the ethics of poetic content and the poet’s personal temperament, Archilochean poetry arguably would have been situated somewhere between epic and drama. First, narrative appears to have been far more prevalent in Archilochean poetry than the primitive invective model would suggest.³³ Second, Archilochean verse uses a mixed mode of narrative and direct speech, as in Homeric epic, but takes a step further toward fully dramatic presentation by allowing the narrator to enter into the plot as a character. Third, the poetry of Archilochos occasionally explicitly states that its intention is to be funny. Fourth, while there is at least one certain contemporary figure within Archilochean poetry, there are also several other characters who seem very likely to be “arbitrary names.” As Aristotle’s text stands, however, it is obvious that Archilochos would have been included within pre-comic *psogos* or invective.³⁴

Let us pursue the fourth point, names. Among the contemporaries attacked by Archilochos in his verse, according to Aristides (testimonium 17 Gerber), is one Charilaos. Athenaios (test. 167) claims that, in one poem, Archilochos criticized Charilaos for gluttony. It is likely that the beginning of the poem Athenaios had in mind is given in fragment 168W: Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ’ ἐταίρων, τέρψεαι δ’ ἀκούων, “Charilaos, son of Erasmon, a funny thing I shall tell you, by far the dearest of my companions, and you will be delighted to hear it.” This is an impressive piece of poetic audacity: the poet “criticizes” Charilaos, but claims that the man is his best friend, that the poetic treatment will be funny, that the poem is being presented to Charilaos himself, and that he the target will be delighted

when he hears it. The poem is amusingly preoccupied with shaping its own reception. That point is underscored by the very name of the protagonist: “the pleasure and laughter promised by the poem are actually embodied in the element *Khari*-of Kharilaos.”³⁵ The invented quality of the name “Charilaos” is further suggested by the name of his father, Erasmon, for this name also is transparent (*erasmios*, “lovely”), and the patronymic recurs only in comedy (*LGP*N 2 s. v.). They are good candidates for Aristotle’s designation “arbitrary names”.

At least one of the figures appearing in the poetry of Archilochos is almost certainly a historical figure. Glaukos, son of Leptines, is the addressee in a number of Archilochean poems.³⁶ A seventh-century, inscribed grave marker bearing the name and patronymic of Glaukos was found on Thasos (Archilochos testimonium 1). It is independent evidence that this man, familiar from Archilochos’ poetry, was a historical individual of the late seventh century BC. Glaukos may be a real man, but it is noteworthy to what extent he appears to leave his historical context behind and enter into the fictional world. Consider fragment 117W: τὸν κεροπλάστην ἄειδε Γλαῦκον, “sing of Glaukos who arranges his hair in horns.” On the basis of that style of hair, it has even been suggested that Glaukos is the preening general in fragment 114W, “I have no liking for a general who is tall, walks with a swaggering gait, takes pride in his curls, and is partly shaven . . .”³⁷ The poem about the general we will return to shortly. For the moment, notice the language of 117W: it is the form of an epic invocation of the inspirational Muse, and it seems to be funny. Part of the humor lies in the contrast between the lofty language of epic, suggesting a heroic saga, and the unimportance of the hero’s epithet, which concerns hairstyling. Part of the humor arguably also lies, however, in the idea that the poet is purporting to make one of his actual associates the subject of an epic poem. If there is a historical person in the background to the poem, he is part of the raw materials out of which the poet has created a work that is most arresting for its humorous appropriation of traditional epic poetry. The “reality effect” created by the incorporation of real persons into imaginary representations of traditional themes, which is one of the innovations and the pleasures of this poetry, does not have a precise parallel within Aristotle’s scheme.

BEAT POET: THE RECEPTION OF ARCHILOCHOS IN SPARTA AND BY KRITIAS

Implicit in Aristotle’s theory of the origins of high and low genres of poetry are two related ideas that have shaped the interpretation of Archilochos in much modern as well as most ancient scholarship. The first is the idea that the experiences or attitudes narrated in the first person are the poet’s own.³⁸ Based on the belief that poets are either noble or base but not both is the second idea,

that what Archilochos has to say will naturally be base, course, low, or biting, because he was that kind of man. The theory helps to account for the willingness of some modern scholars to assume that the Gyges or eclipse poems were invective, as Aristotle suggested in the *Rhetoric*: hiding behind the masks of Charon the carpenter or the father of the daughter must be some critical opinion held by Archilochos, because it is in the poet's nature to be critical.³⁹ This way of reading Archilochos appears to have been widespread in later antiquity.

Consider the ancient reception of fragment 5W, perhaps a complete poem: ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαῖων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνω, ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων· αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη; ἔρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω, “Some Saian exults in my shield which I left—a faultless weapon—beside a bush against my will. But I saved myself. What do I care about that shield? To hell with it! I'll get one that's just as good another time.” This was a famous poem, reworked or referred to on numerous occasions. Envisioning the kind of songs boys will sing at the wedding party of Trygaios, Aristophanes (*Peace* 1265–1304), for example, quotes the shield poem specifically. The poem is also referred to by Plutarch (*Instituta Laconica* 34 [239a]) in an eye-opening statement: on account of his having thrown away his shield in battle, the poet Archilochos was banned from Sparta, famous for the advice given by Spartan mothers to their sons, to come back with their shields or on them. What is eye-opening is the idea that the un-Spartan point of view expressed in the poem, about the relative value of personal honor versus physical survival, must be the genuine and heartfelt opinion of the poet himself. Alternative, non-autobiographical readings of the poem were possible in antiquity. During the recitation of the shield poem in Aristophanes' *Peace*, the character Trygaios asks the boy, εἰπέ μοι, ὃ πόσθων, εἰς τὸν σαυτοῦ πατέρ' ἄδεις, “Tell me, little weenie, are you singing about your own father?” (trans. Henderson). But the autobiographical approach was dominant.

In a detailed discussion of the poetry of Archilochos (reproduced by Aelian [Archilochos testimonium 33 Gerber]), the late fifth-century BC pro-Spartan aristocratic apologist Kritias held that Archilochos said the worst things about himself. Had he not done this, we would never have discovered that his mother Enipo was a slave, that he was forced to leave Paros due to poverty, that he spoke badly about friends and enemies alike, that he was an adulterer and a lecherous man, or—“what is still more αἴσχιον shameful”—that he threw away his shield. Self-abasement was noted in the poetry of Archilochos by several much later Christian apologists: “[he] revealed [his own] character to licentious and impure,” ἦθος ἀσελγές καὶ ἀκάθαρτον παραστήσαντα; “first of all he criticized himself,” πρῶτον αὐτὸν ψέγει.⁴⁰ But the testimonium of Kritias is of particular importance. It is possible to correlate one of the

accusations with an extant poem, the poem about leaving behind the shield. Kritias assumes (perhaps facetiously) that base acts such as this, revealed in the poet's own first-person narratives, could only have originated in the poet's own behavior or actions.

But that is not the only possible interpretation. In a landmark essay, Bernd Seidensticker demonstrated that there is an *Odyssean* precedent for throwing away one's shield in order to save one's own life. In the fictitious autobiography that Odysseus supplies to Eumaios in Book Fourteen, the hero threw down his shield and spear and placed himself at the mercy of the Pharaoh (14.277–279). Here is Seidensticker's response to the assumptions of Kritias and others that the shield-poem of Archilochos is genuine autobiography:

Dover has shown that “assumed personality and imaginary situation” are as old as the lyric expression of feelings, attitudes and events. He consequently asks: “Are we sure—to take a crucial example—that Archilochus himself threw away his shield in combat against the Saioi?” The Homeric precedent strengthens those doubts. We certainly cannot rule out the possibility that the [*Odyssean*] parallel is accidental, that Archilochus indeed talks about personal experience. But the poetic parallel and the fact that it comes from a literary context which was not only well known but . . . very attractive to Archilochus make it appear much more likely that we are, in fact, dealing with an “imaginary situation.”⁴¹

The correspondences between the poetry of Archilochos and other features of the same *Odyssean* passage will concern us shortly. For the moment, it is enough to note that epic emulation is a viable alternative to the assumption that the shield-poem is genuine autobiography. Other items on Kritias' list of embarrassing personal traits are not above suspicion. Enipo, the alleged name of Archilochos' mother, meaning “abuse,” seems too transparently appropriate to the biting character of some Archilochean poetry to be merely coincidental. Ancient testimonia report that Archilochos' family played a role in the colonization of Thasos, or in the foundation of religious cults; this is hardly to be expected if the mother were a slave and Archilochos impoverished.⁴²

Perhaps Kritias' argument is less naive than it appears at first glance. He has a pro-Spartan, pro-aristocratic axe to grind and for that reason perhaps paints the most negative picture possible of a poet he perceives to be too “democratic.” The biased, slanted agenda of this testimonium was recognized in antiquity. Aelian terminates his epitome of Kritias with the extraordinary remark ταῦτα οὐκ ἐγὼ Ἀρχίλοχον αἰτιῶμαι, ἀλλὰ Κριτίας, “it is Kritias who censures [Archilochos] for this, not I.” It seems likely that Kritias was familiar with the idea of fictional first-person narratives (did he not go to the theater at Athens?), and it is conceivable that he deliberately misread one or more Archilochean narratives as autobiography for effect.⁴³ After all, implicit in his

critique is not merely that the poet was a bad man but more precisely that Archilochos did not paper over the unattractive aspects of his autobiography.

What I draw from the passage of *Kritias* is a two-fold observation. On the one hand, interpreting the poetry of Archilochos as genuine autobiography was well within the realm of possibility in fifth-century Athens (otherwise how could *Kritias* have realistically expected his critique to be effective?). On the other hand, concealing one's true identity behind a fictitious narrator was also conceivable (*Kritias* implies that Archilochos could have cleaned up, fictionalized, his own image).

NAKED DESIRE, THE UNHEROIC NARRATOR,
AND THE COLOGNE EPODE

If the narrator of Archilochean poems is at least sometimes fictional, what sort of fictional persona was the poet attempting to create? For the exploration of this question, arguably the most important modern development has been the appearance in 1974 of the longest surviving poem attributable to Archilochos. High art as well as erotica, this fifty-three line fragment, popularly known as the Cologne epode, is nearly complete, missing it seems only its opening lines.⁴⁴ The poem conjures a model of first-person poetic narrator that goes far beyond the limitations entailed in Aristotle's claim that Archilochos hid his own critical opinions of contemporaries behind the personae of his narrators. And the poem's affinities with epic point in the direction of an answer to the question of what sort of person the narrator hopes to be—a smooth operator like the hero of the *Odyssey*.

πάμπαν ἀποσχόμενος·
ἴσον δὲ τολμ[
εἰ δ' ὦν ἐπείγεται καὶ σε θυμὸς ἰθύει.
ἔστιν ἐν ἡμετέρου
ἦ νῦν μέγ' ἰμείρει[5
καλὴ τέρπεινα παρθένος· δοκέω δέ μιν
εἶδος ἄμωμον ἔχειν·
τὴν δὴ σὺ ποίη[σαι φίλην.”
τοσαῦτ' ἐφώνει· τὴν δ' ἐγὼνταμει[βόμεν·
“Ἀμφιμεδοῦς θύγατερ 10
ἔσθλης τε καὶ [
γυναικός, ἦν νῦν γῆ κατ' εὐρώεσσ' ἔχει,
τέρψιδες εἰσι θεῆς
πολλὰι νέοισιν ἀνδ[ράσιν
παρὲξ τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα· τῶν τις ἀρκέσει[15
ταῦτα δ' ἐπ' ἠσυχίης
εὐτ' ἂν μελανθῆ[ι
ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ σὺν θεῶι βουλευόμεν·
πίεῖσομαι ὥς με κέλει·
πολλὸν μ' εἰ[20

θρ]ιγκοῦ δ' ἔνερθε καὶ πυλέων ὑποφ[
 μ]ή τι μέγαιρε, φίλη·
 σχήσω γὰρ ἐς προη[φόρους
 κ]ήπους. τὸ δὴ νῦν γνῶθι· Νεοβούλη[ν
 ἄ]λλος ἀνὴρ ἐχέτω· 25
 αἰαῖ, πέπειρα δις[τόση,
 ἄν]θος δ' ἀπερρύηκε παρθενήϊον
 κ]αὶ χάρις ἦ πρὶν ἐπὴν·
 κόρον γὰρ ουκ[
 ..]ης δὲ μέτρ' ἔφηνε μαινόλις γυνή· 30
 ἐς] κόρακας ἄπεχε·
 μὴ τοῦτ' ἐφ.ιταν[
 ὄ]πως ἐγὼ γυναῖκα τ[ο]ιαύτην ἔχων
 γείτοσι χάριμ' ἔσομαι·
 πολλὸν σὲ βούλο[μαι 35
 σὺ] μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἄπιστος οὔτε διπλόη,
 ἦ δ]ὲ μάλ' ὄξυτέρη,
 πολλοὺς δὲ ποιεῖτα[ι φίλους·
 δέ]δοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τυφλὰ κάλιτήμερα
 σπ]ρουδῆι ἐπειγόμενος 40
 τὼς ὥσπερ ἡ κ[ύων τέκω.·
 τος]αὔτ' ἐφώνεον· παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε[σιν
 τηλ]εθάεσσι λαβὼν
 ἔκλινα· μαλθακῆι δ[έ] μιν
 χλα]ίνηι καλύψας, αὐχέν' ἀγκάλης ἔχω[ν 45
 . .]ματι παυ[σ]αμένην
 τὼς ὥστε νέβρ[
 μαζ]ῶν τε χερσὶν ἠπίως ἐφηψάμην
]ρῆφηνγε νέον
 ἦβης ἐπήλυσιν χροά 50
 ἄπαν τ]ε σῶμα καλὸν ἀμφοφόμενος
]ὸν ἀφήκα μένος
 ξανθῆς ἐπιψαύ[ων τριχός.

“... holding off completely; and endure (I shall endure?) . . . likewise.

But if you are in a hurry and desire impels you, there is in our house one who now greatly longs for (marriage?), 5

a lovely tender maiden. In my opinion she has a faultless form; make her your (loved one).”

Such were her words, and I replied: “Daughter of Amphemedo, a worthy and (prudent?) 10

woman, whom now the mouldy earth holds, many are the delights the goddess offers young men besides the sacred act; one of these will suffice. 15

But at leisure, whenever.. has become dark,

you and I will deliberate on these matters with heaven's help. I shall do as you bid me. (You arouse in me?) a strong (desire?). 20

But, my dear, do not begrudge my . . . under the coping and the gates. For I shall steer towards the grassy

garden; be sure now of this. As for Neoboule, let
 (some?) other man have her. Ugh, she's overripe, 25
 twice your age,
 and her girlhood's flower has lost its bloom as has
 the charm which formerly was on it. For (her desire
 is?) insatiable,
 and the sex made woman has revealed the full 30
 measure of her (infatuation?). To hell with her!
 (Let) no (one bid?) this,
 that I have such a wife and become a laughing-
 stock to my neighbors. I much prefer (to have?)
 you, 35
 since you are neither untrustworthy nor two-
 faced, whereas she is quite precipitous and makes
 many (her lovers).
 I'm afraid that if I press on in haste (I may be the
 parent) of blind and premature offspring just like 40
 the proverbial bitch."
 So much I said. I took the maiden and laid her
 down in the blooming flowers. With a soft
 cloak I covered her, holding her neck with my 45
 arm, . . . as she ceased (?) just like a fawn, . . .
 and with my hands I gently took hold of her
 breasts (where?) she revealed her young flesh, the
 approach (bewitchment?) of her prime, 50
 and caressing all her lovely body I let go my
 (white?) force, touching her blond (hair).

The poem represents a conversation between an aroused narrator and a reluctant girl and the unconventional sex act that results from the negotiations. In its lost opening lines, the narrator apparently expressed his desire to form an immediate physical union with her, because, in the first lines of the fragment, the girl is recommending either *pampan aposchomenos*, "holding off completely," or, if he cannot wait, hooking up with another girl: "but if you are in a hurry and desire impels you, there is in our house one who now greatly longs for (marriage?)" (lines 3–5).⁴⁵ In his response to the girl's speech, the narrator politely begins with the sort of formal diction familiar from epic, then suavely shifts to erotic euphemism: "Daughter of Amphimedo, a worthy woman, whom now the mouldy earth holds, many are the delights the goddess offers young men besides the sacred act; one of these will suffice" (lines 10–15). The expression "*pareks to theon chrēma*" (παρἔξ τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα), literally "besides the sacred thing," most likely implies "besides sexual intercourse," since this very expression was glossed by the ancient grammarian Hesychios as "*eksō tēs mikseōs*" (ἔξω τῆς μίξεως), "outside of sexual union."⁴⁶ What sort of delight the narrator has in mind he partially clarifies through additional euphemisms, this time architectural and topographical: "but, my dear, do not begrudge my . . . under the coping and the gates. For I shall steer towards the grassy gardens; be sure now of this" (lines 21–24). The garden,

architrave, and gates may refer in part to the setting of the story.⁴⁷ But it seems likely that they are also meant to evoke parts of the girl's body.⁴⁸ The narrator promises to steer toward the "grassy gardens" that are the girl's pubic mound. In the narrative that follows the two speeches, the narrator appears to honor the words he spoke to the girl. He lays her down in a flowery meadow, covers her with a soft cloak, gently strokes her breasts, and achieves an orgasm just touching her hair: "caressing all her lovely body I let go my (white?) force, touching her blond (hair)" (lines 51–53). In the voluminous scholarly writing on this poem, there are many interesting proposals as to what precisely happened underneath the cloak ("spontaneous combustion" being particularly intriguing), but the text strongly hints that it was not intercourse but "a sexual act accomplished in an irregular manner," as two scholars delicately put it.⁴⁹

In his speech to the girl, the narrator rejects her suggestion that he take up with the eager girl she recommends, whom he identifies as Neoboule. Point by point he refutes her suggestion, and in doing so, he trashes Neoboule's physical appearance and character (lines 24–38).⁵⁰ The occurrence of Neoboule's name allowed the poem to be brought into relationship with a sordid story of insult and revenge reported by many later Greek and Roman writers. The gist of the story is contained in an ancient commentary on Horace's *Epodes*: "Lycambes had a daughter Neoboule. When Archilochos sought her hand in marriage, she was promised by her father but not given to him. In anger at this Archilochos wrote an abusive poem against him and the latter was so grief-stricken that he hanged himself along with his daughter."⁵¹ Other accounts speak about two daughters, Neoboule and another, who is never named; two daughters of Lykambes are mentioned in fragment 38W. Two sisters corresponds, it appears, to the scenario in the Cologne epode.⁵² In the initial publication of the Cologne papyrus, Reinhold Merkelbach interpreted the poem literally, as the record of a real and vicious act of retribution, the rape of the younger daughter of Lykambes. He concluded famously that Archilochos was "ein schwerer Psychopath."⁵³ That a highly accomplished philologist would advance such an extreme assessment of a historical poet on the basis of a poetic self-representation is a testimony to the power of its reality effect. Other scholars, acknowledging the repeated emphasis within the poem on an alternative to sexual intercourse, acknowledging that it is *not* a narrative of rape, offer a more subtle autobiographical reading of the poem. The attack takes the form of innuendo, which would be particularly damaging in a culture that values the chastity of its daughters before marriage. By merely suggesting that the daughter of Lykambes associated with him in such an intimate manner, Archilochos, it is argued, effectively destroyed her reputation, and thereby publicly humiliated the girl's father as well.⁵⁴

Those "invective" readings of the poem are hard to sustain. As frequently noted, the later literary testimonia do not prepare us for a story as nuanced

as the one told in the Cologne epode. “[T]he Cologne epode now leaves us perhaps surprised at the nature of its blame poetry. Instead of railing at the family of Lykambes directly, the poem places them inside a narrative.”⁵⁵ The verbal attack on Neoboule’s character is ugly: “ugh, she’s overripe, twice your age, and her girlhood’s flower has lost its bloom as has the charm which formerly was on it” (26–28). The verbal attack on Neoboule, however, is not the principal subject of the poem. The poetic function of the attack is to assist the narrator in praising by contrast the younger girl: “I much prefer (to have?) you, since you are neither untrustworthy nor two faced, whereas she is quite precipitous and makes many (her lovers)” (35–38).⁵⁶ The principal subject of the poem in fact is not the criticism of either girl but rather the strategy employed by the narrator to overcome the younger girl’s reluctance and satisfy his physical desire.

The two speeches, the girl’s and the man’s, related to each other rhetorically, yet fundamentally different in their claims, raise doubts about whether either should be taken at face value. This seemingly intentional ambiguity stands in the way, I believe, of the theory that the poem is an effective attack on any real family (lies can hurt, but can ambiguity hurt?). It also appears to be part of the fun of the poem. On the one hand, it seems remarkable that a girl as seemingly demure as the heroine—who refuses the man’s initial request, and is compared to an innocent fawn (47), and is addressed by the man as if she were a Homeric noblewoman, and uses epic turns of phrase such as *kai se thumos ithuei* or *eidōs amōmon*—could utter the words “but if you are in a hurry and desire impels you, there is in our house a girl who greatly longs for . . .”⁵⁷ Do well-born girls typically volunteer that their sisters are eager to get laid? The girl-speaker goes on to describe the alternative girl as a beautiful, delicate, virgin. John Van Sickle wondered if a girl both greatly longing for union, and also lovely and tender, is “too good to be true.”⁵⁸ Yet the girl also qualifies her statement, “*in my opinion, dokeō*, she has a faultless form.” The narrator offers a very different picture of the same alternative girl: she is *pepeira*, “overripe,” rather than tender, and hardly a virgin. On the other hand, the narrator’s criticism of Neoboule betrays, it seems, surprising familiarity with her. How does he know about the “charm which was formerly on” Neoboule’s girlhood flower? He seems all too well informed about her love life. The mystery is enhanced by the fact that the girl-speaker introduces Neoboule to the man as if she presumed Neoboule to be unknown to him. Both speeches subtly suggest that each speaker is holding something back.⁵⁹

AN ODYSSEAN READING OF THE COLOGNE EPODE

The Cologne epode is remarkable for its correspondences with language and stories from epic poetry. If the characters are real, they find themselves in the

midst of a story that unfolds along the lines of one or more epic accounts. In a well-known passage of the *Iliad* (14.153–351), Hera presents herself, clad in Aphrodite's *zōnē* ("girdle, lingerie"), before her husband Zeus. In this passage, as in the epode, the two protagonists are alone in a meadowy setting. Like the narrator of the epode, Zeus advocates immediate sexual gratification and compares Hera favorably to other women. Like the girl in the epode, Hera demurs and suggests a delay. The goddess is concerned that someone of the gods might see them. Is it possible that the girl, like the goddess, harbors a secret intention of giving way to the man while publicly resisting? Like the girl, Hera offers an alternative: ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ ῥ' ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ, ἔστιν τοι θάλαμος, "but if you are on fire, overflowing with passion, there's always your own bedroom." Like the narrator in the epode, Zeus proposes a compromise: let us do it right here, on the grass, but I'll address your concerns. Where the narrator wraps the girl in a cloak, Zeus conceals himself and Hera "in a golden cloud so dense not even the Sun's rays . . . will pierce the mist and glimpse us making love" (τοῖόν τοι ἐγὼ νέφος ἀμφικαλύψω χρύσειον· οὐδ' ἄν νῶϊ διαδράκοι Ἥελίος περ, οὗ τε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράασθαι). The climactic image in both poems is liquid.⁶⁰

The comparison between the epode and the *Iliad* highlights one really significant contrast between the two tales, namely, the differences between the mortal narrator-seducer and the god.⁶¹ The god, as he tactlessly reminds his wife, can have any woman, in any way, at any time, that he wishes. Conjuring a bit of cloud cover is as far as he will compromise. In the epode, on the other hand, the narrator appears to modify his initial desire for intercourse to accommodate the qualms of the girl. Even if one interprets the account of the concluding sexual encounter as boastful, the narrator almost certainly experienced something less than he had originally proposed to this girl, a result that would be unthinkable for a god or even most epic heroes.⁶² The extraordinary nature of the Cologne epode in this respect was sensed by Christopher Eckerman. The many explanations of what happened beneath the cloak, "*ejaculatio praecox*, 'heavy petting,' masturbation, and 'spontaneous combustion,'" he argued, "are all too 'unheroic' as sexual acts . . ."⁶³ Yet the less-than-godlike, all-too-human climax of the poem, which sneaks up on the reader—as well it seems as the narrator—all too soon, before he has hardly finished fondling the girl, is arguably a vital part of the poem's originality, a final piece of poetic irony.

As an encounter between mortal man and girl in an isolated setting, the situation unfolding in the Cologne epode is also comparable to the scene between Odysseus and Nausikaa in the *Odyssey* (6.110–185). In fact, there are many parallels, beyond the ones noted in a few commentaries, between the epode and the meeting of Odysseus and Nausikaa.⁶⁴ Above all, the two poems

emphasize the instrumentality or effectiveness of the man's words. Needing assistance from her, but naked and filthy and therefore likely to put any girl on the defensive, Odysseus faced a real rhetorical challenge. Resisting the urge to throw his arms around her knees in a formal gesture of supplication, he attempts, like the narrator of the epode, to persuade the girl through speech. "Τουνοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα," "I am at your mercy, princess" (6.149), literally, "I throw my arms around your knees," *with words*. Odysseus employs extensive flattery of the girl and her parents, just like the narrator of the epode. In her final and longest speech to Odysseus (6.255–315), Nausikaa seems to anticipate the very effect that, some modern scholars suggest, the Cologne epode would have had on initial publication, if Lykambes and his daughters were real members of Archilochos' community: "it is [the townspeoples'] evil speech I shun, that hereafter some man may taunt me, for indeed there are insolent folk among the people, and thus might one of the commoner sort say, should he meet us: 'Who is this that follows Nausikaa, a handsome man and tall, a stranger? Where did she find him? No doubt she is about to marry him'" (6.273–277).⁶⁵ Mere rumor of intimate association with a stranger itself is enough to frighten Nausikaa. Precisely that fear was attributed to the daughters of Lykambes. In an epigram of Dioskorides, speaking from their grave, the girls swear that "we did not shame our virginity or our parents or Paros . . . We swear . . . that we did not set eyes on Archilochus either in the streets or in Hera's great precinct."⁶⁶

The links between the Cologne epode and Nausikaa's speech, however, go well beyond the general idea that rumors of association with a strange man are enough to ruin one's reputation. For upon the conclusion of the imaginary "*tis*" speech, Nausikaa continues, "So they will say, and this would become a reproach to me. I, too, would blame another maiden who should do likewise, and in despite of her own father and mother, while they still live, should consort with men before the day of public marriage" (6.285–288).⁶⁷ The key ideas that recur in the Cologne epode are, first of all, the girl's objections to consorting with the narrator before marriage (if the girl's words in line 2, *pampan aposchomenos*, "holding off completely," were preceded by something like "until we are married"), and second, that the rumor of "consorting with" a man before marriage would be a reproach specifically to a girl's parents while they are *eontōn*, "still living."⁶⁸ Among the fascinating puzzles of the Cologne epode is the narrator's highfalutin epic salutation of the girl-protagonist as "daughter of Amphimedo, a worthy and (prudent?) woman, *whom now the mouldy earth holds*" (10–12). Why remind the girl, while sweet-talking her, that her mother is no longer living?⁶⁹ Nausikaa's speech provides an answer. It would be a reproach to associate with a strange man while one's parents were still living. He is reminding the girl that her mother is no longer alive as an argument in favor of worrying less about the

reputational consequences of engaging with him. A further similarity is that, in both narratives, there are two girls and not just one. In the dialog within the Cologne epode, the girl-interlocutor is an object of praise, while Neoboule is an object of scorn. In the *Odyssey*, there are also effectively two girls: Nausikaa, who is an object of Odysseus' praise; and the imaginary maiden whom Nausikaa would blame for exactly the same reason the Archilochean narrator criticizes Neoboule, namely, for consorting with men before marriage. Finally, there is in the *Odyssey* the occurrence in Nausikaa's speech of the surprising, perhaps even shocking, words ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρὶν γ' ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν (288), "consort with men before the day of public marriage." In epic poetry, the meaning of the verb *misgesthai* runs the gamut from an innocent "engage with," containing no hint of anything beyond verbal interaction, to the explicit "have sexual intercourse with." As Douglas Cairns persuasively argued, in this passage of the *Odyssey*, the surrounding argument suggests that Nausikaa is using the word with the full range of meanings in mind.⁷⁰ Even though no physical contact between Odysseus and Nausikaa occurs in the *Odyssey*, the possibility of an encounter just like the one described in the epode is evoked in Nausikaa's use of the pregnant *misgētai*.

This is not the only poem in the surviving body of verse attributed to Archilochos that appears to rework Odysseus' encounter with Nausikaa and the Phaiakians. Fragment 23W represents a speech delivered by the narrator to a woman in which there are numerous *Odyssean* echoes. The speaker begins by reassuring the woman about people's *phatin kakēn*, "evil speech or rumor," presumably a concern that the woman, like Nausikaa, explicitly voiced in the preceding (lost) lines of the poem. He refers to his current misfortune and suggests that he may appear to be a base man, but implies that he is of a good family. All of those ideas are present in the encounter in the *Odyssey*: Odysseus introduces himself to Nausikaa with a brief explanation of his current hardships (6.169–174). She reassures him, "ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονοι φωτὶ ξουκας," "stranger . . . you seem to be neither a bad man nor without understanding" (6.187). Privately, to her girls, after the transformation of Odysseus thanks to a bath and liquid grace from the gods, she admits that, if he seemed uncouth before, now he is like a god (6.242–243). As if to signal his understanding of aristocratic convention, and thereby reassure the lady that he is anything but base, the speaker in fragment 23W reproduces a venerable maxim: "I know how to repay love with love and hatred with hate" (lines 14–15). Almost exactly the same sentiment occurs in Odysseus' speech to Nausikaa: "for nothing is greater or better than this, than when a man and woman keep house together sharing one heart and mind, πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι, χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτησι, a great grief to their foes and a joy to their friends" (6.182–185). The fragment next articulates the idea of

a city that has never been sacked. The man continues, “you move about this city [which?] men have never sacked, but now you have captured it with the spear” (lines 17–19). Perhaps it is used figuratively here in reference to the narrator’s affections, but it is employed literally in the *Odyssey*: “there is no mortal man so slippery, nor will there ever be one, as to come to the land of the Phaeacians bringing hostility, for we are very dear to the immortals” (6.201–203). Nausikaa herself may not rule over her city, but one is given the impression, by Nausikaa as well as Athena, as many readers of the *Odyssey* have noted, that Queen Arete rules in Phaiakia, not King Alkinoos. In numerous ways, then, fragment 23W can be understood as a reworking of rhetorical ideas from the encounter between Odysseus and Nausikaa, for the sake of developing an effective, seductive speech.⁷¹

To return to the Cologne epode, this poem can be understood as a working out of numerous ideas within the famous encounter between Odysseus and Nausikaa. A girl meets a man in a lonely, outdoor setting. She is nearly old enough to be married. Physicality is not far from the mutual awareness of both man and girl. The man relies on his way with words to persuade the girl to give him what he wants. The girl is aware of the potential impropriety of her situation, of the potential to damage her parents’ reputations, and of the possibility that other girls might succumb to the attractions of this man. She even acknowledges that he is the sort of man that she would like to marry (*Odyssey* 6.244). In both poems, there is an emphasis on the man’s gentleness.⁷² One way to read the Cologne epode is as a reconfiguration of those ideas so as to realize and make explicit the potential implicit in them for an erotic narrative. Whether or not the poem ruined the reputation of a real family from Paros, it appears to be a creative engagement with the *Odyssey*. To the initial question posed at the beginning of this section—what kind of first-person narrator is Archilochos creating if the narrator is indeed not the historical man Archilochos?—one may propose this answer: a narrator who is like Odysseus.

ARCHILOCHOS AND HOMER? OR ARCHILOCHOS AND ODYSSEUS?

It is well known that the poetry of Archilochos is similar to Homeric epic in vocabulary and phraseology. But the nature of the relationship has been understood in different ways. In 1964, Denys Page presented a comprehensive comparison of the then-available verse of Archilochos with Homeric epic. He argued that there is very little in Archilochos, either in language or in thought, that is not already present in Homer. The parallels identified by Page are real enough, but his interpretation of their nature or meaning is more problematic. About the poem in which the narrator seemingly proudly admits to having thrown away his shield to save his life (frag. 5W), Page wrote, “the

poet neither intends nor achieves any special effect by the contrast between contemporary theme and traditional phrasing. He composes in this manner *because he has no choice*; his technique is wholly that of the oral epic.”⁷³ The implications of that claim were succinctly articulated by Robert Fowler: if Archilochos employs Homeric formulae as an oral poet, in order to fill particular positions in a metrical line, then it is not possible to say with confidence that a certain Homeric phrase was chosen by Archilochos for deliberate literary effect. Fowler undertook a careful analysis of the diction and phraseology of the poetry of Archilochos, with a more precise and considered definition of what is meant by formulaic language than the one employed by Page. The analysis, he argued, “cannot support the conclusion that Archilochos was an oral poet.” In several cases at least, there is a strong sense of self-awareness within lyric poetry of its utilization of epic diction.⁷⁴

If the relationship between Homeric epic and Archilochean poetry is at least sometimes likely to represent deliberate appropriation and novel reuse, what particular purpose or proposition is behind the allusions? Let us consider a famous example, the poem in which two military officers are compared (fragment 114W):

οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον
οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδ’ ὑπεξυρημένον,
ἀλλὰ μοι μικρὸς τις εἶη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν
ῥοικός, ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποσσὶ, καρδίας πλέως.

“I have no liking for a general who is tall, walks with a swaggering gait, takes pride in his curls, and is partly shaven. Let mine be one who is short, has a bent look about the shins, stands firmly on his feet, and is full of courage.” W. B. Stanford recognized that “the description [of the little general], except for the unheroic bandy legs, closely recalls the contrast in *Iliad* Three between the tall, lordly Agamemnon and the stocky, ram-like Odysseus,” a contrast drawn by King Priam as he surveyed the Achaian leaders down below from the walls of Troy (3.166–198).⁷⁵ Joseph Russo highlighted a different comparison, the description of the herald Eurybates in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus, still in disguise as a stranger, trying to demonstrate that he did in fact know Odysseus, says, καὶ μὲν οἱ κῆρυξ ὀλίγον προγενέστερος αὐτοῦ εἶπετο· καὶ τὸν τοι μυθήσομαι, οἷος ἔην περ. γυρὸς ἐν ὤμοισιν, μελανόχροος, οὐλοκάρηνος, Εὐρυβάτης δ’ ὄνομ’ ἔσκε· τίεν δέ μιν ἔξοχον ἄλλων ὧν ἐτάρων Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅτι οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ἦδη, “[h]e kept a herald beside him, a man a little older than himself. I’ll try to describe him to you, best I can. Round-shouldered he was, swarthy, curly-haired. His name? Eurybates. And Odysseus prized him most of all his men. Their minds worked as one” (19.244–248). The description of Eurybates is similar to the poem of Archilochos in its brief enumeration of three features that, implicitly, differentiate the herald from the run-of-the-mill Achaian

(the physical features emphasized are those of a dark-skinned African man), followed by the explanation of why he was the preferred companion (compatibility of thought or opinion). In this brilliant comparison, Russo argued that Archilochos drew upon the *Odyssey*, rather than the *Iliad*, because the *Odyssey* systematically developed the theme that is central to the poem about the two officers, namely, that you cannot judge quality from appearances. “The major theme of the *Odyssey* is essentially that of true worth (or accurate perceptions) *versus* specious attractiveness (or misleading perceptions), and these are played off against one another at many points in the narrative.”⁷⁶

In 1978, Seidensticker published the interpretation mentioned earlier of the famous shield poem of Archilochos (fragment 5W). In the two articles, Russo and Seidensticker opened a new chapter in the interpretation of Archilochean poetry, by articulating the idea that the iambic or elegiac narrators are modelled on the epic figure of Odysseus. Seidensticker called attention to an observation made by Kurt Latte: the fictitious autobiography told by Odysseus to Eumaios in Book Fourteen of the *Odyssey* corresponds to the “life” of Archilochos extremely well. Both storytellers were born to slave mothers, married (or attempted to marry) into a rich family, and lived restless lives of adventure in war and piracy.⁷⁷ Seidensticker argued that the similarities are unlikely to be coincidental. He based his conclusion in part on the strength of the parallel, touched on earlier, between the *Odyssean* account (14.277–279) of the hero throwing away his shield to save his life and the infamous poem of Archilochos (fragment 5W), “Some Saian exults in my shield which I left beside a bush.” He argued that Archilochos related a story of throwing away one’s shield neither because he himself did it, nor because it was a fun idea, but because Odysseus claims to have done so. The poet “here . . . consciously identifies himself with his model.”⁷⁸

In almost every significant instance in which the poetry of Archilochos appears to be comparable thematically to an idea in epic, Seidensticker demonstrated, it is a passage in which Odysseus is synthesizing his experience. Fragment 25W, for example, contains the lovely sentiment ἄλλ’ ἄλλος ἄλλωι καρδίην ιαίνεται, “different people are warmed at heart by different things.” It was suggested already in antiquity that Archilochos was alluding to a statement made by the disguised Odysseus in the autobiography told to Eumaios: “I had no love for working the land, the chores of households either . . . it was always oarswept ships that thrilled my heart, and wars, and the long polished spears . . . god planted that love inside me. ἄλλος γάρ τ’ ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις, Each man delights in the work that suits him best” (*Odyssey* 14.222–228).⁷⁹ The relationship is suggested not only by similarities in the to-each-his-own sentiment, but also by verbal echoes: the alliterative *all’ alloi allōi* of Archilochos is reminiscent of *allos gar t’alloisin*. Another speech of Odysseus is similar in diction as well as thought to fragment 131W of

Archilochos. In Book Eighteen of the *Odyssey*, the disguised Odysseus is reflecting on the changeable nature of human fortune. τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων οἶον ἐπ’ ἡμαρ ἄγησι πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, “Our lives, our mood and mind as we pass across the earth, turn as the days turn . . . as the father of men and gods makes each day dawn” (18.136–137). Fragment 131W, τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνεω πάϊ, γίνεται θνητοῖς, ὁποῖν Ζεὺς ἐφ’ ἡμέρην ἄγη, “Glaucus, son of Leptines, the mood of mortals varies with the day that Zeus brings on,” was connected with the epic passage in antiquity.⁸⁰ The opening lines of 128W, θυμέ, θύμ’, ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκόμενε, †ἀναδευ δυσμενῶν† δ’ ἀλέξεο, “My heart, my heart (*thume, thum*), confounded by woes beyond remedy, rise up (?) and defend yourself,” has been seen as a reworking of the great speech in Book Twenty of the *Odyssey* (20.18) in which Odysseus speaks to his own heart: τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ’ ἔτλης, “endure, my heart; a worse thing even than this you once endured.”⁸¹ This passage in the *Odyssey* is unique in epic for taking the familiar Homeric image of the internal monologue and intensifying it, literalizing it, by having Odysseus actually address his heart in the second person.⁸² Archilochos similarly speaks to his heart in imperatives. The beautiful fragment 8W, πολλὰ δ’ εὐπλοκάμου πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεσσάμενοι γλυκερὸν νόστον, “and praying to the fair-haired expanse of the white-capped sea for a sweet homecoming” (my translation), calls to mind Odysseus, drowning in the sea, rescued by Ino-Leokethē (*Od.* 5.333–338); the verbal similarities include *halos en pelagessi*, and of course *nostos*, “return,” the theme of the entire epic. The word *euplokamon*, “fair-haired,” well attested in Homer as an epithet of girls and goddesses, has been transferred here, radically, to the sea, to create a personification.⁸³ On the basis of parallels such as these, Seidensticker concluded that the poet “Archilochus felt (and followed) a congenial spirit in Odysseus, the πολύτλας and πολυμήχανος, the heroic soldier, curious adventurer and pseudo-poet, the ‘untypical hero’ (Stanford), who talks so much about the vicissitudes and constraints of human life and who nevertheless, clever like a fox, always knows a way out.”⁸⁴

WAS LITERARY ALLUSION POSSIBLE IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY BC?

The name of Odysseus does not surface within the extant poetry attributed to Archilochos. The arguments of Russo and Seidensticker rely on close similarities of thought and language between the iambic or elegiac verse and the text of the *Odyssey* as we know it today. Their arguments presuppose both the circulation of the epic by the middle of the seventh century BC, when Archilochos is thought to have been active, and the possibility of poetic allusion. Determining the date at which the Homeric epics existed in more or less the form familiar to us is difficult, because it is clear, thanks to the

research of Milman Parry and many others, that the epics are products of a long tradition of oral verse-making. Presumably, stories about Achilles and Odysseus were told in hexameter verse for generations before the epics could have been recorded in writing, which became a possibility only in the eighth century BC, with the adoption of the Phoenician syllabary to record Greek. One criterion employed to ascertain a rough date for the coalescing of the oral traditions into the texts of the Homeric epics—datable artifacts or customs—has led in recent times to a downdating from the eighth century BC to the seventh.⁸⁵ The other criterion, reference to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* in other Greek poetry, is precisely the problem at hand.

There is plenty of evidence that *stories* about Odysseus were in wide circulation at precisely the time when Archilochos is believed to have been making poetry, the mid-seventh century, in the form of works of art.⁸⁶ What about the particular, complex versions of the stories in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? Overt references to lines of Homeric epic, intended to be appreciated as such by the listener, are guaranteed by the following fragment: ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἔεπεν ἀνὴρ· “οἴη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,” “and this is the best thing the man of Chios ever said: ‘as the generations of leaves so is that of men’” (Simonides elegiac fragment 8, text and translation after Campbell 1991). The fragment not only reproduces exactly a line from our *Iliad*, but attributes it specifically to a “man from Chios,” that is, Homer. By this point in time, the epic is so well known that the later poet can safely refer to it via circumlocution. Unfortunately, the attribution of the poem is disputed, with some scholars arguing in favor of Archilochos’ fellow seventh-century iambographer Semonides and others, perhaps rightly, the early fifth-century poet Simonides.⁸⁷ Parts of the same Homeric line, οἴη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, “like the generations of leaves, the lives of mortal men” (*Iliad* 6.146), appear in a poem traditionally dated roughly to the time of Archilochos, fragment 2W of Mimnermos. That elegiac poem is very often thought to be an intentional allusion to the *Iliad*, but there are difficulties.⁸⁸ In a milieu of multiple extemporaneously composed songs about traditional figures, composed with the help of stock phraseology, could any listener be expected to catch an allusion of the sort exemplified by Simonides? The *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*, for example, names several different places where Dionysos was said to have been born, rejecting all as lies: “[f]or some say it was at Drakanos, some on windy Ikaros, some on Naxos . . . and some at Alpheios . . . while others, Lord, say that it was at Thebes you were born. All false (ψευδόμενοι)! The father of gods and men gave you birth far from humankind . . .”⁸⁹ Who are those others, if not rival storytellers? But the hymn does not refer, like the fragment of Simonides, to a poetic narrative by the name of a particular poet (“the man from Chios”). Instead, it refers to different narratives with respect to their content. The passage recalls a scene from the *Odyssey* itself,

in which the singer Phemios is performing for the restless suitors occupying the home of Odysseus (1.325–352). Penelope enters the hall and asks the bard to select some story other than the one he is currently singing, the returns of the Achaians from Troy. That song, she complains, tears at her heart. Telemachos does not agree. No one can criticize Phemios for singing of the returns. Zeus is responsible for what happened to those men. And one more thing: τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωμάτη ἀμφιπέληται, “it’s always the latest song, the one that echoes last in the listeners’ ears, that the people praise the most” (1.351–352). In those passages of the hymn and the epic, poetic performances are distinguished by their content rather than their authors.

The passages of the hymn and the epic are significant nevertheless because they attest to the existence in the early Archaic period of certain poetic conceptions arguably relevant to understanding the poetry of Archilochos. There is more than one way to tell the story of a particular person, or a particular kind of subject, in verse. Listeners crave new poems on the latest events, such the returns of the Achaians, which, within the world of the *Odyssey*, are breaking news. It is perhaps even reasonable to extrapolate from those two passages that poets and listeners were interested in new variations on old songs, and in songs that self-consciously distance themselves from earlier versions of a tale, dismissing their authors as “liars.” Archilochos’ Cologne epode can be understood within this framework. It achieves part of its effect when it is seen as a deliberate variation on a type of story of gods or men encountering women in Homeric epic. The epode differentiates itself not at the level of authorship but on the level of the story, like the *Hymn to Dionysos*. The epode is saying, in effect, not “I am a better poet than Homer,” or “the ‘Cologne epode’ is a better poem than ‘the *Iliad*,” but “this telling of the traditional tale of boy meets girl is more up to date than the one about Zeus and Hera.”

That is a rather different way of thinking about “intertextuality” than the model described critically and tartly by Jonathan Burgess: “all emerge as winners in this game: Homer, who invented the poetry worthy of imitation, the alluder, who refers to a Homeric phrase with wit; and the scholar, who is able to decode the poetic play at work.”⁹⁰ According to that model, the literary knowledge and taste of both ancient poet and modern scholar are the things that the allusions or their recognition are meant to demonstrate. A particularly erudite persona of the poet emerges. My argument is different. I see the relationship between the two bodies of poetry not as an end in itself, but a means to an end, in two senses. First, narratives about Odysseus that emphasized his cleverness, rhetorical abilities, physical unattractiveness, and so forth were raw materials out of which Archilochos fashioned his own complex first-person narrator-personas. Or, if one envisions a dynamic, interactive

model of seventh-century poetic production, epic narratives about Odysseus resembling the *Odyssey* coalesced along with poetry like the elegy and iambos of Archilochos into the Archaic Greek conception of the poet-in-the-work. Second, for modern scholars, the *Odyssey* is the most important surviving trace of living early Archaic narrative traditions about Odysseus. It is our best guide to what Archilochos is up to.

POINT OF VIEW IN THE *ODYSSEY* AND ARCHILOCHOS

I call attention to the word “pseudo poet” in Seidensticker’s characterization of Odysseus. It is related to a feature of the *Odyssey* identified by Russo as particularly of interest to Archilochos. This feature is worth pursuing beyond the point where Russo and Seidensticker turned back, because it offers at least as much insight into the poetry of Archilochos as their emphasis on ethics. Russo wrote, “the *Odyssey* has a special fondness for narrative development that exploits the manipulation of façades by characters in the story, and carefully leads the audience underneath those façades to the contrasting reality they mask.” The second part of the sentence is worth noting, because it tends to undercut the full significance of the first part. Like Seidensticker, Russo is suggesting that Archilochos was primarily concerned to express a particular understanding of life. This understanding—whether it is the fickle unreliability of fortune (Seidensticker) or the disjunction between appearance and reality (Russo)—is present in Odysseus’ statements or the plot of the *Odyssey*, or both, and for that reason, they argue, Archilochos embraced them as his own. In that way of reading the poetry, the relationship between the literary personas of Archilochos and Odysseus primarily operates at the level of *content*. What I wish to emphasize is the importance of the *manner* in which the ideas are conveyed in the epic, the form of narrative employed.

The description of Eurybates, quoted earlier, nicely illustrates the point. It is one model for the idea that unattractive physical features are sometimes outweighed by one all-important spiritual value. But it also exemplifies an interest in complicating the process of pinning down the point of view of the speaker, a problem that was and is central to understanding Archilochean poetry, from Kritias and Aristotle to contemporary criticism. Although it is presumably Odysseus’ personal opinion of Eurybates that is expressed in the *Odyssey*, it is also the case that, at the moment Odysseus is offering this opinion, he is in disguise and claiming *not* to be Odysseus. The dynamic exemplified here was appreciated already by Aristotle: “it is above all Homer who taught other poets the right way to purvey falsehoods: that is, by false inference . . . One example of this comes from the Bath Scene” (*Poetics* 1460 a 18–26, trans. Halliwell).⁹¹ Penelope makes a false inference in assuming that, since the stranger gave a correct account of the clothes of and the appearance

of Eurybates and therefore truly did meet the hero, the rest of his account must be true too.⁹² What is important about Aristotle's remark is that he recognizes similarities in the way in which this episode of the *Odyssey* is constructed and the making of effective poetry.

Ambiguities of point of view, of who is making an assertion, abound in the very passages of the *Odyssey* that have been identified as models for the poetry of Archilochos. Consider, for example, the speech made by Odysseus in Book Eighteen, which contains close similarities in language to the philosophical sentiments of fragments 130W and 131W. The context is similar to the situation just described—a personal opinion is expressed by someone who claims to be other than he is. In this passage, the disguised Odysseus has just knocked out Iros, and now the hero is the beggar-favorite of the suitors. One of them, Amphinomos, offers the hero two loaves of bread and a generous toast. In return, Odysseus offers him a piece of advice (18.124–157): the future is not certain. Prosperity may evaporate tomorrow. Presently the suitors enjoy the resources of an absent man, but if he returns, he will exact the ultimate compensation. This fascinating speech operates on two levels, because the identity of the speaker is understood differently by its two audiences. On one level, it is gnomic, a general description of the nature of human life, theoretically applicable to anyone. On another level, however, the speech is a dire warning offered specifically to Amphinomos. Its effectiveness as a warning depends, however, on who the listener believes the speaker to be. As the reflections of an impoverished fugitive from Egypt (Odysseus' disguise du jour), the words of the beggar bear no obvious urgent personal appeal to the young man. As the reflections of a returning homeowner, bent on restoring order to the house that Amphinomos and the other suitors have overrun, however, the words are terrifying: “may some power save you, spirit you home before you meet him face-to-face.” That is to say, before you meet *me*.

This passage takes the principle, that what a speech means depends in part on who you think is speaking, and makes out of it a work of art.⁹³ Part of the pleasure and interest that one takes in the *Odyssey* derives from the sophisticated ways in which it highlights the questions of who is the speaker, what is the truth-value of their speech, and how is truth-value dependent on who is talking. To judge from the passage in the *Rhetoric* considered earlier, the poetry of Archilochos was understood in antiquity, by some at least to foreground the same issues, by putting speeches into the mouths of characters other than Archilochos and leaving the identities of the speakers up in the air, for the beginning of a poem at least. It is apparent from the testimonia of Kritias that the question of who is making the extravagant claims in the poetry of Archilochos, such as throwing away one's shield, was more than academic. It is as if the poetry of Archilochos were striving to afford us the experience of Amphinomos: as he listens to the advice of the

stranger, he has no certainty of the stranger's authority, whether he is an impoverished malcontent or a noble king.

The most important passage in the *Odyssey* concerning narrative point of view is the one evoked by Archilochos fragment 13W. This fragment begins κήδεα μὲν στονόεντα, Περικλέες, οὔτε τις ἀστῶν μεμφόμενος θαλῆς τέρπεται οὐδὲ πόλις, “[our] grievous cares, Perikles, no citizen or city taking pleasure in festivities will disdain” (my translation). There is only one other occurrence of the phrase *kēdea . . . stonoenta* in early Greek poetry—the “golden verses” of Odysseus (*Odyssey* 9.12), quoted in the introduction to the present book. The phrase occurs in a different portion of the epic hexameter line: *kēdea thumos epetrapeto stoneonta*. But numerous other features of fragment 13W are reminiscent of the story of Odysseus. The source of the woes are shipwrecks, the losses of many good men, and the suffering entailed in being cast into the sea. The only remedy, says Archilochos, is powerful endurance (*kraterēn tlēmosunēn*). That precise phrase may not occur in hexameter poetry (it is not metrical), but has an obvious thematic analog. *Tlēmōn*, “enduring,” is a veritable epithet of Odysseus in Book Ten of the *Iliad* (10.231, 10.498). And it is closely related in meaning to the ubiquitous epithet of Odysseus, *polutlas*, “much enduring,” which serves to define the hero from the moment of his first direct appearance in the *Odyssey* (5.171). Most importantly, *Kēdea stonoenta*, “grievous woes,” are juxtaposed to taking pleasure in festivities (*thalīēs terpsetai*), and that is true of the *Odyssean* occurrence of the phrase as well.

In the epic, the setting of the “golden verses” is a banquet within the palace of Alkinoos. The stranger (Odysseus) has requested a song specifically about the wooden horse that Odysseus packed with Achaians, thanks to which they were able, at long last, to sack the city of Troy. The king interrupts the singer Demodokos in the middle of the account, because he has noticed that the stranger is weeping. Now that hospitality has been shown, gifts have been given, and transportation home guaranteed, the king insists that the stranger identify himself and tell them all his story. “Surely no man in the world is nameless” (8.552). Here is how the hero responded:

What a fine thing it is to listen to such a bard as we have here—the man sings like a god. The crown of life, I'd say. There's nothing better than when deep joy holds sway throughout the realm and banqueters up and down the palace sit in ranks, enthralled to hear the bard, and before them all, the tables heaped with bread and meats, and drawing wine from a mixing-bowl the steward makes his rounds and keeps the winecups flowing. This, to my mind, is the best that life can offer. But now you're set on probing the bitter pains I've borne, so I'm to weep and grieve, it seems, still more. Well then, what shall I go through first, what shall I save for last? What pains—the gods have given me my share. Now let me begin by telling you my name . . . (*Odyssey* 9.3–16).⁹⁴

In this manner, the hero begins his long first-person narrative, the so-called apologia, which enthralled the Phaiakians for the rest of the night.

There are two ways to think about the hero's long personal memoir. From the point of view of a Phaiakian within the epic, there arguably exists an obvious distinction between the apologia and a real song. Surely the Phaiakians are not listening to Odysseus *sing* his story. For the listener or reader outside of the epic, however, the distinction is not so obvious. The four books of the hero's memoir are composed in hexameter verse no less rhythmical than the rest of the *Odyssey*. If the epic as a whole were ever experienced to the accompaniment of the lyre, there is no obvious reason why the apologia would not have been sung like the rest of the song. The point is, Odysseus' first-person narrative of his adventures begins to look like a poetic composition in its own right, and not merely a speech within an epic.

The idea that Odysseus' speech implicitly defines a special kind of storytelling, one in which the narrator purports to tell of his own experiences, is articulated in the *Odyssey* via Odysseus' speech to Demodokos in the preceding Book Eight. Earlier in the day, Demodokos had sung about the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles. Odysseus offers the singer this compliment: "I respect you, Demodocus, more than any man alive—surely the Muse has taught you . . . or god Apollo himself. How true to life, all too true . . . you sing the Achaeans' fate . . . as if you were there yourself or heard from someone who was" (8.487–491, Greek text in the introduction). The quality of Demodokos' song lies in its being *kata kosmon*, "in the proper order" (8.489), but the order meant here is not aesthetic but corresponds to what really happened.⁹⁵ It is fair to say that this moment in the epic is a moment of real irony: the audience of the *Odyssey* is in possession of information unknown to the Phaiakians listening to the words of the stranger, and the result is two very different possible interpretations of the compliment. For the Phaiakians, the words of the stranger sound like genuine praise, acknowledging the higher authority, the divine inspiration, of the singer Demodokos. It focuses on the organization of the tale (*kata kosmon*) because the stranger is presumably no more a firsthand eyewitness of the sack of Troy than the bard. For the listener or reader of the epic, outside of the world of the poem, it is implicitly a critique. Odysseus, we know, is one person who can guarantee that Demodokos was not present at the event of which he sings, and so the hero's remark, "you sing . . . as if you were there yourself," is ironic. In addition, the hero is, in a sense, in a position equal to that of the very Muse who inspired Demodokos' singing of the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles (8.73), in terms knowledge of the event being narrated, for he was one of its chief protagonists. Unbeknownst to the happy-go-lucky Phaiakians, Odysseus has dropped a bomb on traditional epic notions of poetry, and the crisis of poetics will only be resolved in the subsequent book of the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus

takes over the telling of his own story. It is not unprecedented in epic for a character to tell a Trojan War story from his or her own personal experience; Helen and Menelaos tell such tales to Telemachos in *Odyssey* Book Four (235–289). The difference between those tales and the narrative that Odysseus embarks upon is that the latter is clearly characterized as replacing, offering an alternative to, formal lyric presentation of the tales of Troy by professional singers or poets.⁹⁶ What Snell identified as new to the lyric poets, a preoccupation with their own experiences, is already present in the apologia of Odysseus.

CONCEALMENT OF IDENTITY

Within the story of his shipwreck on Scherie, the self-identification of the hero is much anticipated because it was much, and seemingly deliberately, delayed. Twenty-four hours earlier, according to the internal chronology of the story, shortly after his first appearance among the island's elite, the stranger (Odysseus) is asked to reveal his identity. If the king's inquiry is too oblique and too polite—"but if he's one of the deathless powers, out of the blue, the gods are working now in strange, new ways" (7.199–200, εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθεν, ἄλλο τι δὴ τόδ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ περιμηχανόωνται)—the queen's was not. Waiting until she and the king are alone with the stranger, Arete asks him point-blank: "Stranger, I'll be the first to question you—myself. Who are you? Where are you from? Who gave you the clothes you're wearing now? Didn't you say you reached us roving on the sea?" (7.237–239, ξεῖνε, τὸ μὲν σε πρῶτον ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτή· τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἶματ' ἔδωκεν; οὐ δὴ φῆς ἐπὶ πόντον ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι;). He answers by relating his experiences from the time of his confinement on Ogygia with Kalypso until his arrival at the palace—all true, in the sense that they correspond to what the narrator of the epic has just told us—but without revealing his name, family background, and hometown. The hero's failure to answer the queen's questions, or her failure to pursue the matter, or both, have been subjects of intense scholarly speculation.⁹⁷ For my purpose, it is important to note that the delay in identification by name is part of a theme that is arguably developed throughout the epic. Indeed, the theme may be signaled by the first line of the poem, in which the language of the poet's invocation of the muse differs from that of the *Iliad*. In the latter, the agent of the *menis* or wrath that is to be the subject of the epic is identified by name, Achilles. In the *Odyssey*, by contrast, the subject of the poem is identified simply as *andra*, "the man."⁹⁸ The withholding of one's name, in order to advance one's aims or interests, is an important feature of this epic.

This idea is developed particularly clearly in the hero's personal account of his interactions with kyklops Polyphemos. When asked by the ogre for his

name, the hero offers this reply: Οὐτις ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα· Οὐτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσι μήτηρ ἠδὲ πατήρ ἠδ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐταῖροι, “Nobody—that’s my name. Nobody—so my mother and father call me, all my friends” (9.366–367).⁹⁹ The passage has more than one ramification. On the level of plot, when the *kyklops* is later blinded by Odysseus, and calling for help from the neighboring *kyklopes*, his explanation of his problem, Οὐτίς με κτείνει δόλω οὐδὲ βίηφι, “Nobody’s killing me now by fraud and not by force!” (9.408), leads his neighbors to return home without investigating further. εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τις σε βιάζεται οἶον ἐόντα, “If you’re alone and nobody’s trying to overpower you now—look, it must be a plague sent here by mighty Zeus and there’s no escaping from *that*” (9.410–411). Polyphemos unwittingly (dim-wittedly) sends away the best chance he had of catching and punishing the person who put out his eye, by accepting without thinking the hero’s fictitious name. But the words spoken by the *kyklop*’s neighbors add to the semantic significance of the pseudonym offered by Odysseus. For where Polyphemos says, “*Outis* is killing me,” the neighbors respond, *mē tis*, “no one.” The significance lies in the existence of homonyms, μή τις, “no one” (a synonym of *outis*), and μῆτις, *mētis*, “cunning intelligence,” the quality with which Odysseus is associated above any other hero.¹⁰⁰ Both homonyms are true: “*Me tis*, Nobody (that is, *Outis*) is killing me,” and “*mētis* (cunning intelligence) is killing me.” It seems certain that the second meaning of *mētis* is intended here, for Odysseus’ immediate comment on the departure of the neighbor *kyklopes* explicitly employs the key word: ἐμόν δ’ ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ, ὡς ὄνομ’ ἐξαπάτησεν ἐμόν καὶ μῆτις ἀμόμων, “laughter filled my heart to think how my name and excellent *mētis* had duped them one and all” (9.413–414). And he employs the word again in Book Twenty, when he urges himself to man up by recalling how he survived a far worse situation in the cave of the *kyklopes*, thanks to his own *mētis* (20.20).

The hero’s adoption of the pseudonym *Outis* contributed to his escape from the *kyklopes*, but left him feeling acutely unrecognized as the individual hero he is. For when he is safely on his ship, sailing away from danger, he calls out to Polyphemos—in direct opposition to the pleas of his comrades that he remain silent—his name. “Cyclops—if any man on the face of the earth should ask you who blinded you, shamed you so—say Odysseus, raider of cities, *he* gouged out your eye, Laertes’ son whom makes his home on Ithaca!” (9.502–505). With that, Polyphemos had all the information he needed to lay a mighty curse on the hero, which cost his comrades their lives and ensured that he suffered at sea for years. The passage exemplifies one purpose of the clever use of pseudonyms—to bring greater fame to the man behind the invention.

Polyphemos is not the only character within the *Odyssey* to whom Odysseus identifies himself through a pseudonym. In the second half of the epic, he tells

his life story to others—to Athena, Eumaios, Antinoos, Penelope, Laertes—but in those tales, he claims to be someone other than the king of Ithaka.¹⁰¹ Some of those lies were discussed in the introduction to this book. Twice the hero who takes enough pride in his name to reveal it, foolishly, to Polyphemos gives himself a fictitious name (Aithon, Eperitos). Certain elements recur in more than one tale (Cretan heritage, association with Idomeneus, involvement in the Trojan War), but many others are unique to one false autobiography or another. Some of the events are “true” in the sense that they correspond to events related by Odysseus in his apologia, but others contradict what the hero told the Phaiakians. The unavoidable fact is that the hero, in answering questions about his identity in the second half of the epic, is often engaging in fiction.

The fictitious autobiography told by the hero to his wife in Book Nineteen is terminated by the earliest surviving definition of the “reality effect.” “Falsehoods all, but he gave his falsehoods all the ring of truth” (19.203). The Greek, ἴσκει ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, is almost identical to the famous speech delivered by the Muses to Hesiod: “[f]ield-dwelling shepherds, ignoble disgraces, mere bellies: we know how to say many false things similar to genuine ones (ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα), but we know, when we wish, how to proclaim true things” (Hesiod, *Theogony* 26–28, trans. Most 2006). The similarities between the two lines of poetry underscore the comparability of the fictitious autobiographies of Odysseus to poetic speech.¹⁰² The double-edged implications of the new Odyssean mode of storytelling—a vehicle for truth as well as falsehood—are spelled out by Alkinoos during an intermission in Odysseus’ apologia: “Crowds of vagabonds frame their lies so tightly that none can test them. But you, what grace you give your words, and what good sense within! You have told your story with all a singer’s skill” (11.362–369).¹⁰³ In Book Nineteen, the play or tension between truth and falsehood is exquisite, as Odysseus the liar in disguise and Odysseus the man himself converge: “as she listened on, her tears flowed and soaked her cheeks . . . weeping for him, her husband, sitting there beside her” (19.204, 208–209, Greek text in the introduction).

Given the deep involvement of the war-hero Odysseus in the crafting of his own poetic fame, it seems not wholly accurate to say, as Denys Page asserted, that Archilochos fragment 1W, εἰμὶ δ’ ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνακτος καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος, “I am the servant of lord Enyalios and skilled in the lovely gift of the Muses,” could never have been uttered by a Homeric hero.¹⁰⁴ What is original to this fragment is perhaps only the idea that the kind of storytelling practiced by the hero of the *Odyssey* is, here, explicitly and unambiguously identifiable as song. The first three words of the couplet, “I am the servant of lord Eneualios,” *eimi d’ egō therapōn*, in fact again correspond to a passage of the *Odyssey*: the brave self-identification of Nausikaa, offered

to an intimidating Odysseus, εἰμι δ' ἐγὼ θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο, "I am the daughter of generous King Alcinoos" (6.196). This is the only occurrence of the line-beginning formula, *eimi d'egō*, in Homeric epic.¹⁰⁵ The form taken by the poetic self-identification of Archilochos is of interest because, in Homeric poetry, only a character *within* the narrative says, "I am so and so." The poet of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* does not use the pronoun "I," but rather employs the imperative verb, *ennepe* or *aeide*, in the first line of the poem, to authorize the Muse to begin the narrative.¹⁰⁶ In the *Iliad*, the poet does not refer to himself directly in any way (in the *Odyssey*, he requests that the Muses sing "to him," *moi* [I], but then seems to incorporate himself into the goddess' audience, *eipe kai hēmin* [IO], "sing to us too.")¹⁰⁷ The complexities of the relationship between epic singer and Muse have been many times analyzed; my point is merely to highlight the existence of two different models of the singer in relationship to the story that he (or she) tells. In one, he stands (most of the time) outside of the story. In the other, the poet, as a character within the poetry that he creates and performs, can speak of himself in the same manner in which he refers to any other character. Seemingly autobiographical first-person narrative, which dominates lyric poetry, has a precedent in the *Odyssey* in the figure of Odysseus, the character who, like a poet, tells his own story. When Odysseus finally identifies himself by name to the Phaiakians, at the beginning of his memoir, the same unusually positioned verb *eimi*, "I am," begins the epic line as begins Archilochos' self-description as an Odyssean soldier-singer.¹⁰⁸

In short, the poetry of Archilochos reveals a deep interest in the epic character Odysseus, as Seidensticker and Russo argued, but not only or not precisely for the reasons they offer. The poetry of Archilochos appears to engage with poetry about Odysseus because the hero embodied a new kind of relationship between storyteller (or poet) and his material. Whatever genuine similarities in "outlook" there may have been between the historical poet and the literary character is hard to say, but the formal similarities in the manner in which they tell their stories are unmistakable.

"MOCK-EPIC" IN ARCHILOCHOS?

Shifting the focus from content to form helps to re-frame the question of the relationship between the poetry of Archilochos and the epic traditions that resulted in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The poetry of Archilochos not only emulates the speeches of Odysseus, but also toys with them. This is so presumably because Archilochos operates within a competitive environment and therefore has an interest in poetic innovation or creativity as well as ethics. Many epic parallels, for example, have been identified for the saucy fragment 191W: τοῖος γὰρ φιλότιτος ἔρωσ ὑπὸ καρδίην ἔλυσθεις πολλὴν κατ' ἀγλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν, κλέψας ἐκ στηθέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας, "for such a desire

for sex coiled itself up under my heart, poured a thick mist over my eyes, and stole the weak wits from my breast.” The general sentiment is comparable to the reaction expressed by Zeus upon laying eyes on Hera attired in Aphrodite’s undergarment (*Iliad* 14.271).¹⁰⁹ Three of the words of the second line occur in a different word order in the *Iliad* (5.696) to express a traditional epic image of death as a mist pouring over the eyes. Most unusual is the Greek phrase in the first line, “coiled itself up under my heart,” *hupo kardiēn elustheis*. This phrase is paralleled only in *Odyssey* 9.433, *hupo gaster’ elustheis*, which describes Odysseus curled up underneath the belly of the ram. Fowler appreciated the innovation in thought: “*hupo kardiēn elustheis* is remarkable for the concrete manner in which Archilochus thinks of his emotion, as a huddled, knotted lump in his midriff.” The conclusion that Fowler drew from a careful analysis of the epic comparisons is important: in this fragment, traditional epic language has been redeployed in order to express a theme that occurs frequently in erotic lyric poetry and is relatively foreign in epic. The result is “mock-heroic” or ironic.¹¹⁰

Fragment 2W is a swagger portrait in words: ἐν δορὶ μὲν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ’ οἶνος Ἴσμαρικός· πίνω δ’ ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος, “my bread comes to me via my spear, via spear wine, Ismarian in type. I drink while leaning on my spear” (my trans.). The formula, [*blank*] *keklimenos*, “leaning on my [*blank*],” is a Homeric expression employed among other purposes to describe a warrior taking a break from the fighting. For example, in Book Three of the *Iliad* (135), the warriors are pictured leaning on their shields, waiting for the duel between Menelaos and Paris to begin.¹¹¹ But in Homeric epic, warriors never rest on their spears in order to drink wine. Snell interpreted this as part of a larger, revolutionary “return to reality”: “[Archilochos] too stands in the literary tradition of the Homeric epic; he speaks its language, and treats its chief topic—war. But he divests war of all its epic grandeur and instead savours it as the strong stuff of life.”¹¹² The wine, however, is not just any plonk—it is a legendary variety best known from the *Odyssey*. During the sack of Ismaros, Odysseus acquired a skin filled with this powerful vintage, which he used to knock out the *kyklops* Polyphemos (9.196–213). The geographical characterization of the wine draws the poem of Archilochos out of the here and now and assimilates the narrator to a legendary soldier with an appreciation for a good vintage—Odysseus.¹¹³

It is helpful to compare a fragment (4W) related in sentiment and possibly originating in the same poem: ἀλλ’ ἄγε σὺν κόθωνι θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς φοῖτα καὶ κοίλων πώματ’ ἄφελκε κάδων, ἄγρει δ’ οἶνον ἐρυθρὸν ἀπὸ τρυγός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νηφέμεν ἐν φυλακῇ τῆδε δυνησόμεθα, “. . . come, make many a trip with a cup through the thwarts of the swift ship, pull off the covers of the hollow casks, and draw the red wine from the lees; we won’t be able to stay sober on this watch” (lines 6–9). The first part of the fragment is

characterized by epic diction (*thoēs nēos*, “swift ships,” *oinon eruthron*, “red wine”), but the last line, the punchline, seems un-epic in sentiment, if not delinquent. One recalls the untimely drinking party undertaken by Odysseus’ men on the seashore immediately following the sack of the city of the Kikonēs (*Odyssey* 9.43–46, the occasion on which Odysseus acquired his Ismarian wine). But Odysseus claims to have disapproved, whereas the narrator of Archilochos’ poem would have led the men in opening the casks of wine.¹¹⁴

The tension between the traditional epic model and its deviant transformation in the persona of the Archilochean narrator is especially palpable in fragment 2W. In literary history, the best-known, most memorable figure to fight with a spear and drink Ismarian wine is Odysseus. Yet the speaker of the thought of this poem earns his *living* as a warrior—“my bread comes to my via my spear”—he is, in a word, a mercenary.¹¹⁵ And the final word of the fragment, *keklimenos*, “reclining,” which perhaps punctuates the entire thought, is a word that evokes the post-Odyssean world of the symposium *en repose* on luxurious couches. In the “golden verses” of *Odyssey* Book Nine, Odysseus may give the impression that he enjoys a cup of wine as much as the next person. But the Odysseus-like narrator of this poem develops the idea of the soldier who drinks extravagantly.

THE NEW TELEPHOS POEM AND ARCHILOCHEAN IRONY

In 2005, the theme of the famous poem, “Some Saian exults in my shield” (fragment 5W), retreat in battle, reappeared in a hitherto unknown poem attributable to Archilochos.¹¹⁶ The new poem is an important piece of evidence concerning the poet’s engagement with epic. There are similarities in imagery and phraseology.¹¹⁷ But the novelty of the new poem consists in the fact that the very subject matter, the rout of the Achaians by Telephos, was part of the epic tradition. The dichotomy so frequently mentioned in modern writing on Archilochos’ relationship to epic, that the language is traditional but the subject matter “modern,” is inapplicable to this poem. For my purposes, the poem is important because it exemplifies the difficulty in pinning down the point of view of the narrator in Archilochean poetry. At the point where the fragment begins, the speaker appears to be arguing that flight or retreat is not always to be interpreted as cowardly.¹¹⁸ And it purports to support the point by citing the example of the Achaian army. *καὶ ποτ[ε μ]οῦνος ἔδον Τήλεφος . . . Ἀργείων ἐφόβησε πολὺν στρατ[όν.] οἱ δὲ φέβοντο*, “even once Telephos . . . by himself put to flight the great army of the Argives, and they fled” (5–6). The point of the example is the flight of the Achaians, yet the focus of the surviving verses is on the achievement of Telephos. The exemplum begins with the name of not the Achaians but Telephos; it emphasizes that he routed the Achaians by himself, [*m*]ounos, “alone,” in spite of the fact that the opposing

army was large, *polun strat[on]*, and the Achaians, qualified spearmen and “the gods’ children and brothers” (8, 14). The Achaians are described as running to their ships “gladly,” [*a]spasioi* (13). Laura Swift concluded that “although Archilochus purportedly introduces the [Telephos] myth in order to support the moral ‘flight need not be cowardice,’ he depicts it in a way that reminds the audience of the glory to be gained by putting others to flight rather than fleeing oneself: the paradigm serves to undercut the moral rather than reinforce it.”¹¹⁹

The mythological paradigm also implicitly calls into question the general competence of the soldiers to whom the narrator turns for support in contending that retreat is not always weakness or cowardice. ἀ[σπ]άσιοι δ’ ἐς νέος ὤ[κ]υπ[ό]ρο[υ]ς [ἐσέβαν, “Gladly did they embark on their swift ships,” is how the flashback to the arrival of the mighty army begins (13). Then the text reveals that the army had lost its way, for it thought that it was besieging Troy but in fact it was in Mysia (13–21). The sentence “gladly did they embark” wonderfully epitomizes the subtle self-undermining strategy of the narrative. Grammatically, it is applicable to the initial departure for war, when the army is pumped up and ready to go—an enthusiasm reiterated ridiculously in line 18 in the assertion that even the Achaian horses were breathing fire. But it also follows immediately upon the account of the bathetic flight to the ships with Telephos in hot pursuit. Highlighted in this fragment are neither the might nor the competence nor even the ultimate success of the exemplary army, but rather the single-handed rout of a force that was not even in the correct theater of operations in the first place.

The ultimate example of the occasional necessity of flight may not even be the one, the Achaian army, ostensibly advanced by the narrator. It may in fact be its opposite number, the soldier who put that army to flight. For Telephos was himself forced to retreat, after routing the Achaians, upon the late arrival of Achilles. It is not certain that the poem narrated anything beyond Telephos’ rout of the Achaians, but the follow-up story, the flight of Telephos, can safely be assumed to have been part of the epic tradition. The reader or audience will remember it if it was not related in the poem.¹²⁰ What seems un-epic in the Telephos poem is not the belief that retreat is occasionally required, for that idea is present in the epic tradition. What seems un-epic is the sophisticated way in which the poem is crafted so as to say one thing but do another, to make an assertion only to see the assertion undermined in the explication that follows. “The subtlety of this narrative, in which the narrator springs the surprise that Telephos is the *true* forerunner of his flight, reads more like an allusive sympotic ruse than epic narrative.”¹²¹ In the Cologne epode, which was the point of departure for my excursus on the *Odyssean* background of the poetry of Archilochos, the final liquid image, which leaves the girl intact and seems to come too soon, springs a similar surprise. Like the intimation at the end of the new poem that a complete triumph of Telephos

is too good to be true (he is no Herakles), the conclusion of the Cologne epode “pragmatizes” the prowess of the narrator.

THE POETRY OF ARCHILOCHOS IN THE REAL WORLD

Where, in what social context, will the Cologne epode and other Archilochean poetry have been performed or experienced? That question is worth asking not only for its own sake. It is also worth asking in relation to the interpretation of the Athenian vase-paintings offered in [chapter one](#), for two reasons. First, if a vase-painter such as Euphronios did not independently arrive at the idea of employing pictorially a fictitious point of view, but was familiar with fictional first-person narrators in Archilochean (or similar) poetry, then he must have learned of the poetry as it recirculated subsequent to its creation, given the gap in time and space between the poet and artist. Where might this recirculation have occurred? Second, in the history of art, there are innovations that did not achieve recognition, because they did not meet the expectations or interests of a viewing public. If Euphronios independently arrived at the idea of the fictitious vase-painter protagonist, there remains the question of why he thought it would be an effective pictorial proposition. If he did not simply gamble that symposiasts would “get” and enjoy the concept of the fictional artist, he must have had some reason to believe that symposiasts in particular would have been primed to appreciate this sort of artistic conception. The circulation of Archilochean poetry within the symposium would provide one such reason. As Michael Baxandall put it, “social facts . . . lead to the development of distinctive visual skills and habits: and these visual skills and habits become identifiable elements in the painter’s style.”¹²²

One clue concerning the context of the Cologne epode is supplied by fragment 196W: ἀλλά μ’ ὁ λυσιμελής, ὄταῖρε, δάμναται πόθος, “but, my friend, limb-loosening desire overwhelms me.”¹²³ Fragment 196 is in the same unusual meter as the Cologne epode; it is suspected by some scholars of being one of the lost opening lines of the epode. Of special interest in connection with the question of context is the vocative form *ōtaire*, “friend.” The line of poetry creates the impression that a story of overwhelming, limb-loosening desire is being related to a companion. Several other fragments of the poetry of Archilochos create the impression that the stories, speeches, or opinions contained within them are being related to a friend. “There will be no disapproval of our mourning and lamentation, Pericles” (fragment 13W), “no one, Aesimides, will experience very many delights, if he is concerned about the people’s censure” (fragment 14W), “Glaukos, an ally is a friend only as long as he fights” (fragment 15W), and so forth. The poems that are addressed to friends invite one to imagine an occasion when the speaker will have encountered them, and the occasion that comes quickly to mind is the

convivial gathering of friends for wine, poetry, music, conversation, erotics, and more—the symposium. For the performance of iambic poetry specifically in symposia, there is additionally the evidence of the passage of Aristophanes’ *Peace* (1265–1304), mentioned earlier, that envisions the re-performance of the shield poem at a party, and a testimonium of Aristotle, which implies that the symposium was the first place a young man encountered iambic content.¹²⁴

Several poems of Archilochos appear to play on the idea that they are the sort of poetry sung or recited at a symposium. One describes a man named Perikles as bursting into symposia uninvited, Μυκονίων δίκην, “like someone from Mykonos”: πολλὸν δὲ πίνων καὶ χαλίκρητον μέθυ, οὔτε τιμον εἰσε-νείκας <...> οὐδὲ μὲν κληθεὶς <...> ἦλθες οἷα δὴ φίλος, ἀλλὰ σεο γαστήρ νόον τε καὶ φρένας παρήγαγεν εἰς ἀναιδείην, “drinking much wine, and unmixed wine at that, you did not contribute to the cost . . . nor were you invited . . . but you came as if you were a friend” (fragment 124W). The verb *ēlthes*, “you came,” suggests that the person who is describing the shocking behavior of Perikles was present at the symposium when the man burst in.¹²⁵ Or fragment 4W (text above), “. . . come, make many a trip with a cup through the thwarts of the swift ship, pull off the covers of the hollow casks, and draw the red wine from the lees; we won’t be able to stay sober on this watch.” The poem, which conjures up an image of drinking aboard a warship, is occasionally imagined in modern scholarship to have been intended for performance on military campaign. Ewen Bowie aptly identified the limitations of that interpretation:

Should we conclude that Archilochus sang this song for the first time while on guard by a beached ship? If so I am tempted to suggest that the reason we have no more of the song is that the singer’s throat was cut by a Thracian guerrilla: for real guard-duty is not effective if punctuated by drunken song. But is it real guard-duty? I think it far more probable that Archilochus is evoking a situation with which his audience was all too familiar but which they could thank the gods was not their actual situation while they sang.¹²⁶

Fragment 2W (text above), “my bread comes to me via my spear, via spear wine, Ismarian in type. I drink while leaning on my spear” (my trans.), also evokes two distinct moments or actions in the life of a man, taking a break from battle, leaning on a spear, and reclining in a symposium, drinking wine.

Those fragments of Archilochos are of interest beyond whatever evidence they may supply concerning the context for which they were envisioned. What is fascinating about them is the manner in which their allusions to sympotic life seem to subtly un-man their military bravado. The speakers convey the casual familiarity with war of the mercenary—but they also express a real liking for wine. Other fragments of Archilochos convey the impression

that festivity is frequently on the mind of the narrator. The earliest extant occurrence of the word *iamboi*, “iambics” or “iambic poetry,” occurs in the poetry of Archilochos and links the poetry with festive occasions. *καί μ’ οὔτ’ ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει*, “I do not care about ‘iambics’ or pleasures” (fragment 215W). If the voice of the narrator is construed as the voice of its composer, then it is amusing to think that the poem, professing lack of interest in iambics, is composed in an iambic meter. More importantly, in this line of poetry, *iamboi* are paired with *terpōlai* as equally unappealing to the speaker. The word “*terpōlai*” occurs in another fragment of Archilochos (fragment 11W), *οὔτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἴσομαι, οὔτε κάκιον θήσω τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας ἐρέπων*, “for I shall cure nothing by weeping nor shall I make matters worse by pursuit of amusements and festivities.” The words *thaliai* and *terpōlai* (or other forms of the same root word) are paired in other passages of early Greek poetry, where they describe enjoyments, pleasures, and festive occasions.¹²⁷ *Terpōlē* itself is an uncommon word in early Greek poetry, and the few other occurrences of it point to occasions when pleasure, even pleasure of a carnal or coarse nature, is on offer. “In youth you are free to sleep all night with an age-mate and satisfy your craving for lovemaking; you may carouse and sing with a piper. No other pleasure compares with these for men and women. What are wealth and respect to me? Pleasure (*terpōlē*) combined with good cheer surpasses everything” (Theognis 1063–1068, trans. Gerber). In the *Odyssey* (18.37), Antinoos uses the word to describe the delightful prospect of a fistfight between Iros and the disguised Odysseus. “[W]hat sport (*terpōlēn*) some god has brought the palace now! The stranger and Iros, look, they’d battle it out together, fists flying” (18.37–39).

The pairing of *iamboi* and *terpōlai* in a fragment of Archilochos, and the associations of *terpōlai* in other passages of early Greek poetry, are important sources of information on the significance of iambic poetry in early Greek culture. In fragment 215W, the pairing of *iamboi* and *terpōlai* suggests that the former is somehow compatible, if not synonymous, with the latter—that *iamboi* provided the kinds of pleasures described by the term *terpōlai*. That is a much broader conception of iambic poetry than is suggested by later ancient testimonia, particularly Aristotle, which are preoccupied with *psogos*, “invective, abuse.”¹²⁸ The fragment is also of interest, to me, inasmuch as it suggests that pleasures of a festive, convivial kind are frequently present to mind in the poetry of Archilochos. Fragment 215W, in which the narrator professes uninterest in festivities, was interpreted in antiquity in connection with the loss of the poet’s brother-in-law at sea (see the ancient contextual information surrounding fragment 11W). Fragment 11W, however, offers a rather different opinion about whether grief is compatible with enjoying a good party: “I shall cure nothing by weeping nor shall I make matters worse by pursuit of pleasures and festivities.” By comparison with this piece of wisdom, fragment 215W

seems to protest too much. Notice also the casual mention of festive pleasures in a context where its presence seems of questionable relevance: “[our] grievous cares, Perikles, no citizen or city taking pleasure in festivities (*thaliēis terpsetai*) will disdain” (fragment 13W, my translation, text above). The speaker and his friend are in mourning, their grief will not be interpreted as excessive, even by people (the narrator free-associates) enjoying a fine party.¹²⁹

If it is fair to say that parties are not far from the thoughts of the narrators of several Archilochean poems, then it is worth noting that Odysseus made a similar impression on readers and listeners in antiquity. In *Iliad* Book 19, Achilles, having now received a new set of armor, is impatient to rejoin the battle with the rest of the Achaians. Odysseus objects that the Achaians need first to eat, in order to have the strength to fight for an entire day. Achilles scoffs at this: Achaians lie dead on the battlefield—there will be time for a banquet after they are avenged. Odysseus calmly counters: “You want men to grieve for the dead by *starving*? Impossible.”¹³⁰ In this speech, Odysseus talks sense. But the argument in favor of eating and drinking now, fighting later, resonates with an accusation lobbed at Odysseus by Agamemnon earlier in the *Iliad*: “first you are, when you hear of feasts from me, when Achaeans set out banquets for the chiefs. Then you’re happy enough to down the roast meats and cups of honeyed, mellow wine—all you can drink” (4.343–346).

Several passages in the *Odyssey* provoked writers in antiquity to criticize Odysseus for gluttony. In Book Seven, bidden by the Phaiakians to tell his story, Odysseus protests that he cannot do so because is too hungry: ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ μὲν δορπῆσαι ἔασατε, “let me finish dinner” (7.215). He offers a surprisingly long tribute to the appetites (7.215–221). The speech made the next day by Odysseus to Alkinoos and the other Phaiakians, the so-called golden verses, that there is nothing finer in life than listening to a good singer, with a table of treats before one and a waiter regularly refilling one’s drink, shocked Plato:

to represent the wisest man as saying that this seems to him the fairest thing in the world, ‘When the bounteous tables are standing laden with bread and with meat and the cupbearer ladles the sweet wine out of the mixer and bears it and empties it into the beakers,’ do you think the hearing of that sort of thing will conduce to a young man’s temperance or self-control? (Plato, *Republic* 390a–b, trans. Shorey)¹³¹

Odysseus’ story in its entirety may express the point of view that it is necessary to subordinate one’s love of wine and food to more important goals, such as returning home.¹³² For one thing, he claims to have declined an offer to live forever, and never die, in the company of the beautiful Kalypso. But the hero’s interest in food, drink, and festivities struck some audiences and readers in antiquity as more than negligible.

For the construction of the fictitious first-person narrators in Archilochean poetry, the epicurean aspect of the Homeric Odysseus arguably only added to the other attractions of the hero who made his life into an exciting story and relied primarily on his words to make his way in the world. That is so perhaps in part because the poetry of Archilochos, like the vase-painting of Euphronios, was destined to circulate primarily among other epicureans.

CHAPTER THREE

HIPPONAX AND HIS MAKE-BELIEVE ARTISTS

Like the poetry of Archilochos, the poetry of Hipponax of Ephesos, a fellow iambographer active it appears in the third quarter of the sixth century BC, contains many first-person grammatical forms.¹ Unlike Archilochos, however, in which the identity of the first-person narrator varies and is frequently in question, Hipponax developed a single consistent narrator-character. That character's name is Hipponax. The fragments are remarkable for their creative (self-)references to Hipponax as a character within the poetry. Consider fragment 36W: ἐμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος-ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός-ἔς τῶκί' ἐλθὼν οὐδάμ' εἶπεν "Ἴππῶναξ, δίδωμί τοι μνέας ἀργύρου τριήκοντα καὶ πόλλ' ἔτ' ἄλλα". δειλῆος γὰρ τὰς φρένας, "Wealth-for he is exceedingly blind-never came into my house and said: 'Hipponax, I'm giving you 30 minas of silver and much besides.' For he has a coward's mind." Notice the emphatic connection of "me," the opening word, and Hipponax. Or, Ἐρμῆ, φίλ' Ἐρμῆ, Μαιαδεῦ, Κυλλήνιε, ἐπεύχομαί τοι, κάρτα γὰρ κακῶς ῥιγῶ καὶ βαμβαλύζω . . . δὸς χλαῖναν Ἴππώνακτι καὶ κυπασίσκον καὶ σαμβαλίσκα κάσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσοῦ στατήρας ἑξήκοντα τοῦτέρου τοίχου, "Hermes, dear Hermes, son of Maia, Cyllenian. I pray to you, for I am shivering violently and terribly and my teeth are chattering . . . Give Hipponax a cloak, [little] sandals, [little] felt shoes and 60 gold staters on the other side [of the wall]" (fragment 32W).²

The narrator who calls himself Hipponax frequently refers to a lack of money, clothes, and even food (in addition to fragments 32 and 36, see also

34 and 39W). More eye-opening still are his apparent brushes with the law. He prays to Hermes specifically as a god who is also a thief (for which see the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*): for example, Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηιονιστί Κανδαῦλα, φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι, “Hermes, dog throtler, Candaules in Maeonian, companion of thieves, come give me a hand(?)” (fragment 3aW). The profession seems to be implied in fragment 32W (above), when Hipponax prays for sixty gold staters *tou’terou toichou*, which may mean “on the other side of the wall [of the house that I am robbing].”³ Thievery is perhaps implied as well in the tantalizing fragment 79W. It includes the sentence (10–11), Ἑρμῆς δ’ ἐς Ἴππώνακτος ἀκολουθήσας [. . . το]ῦ κυνὸς τὸν φιλήτην, “Hermes, providing an escort to the house of Hipponax . . . the dog-stealer” (or “Hermes having given escort to Hipponax’s [had kept safe] the burglar from the dog” [West]). And it ends with a vivid picture of the demimonde in which the narrator circulated: ὁ δ’ αὐτίκ’ ἐλθὼν σὺν τριοῖσι μάρτυσιν ὄκου τὸν ἔρπιν ὁ σκότος καπηλεύει, ἄνθρωπον εὔρε τὴν στέγην ὀφέλλοντα—οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ὄφελμα—πυθμένι στοιβῆς, “with three witnesses he went at once to the place where the swindler(?) sells wine and found a fellow sweeping the room with a stock of thorn, since no broom was at hand.”⁴

The remarkable rap sheet of Hipponax suggests that the fragments of this poet should be interpreted, as historical documents, with a grain of salt. There is less ambiguity here than in Archilochean poetry about whether we are in the presence of genuine autobiography or fiction. Martin West put the case well:

With Hipponax we are made more aware that he is putting on an act. He is not really a vulgar simpleton, anymore that Archilochus is, but a highly skilled and sophisticated poet. A line like the lyric fr. 119, εἴ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρπεινα [“if only I might have a maiden who is both beautiful and tender”], has the clear-cut quality of the best Greek poetry: a simple but potent thought expressed in the most natural, exact and effective words, which happen to make a perfect rhythm, the apparently artless art that we admire in Anacreon or Menander. But for the purposes of iambus Hipponax assumes the character of a low buffoon. His sexual adventures, besides being more sordid than any others in ancient literature, have at the same time a farcical element in them . . . They are presented as one ingredient in a picaresque life full of brawling, burglary, poverty and cheap drink.⁵

It is also more difficult to understand much of the poetry of Hipponax as *psogos* in the narrow sense of criticism of historical individuals, since the poet implicates himself in so many indefensible activities. Ralph Rosen memorably formulated the problem: “it seems to be a central paradox of the *psogos* [of Hipponax] that the aggressor stoops to the level of the target, accusing him of reprehensible behavior while wishing to behave that way himself.”⁶

The poetry of Hipponax is of interest, in relation to the representation and self-representation of the artist, first of all as self-parody. Like Euphronios, he deliberately places himself in situations that call into question his social status. He does so, however, not presumably out of genuine self-abnegation, but as a means of highlighting his inventiveness as a word-artist. The poetry of Hipponax is also of interest because he engages competitively in his poetry with visual artists. His sculptors and painters, like Euphronios' Smikros, appear to be fictional creations. They function as targets of *psogos* not in the narrow sense defined by Aristotle (see [chapter two](#)), but in a much wider sense of representing the media of sculpture and painting. In this way, Hipponax articulated a *paragone* or rivalry between the arts of poetry and visual representation, a *paragone* in which Euphronios arguably is also participating.

HIPPONAX AND ODYSSEUS

The possibility that we are dealing with a genuine member of the lower socioeconomic order, a plebeian poet, is decreased by the literary self-consciousness of Hipponax. One measure of the sophistication of this poetry is its extensive engagement with the hero and poetry of the *Odyssey*. The involvement of the character Hipponax in theft is one link. For the grandfather of Odysseus, Autolykos, ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε, “excelled the world at thievery, that and subtle shifty oaths” (*Odyssey* 19.395–396). Both the poet-narrator Hipponax and Odysseus' obscure ancestor received that gift from Hermes. Fragment 32W—“Hermes . . . I am shivering violently . . . Give Hipponax a cloak . . .”—reminds one of the clever *ainos*, “fable or story,” told by the disguised Odysseus in Book Fourteen of the *Odyssey* (14.457–512), intended to finesse a cloak out of his host Eumaios.⁷ In this brilliant speech, Odysseus imagines a conversion that he, in his guise as the son of Cretan Kastor, had with himself (Odysseus) when he was shivering one night at Troy: διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, οὐ τοι ἔτι ζωοῖσι μετέσσομαι, ἀλλὰ με χεῖμα δάμναται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν, “Royal son of Laertes, Odysseus, full of tactics, I'm not long for the living. The cold will do me in. See, I've got no cloak” (14.486–488). The speeches of both Hipponax and Odysseus begin with a formal epithet-laden identification of the prospective patron, a description of their frigid condition, and a request for the cloak. Both speeches are ingenious in the ways in which they avoid actually making the request for the desired item (Odysseus), or downplay the cost of the request. Hipponax asks for but a *tiny* frock (*kupassiskon*), and *tiny* sandals (*sambaliska*), and *tiny* shoes with fur linings (*askeriska*)—before slipping in at the end a request for what seems to be a considerable amount of money. In the comparable passage of the *Odyssey*, the request is for just a cloak, but

elsewhere in epic, the hero exhibits, like the iambic narrator-character, a healthy interest in gain (e.g., *Iliad* 4.339).⁸

Hipponax fragments 120W and 121W describe a fight that recalls, in several details, the fight between Odysseus and Iros in Book 18 of the *Odyssey*.⁹ λάβετέ μεο ταιμάτια, κόψω Βουπάλου τὸν ὄφθαλμόν, “Take my cloak, I’ll hit Boupalus in the eye” (120W), ἀμφιδέξις γάρ εἰμι κοῦκ ἄμαρτάνω κόπτων, “for I have two right hands and I don’t miss with my punches” (121W). In both Hipponax and Homer, there is an explicit reference to losing all of one’s teeth in the fight as well as throwing punches with both hands (compare *pantes odontes* or *pantas odontas* in Hipponax fragment 73W.4–5, *amphidexios* in 121W, and *Odyssey* 18.28: κόπτων ἀμφοτέρησι, χαμαὶ δέ κε πάντας ὀδόντας), and the removal of one’s clothes before the fight (120W and *Odyssey* 18.67). Given the poet’s penchant for slumming, it is significant perhaps that the model for Hipponax’ fight is one between two beggars, the full-time panhandler Iros and Odysseus in disguise as an old man fallen on hard times. The fistfight in the *Odyssey* is described as a *terpōlē*, “pleasure,” by the suitor Antinoos. He uses a word that overlaps semantically with *iambos* (18.37; compare Archilochos fragment 215W discussed in [chapter two](#)). If the narrative of the fistfight between Hipponax and Boupalos provided poetic entertainment for a group of drinkers, perhaps its allusion to an Odyssean fistfight before a crowd of enthusiastic and unruly suitors humorously suggests that its audience is lowbrow in its tastes.

The similarities between the poet-character Hipponax and the literary hero Odysseus appear to be physical and visible. Two testimonia describe the physical appearance of Hipponax in a memorable way: he was small (*mikros*) in build, thin, but muscular enough to hurl an empty lekythos a great distance.¹⁰ Presumably, the description derives from poetry in which the narrator Hipponax described himself, for there were no independent documents from the Archaic period (such as a modern physician’s written notes) that might have recorded the appearance of the poet for posterity. In any event, there is good reason to believe that the physical description is fictitious. As Ralph Rosen persuasively argued, a close analogy occurs in Book Eight of the *Odyssey* (8.158–233).¹¹ The young Phaiakian Euryalos criticizes the physical appearance of Odysseus as obviously unathletic: “you’re some skipper of profiteers, roving the high seas in his scudding craft, reckoning up his freight with a keen eye out for home-cargo, grabbing the gold he can! You’re no athlete. I see that.” Odysseus retorts that the gods do not give everyone an equal share of looks, intelligence, or eloquence. He calls attention to the time-ravished state of his body. Then he hurls a discus farther than any thrown by the Phaiakians and in this way shows his adversary Euryalos to be a fool. The poetic self-description of skinny Hipponax hurling the lekythos, like the story from the *Odyssey*, combines self-description of physical imperfection with surprising ability to throw an object.

What is so appealing about the character of Odysseus to a man who makes his name on the strength of his words is clarified, Rosen suggested, by the “*teichoskopia*” of the *Iliad*. Priam asks Helen, looking down at the Achaian fighters below from the walls of Troy, ὅς τις ὄδ’ ἐστί· μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἄτρεΐδαο, εὐρύτερος δ’ ὠμοισιν ἰδέ στέρνοισιν ἰδέσθαι . . . αὐτὸς δὲ κτίλος ὡς ἐπιπλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν· ἀρνειῶ μιν ἔγωγε ἔϊσκω πηγεσιμάλῳ, ὅς τ’ οἰὼν μέγα πῶυ διέρχεται ἀργεννάων, “who is [that one]? Shorter than Atreus’ son Agamemnon, clearly, but broader across the shoulders, through the chest . . . The man keeps ranging the ranks of fighters like a ram—yes, he looks to me like a thick-fleeced bellwether ram making his way through a bid mass of sheep-flocks” (*Iliad* 3.192–196). Here, as in the description of Hipponax, Odysseus’ shortness of stature is at issue.¹² Priam’s comparison prompts Antenor to recall the difference in height between Menelaos and the shorter, stockier Odysseus, which he noticed when the two Achaians came to Troy prior to the invasion to request the surrender of Helen. But Antenor was much more impressed by the hero’s manner of speech in assembly: as the hero prepared to speak, standing still and staring at the ground, he appeared to be a fool; but once he began, καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερήσιον, οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ’ Ὀδυσῆι γ’ ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος· οὐ τότε γ’ ὦδ’ Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ’ εἶδος ἰδόντες, “words came piling on like a driving winter blizzard—then no man alive could rival Odysseus! . . . we no longer gazed in wonder at his looks” (Hom. *Iliad* 3.222–224). This passage resonates with several themes in the poetry of Hipponax. Not only was his poetry compared to a χαλαζεπιῆ, “hailstorm of words” (testimonium 8 Gerber), but there is a play on smallness in the programmatic fragment 32W: “Hermes . . . give Hipponax a cloak, little tunic, little sandals, little felt shoes . . .” The epic character Odysseus was an especially attractive model for Hipponax, because, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, like Hipponax in most of his iambs, becomes the hero of a story that he is himself very often relating.

The relationship between the poetry of Hipponax and the *Odyssey* goes beyond the emulation of the character of Odysseus by the iambic poet-narrator-character, which characterized the relationship in Archilochean poetry. In Hipponax, it sometimes reaches the level of parody. This is suggested, first of all, by the title of one Hipponactean poem, Οδυ[, which is difficult to restore as anything other than “Odyssey.” The title occurs on a tattered piece of papyrus. Only a few words are preserved, but they appear to include the names of the Phaiakians (fragment 77W.2: [Φ]αιηκας) and the lotus root (77W.7: κορσιππ[.]). In his initial publication of the papyrus, Edger Lobel took fragments 5–8 of the papyrus (=Hipponax frags. 74–77W) as part of a single poem, which he amusingly summarized thus: “the title and some of the details of a ‘Return of Odysseus’—seaweed, after a snack questions about family, Phaeacians, the lotus, perhaps a dreadful giant . . . not to mention more problematic indications.” The word for “snack,” ψωμὸ[v] (75W.4) may have

special *Odyssean* connotations, as it occurs only once in Homeric epic (*Odyssey* 9.374), in reference to the Kyklop's meal of human flesh. In addition, the letters $\text{I}\psi\psi\text{ou}$ (77W.1) can plausibly be restored as a name, such as *Kupso*, reminiscent of the name of the *Odyssean* nymph Kalypso.¹³ The name "Kupso" recurs in fragment 129W: $\pi\omega\varsigma \text{παρὰ Κυψοῦν ἦλθε}$, "how he came to Kupso." The fragment is significant because it is dactylic in meter, and thus a real imitation of epic. The content, however, suggests that it is an epic parody: the proper name appears to be related to the verb *kuptō*, "bend over or forward," used elsewhere in Hipponax to describe a sexual act.¹⁴ Even the poet's initiation is partially comparable to a scene from the Phaiakian episode of the *Odyssey*. Hipponax encountered Iambe, the personification of iambic poetry, by the sea, where she went to do her laundry, like Nausikaa.¹⁵

A similar parodic development of the erotic potential of the Phaiakian episode concerns Arete. The narrator of several fragments of Hipponax appears to have been having an affair with a woman named Arete. Two of the fragments describe nocturnal erotic adventures: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon} \delta\epsilon\chi\iota\omega \text{παρ' Ἀρήτην κνεφαῖος ἔλθων ῥοδιῶ καταυλίσθην}$, "with a heron on the right I went to Arete in the dark and took up lodging" (fragment 16W), and $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\psi\alpha\sigma\alpha \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \mu\omicron\iota \text{πρὸς τὸ λύχνον Ἀρήτη}$, "for Arete, having stooped over for me towards the lamp" (fragment 17W). Enzo Degani compared fragment 16W with a passage from the *Iliad* (10.274–275), in which Athena sends a heron on the right as a propitious omen to Odysseus as he embarked on the night raid across Trojan lines. The occurrence of the same image, the heron on the right, suggests that the epic night raid informed the iambic poem, in which the military raid has been translated into a sexual assault.¹⁶ Arete, of course, is not only the lover of Hipponax but also, in the *Odyssey*, the queen of the Phaiakians. In the epic, she lives in splendor; her home is graced by gold and silver watchdogs manufactured by the god Hephaistos himself (7.91–94). In Hipponax, she lives in poverty: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \text{πελλίδος πίνοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ κύλιξ, ὁ παῖς γὰρ ἔμπεσὼν κατήραξε}$, "[they were] drinking from a pail; for she had no cup, since the slave [literally 'boy'] had fallen on it and smashed it" (fragment 13W); $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\eta\varsigma \text{πέλλης ἔπινον· ἄλλοτ' αὐτός, ἄλλοτ' Ἀρήτη προύπινεν}$, "they were drinking from the pail; now he and now Arete were drinking a toast" (fragment 14W).¹⁷ The name "Arete" alone is not the only link among her, Hipponactean poetry, and epic. In the *Odyssey*, she is both the niece and the wife of Alkinoos; her marriage is characterized by a touch of incest. In Hipponax, there are several indications that Arete is both mother and lover of Boupalos. In one poem, Boupalos is fooling around with Arete and described as a $\mu\eta\tau\rho\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, quite literally, a "mother-fucker" (fragment 12W).¹⁸ It is possible that fragment 70W.7–8 describes the same man: $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon, \delta\varsigma \text{κατευδούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐσκύλευε τὸν βρύσσον}$, "this god-forsaken fellow who used to despoil his sleeping mother's sea urchin."¹⁹

The mock-epic character of the poetry of Hipponax is perhaps most evident in fragment 128W, a parody of epic in dactylic hexameter, with allusions to the story of Odysseus in the word *pontocharubdin* (compare the monster Charybdis encountered by the hero in the *Odyssey*):

Μοῦσά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεω τὴν ποντοχάρυβδιν,
τὴν ἔγγαστριμάχαιραν, ὃς ἐσθίει οὐ κατὰ κόσμον,
ἔννεφ', ὅπως ψηφίδι <κακῆ> κακὸν οἶτον ἄληται
βουλῆ δημοσίῃ παρὰ θῖν' ἄλός ἀτρυγέτιο.

“Tell me, Muse, of the sea-swallowing, the stomach-carving of Eurymedontiades [son of Eurymedon] who eats in no ordinary manner, so that through a baneful vote determined by the people he may die a wretched death along the shore of the undraining(?) sea.” The fragment is quoted by Polemon (in Athenaios 15.698b) in support of the claim that the genre of parody was in fact founded by Hipponax. The intent to make fun of the epic is clear from the invocation of the Muse to sing of the monster eater Eurymedontiades (compare *Odyssey* 1.1, *andra moi ennepe Mousa*, with fragment 128W.1–3: *Mousa moi . . . enneph*). The endings of lines 2, 3, and 4 are paralleled in epic, and the elaborate compound adjectives are mock-epic-epic, only bigger.²⁰

The extent of the parody suggests that, in its interest in epic, the poetry of Hipponax differs from that of Archilochos. In the poetry of both, there is clear evidence that the epic character Odysseus served as a model for the self-presentation of the narrator. Reading or listening to this poetry, it is not safe to assume that the “I” represents a historical poet of the seventh or sixth century BC, or that the narrator’s experiences are those of the poet, since the narrator is modelled, in part at least, on a fictional figure. The poetry of Hipponax differs from that of Archilochos in that the latter seems to be more interested in Odysseus than in the *Odyssey*. The epic character provided an ethical model of a military man with a taste for drinking and dating, and a narrative model of a man who liked to tell his own story, and who is not afraid to make it all up. Odysseus arguably functioned as a model for Hipponax in similar ways. But beyond that, the *Odyssey* itself (either our *Odyssey* or something like it) appears to be a target. It “constitutes a claim by Hipponax to be the Homer of his trade. Authorial self-consciousness *on this scale* is (at least in contrast with Archilochos and Semonides) a distinguishing feature of Hipponax’s iambos.”²¹

HIPPONAX AND THE ARTISTS

Hipponax was best remembered in later antiquity for a personal feud with the sexual deviant named Boupalos and his brother Athenis. The feud is of interest well beyond its tabloid value, for it exemplifies the poetry’s self-conscious

engagement with its own art form. Thanks to Aristophanes, we know that the fistfight boasted of in the *Odyssey*-inflected fragments 120 and 121W was a fight between Hipponax and Boupalos: “by god, if someone had socked them in the mouth a couple of times, like Boupalos (ἔκοψεν ὡσπερ Βουπάλου), they wouldn’t be making any noise!” (*Lysistrata* 360–361, trans. Henderson).²² Athenis occurs with certainty in only a single fragment of Hipponax, 70W.11, where the name is the first word of a new poem, the contents of which are now sadly lost. Boupalos appears in several other fragments of Hipponax, none of them flattering to the man. ὦ Κλαζομένιοι, Βούπαλος κατέκτεινεν, “People of Klazomenoi, Boupalos has killed” (fragment 1W), is how one matter-of-factly begins. Hipponax claims that the man is guilty of other heinous crimes, including (as already noted) incest. The rivalry between Hipponax and Boupalos for the favors of Arete may underlie the tantalizingly lacunose fragment 84W, a tale of furtive sexual encounter between the narrator and a woman. In the midst of the action, after the biting and kissing (line 11), when the couple is going at it (16: ἐβίνε[ον]), the narrator takes the opportunity to curse Boupalos (18: κλαίειν κελεύ[ων Βού]παλο[ν, “biding Boupalos go to hell”). This seemingly ill-timed digression would make sense if the narrator’s female partner were Arete, the woman associated with Boupalos in other fragments, and if the narrator were Hipponax.²³ The name of Boupalos occurs in several other fragments, though they contain fewer contextual indications.²⁴ It appears that he played a role in the fascinating but elusive poem that includes the house of Hipponax and culminates in the memorable description of a cheap tavern, quoted earlier (fragment 79W.12: βου]). The poverty of the tavern, the paucity of proper drinking cups to replace the one that broke in fragments 13 and 14W, the impression that his lover Arete slept around, and the insinuations of incest—all those indications paint a picture of Boupalos as a poor, coarse denizen of the nether-regions of town. If that is a fair reconstruction of the literary character Boupalos, then one further possible occurrence of the name would be particularly significant. Insinuated into the narrative attested in fragments 74–77W, which is a parody of the Phaiakian episode of the *Odyssey*, is very likely the name of Boupalos (fragment 77W.4: βου]).²⁵

The rivalry between Hipponax and Boupalos is particularly relevant to the history of art because Boupalos, and his shadowy brother Athenis, were sculptors. The most informative account is in Pliny: “the face of Hipponax was notoriously ugly; on account of this [Boupalos and Athenis] impudently exhibited a humorous likeness of him to a circle of laughing spectators. In anger at this Hipponax unsheathed such bitter verses that some believe he drove them to the noose.”²⁶ Pliny adds, in an epilogue, that the suicides of the sculptors were very much exaggerated. The two men, he claims, continued to make sculpture for a long time. Examples of their prolific output

could be seen throughout the Aegean, in all the best places, including “most of the buildings erected by the late emperor Augustus.”

Boupalos and Athenis play a critical role in Pliny’s attempt to establish the origins of stone sculpture in Greece. He identifies them as the youngest members of a family of Chian sculptors going back four generations: Boupalos and Athenis, their father Archermos, his father Mikkiades, and his father Melas. The presence of the two brothers within the poetry of Hipponax is key, for it allowed Pliny to work backward from the poet’s floruit of 540 BC to a date of 776 BC for the floruit of Melas. Pliny concluded momentarily that the Chian family includes the earliest Greek sculptors known by name.²⁷ Inscriptions of the Archaic period confirm the historicity of Pliny’s story—in part. The most important is a fragmentary dedication on the island of Delos from around 550 BC. It describes the offering of a work of sculpture to either Apollo or Artemis. Mikkiades and Archermos are named as dedicators of the statue, perhaps as father and son, certainly as Chians and as citizens of the ancestral city of Melas.²⁸ The names of Archermos and Mikkiades occur in other inscriptions from the period 550–500 BC. One inscription from Athens identifies Archermos as a sculptor. Another, from Paros, names Mikkiades as a dedicant.²⁹ An ancient commentary on Aristophanes’ *Birds* (573) claims that Archermos was the first sculptor to make a representation of winged Nike. The inscribed statue base on Delos, bearing the names of Archermos and Mikkiades, was found in the vicinity of a statue of a winged female figure, stylistically contemporary with the base. It is not certain that the winged figure was the statue that originally stood atop the base, but if it had been, then it is easy to see how a writer might have deduced that Archermos was responsible for the earliest winged Nike.³⁰ Neither the Delian nor the Parian inscription provides confirmation of Pliny’s claim that Mikkiades was a sculptor, but they do attest to his historical existence and involvement with statues. And the Athenian dedication confirms that Archermos was a real sculptor.

No ancient inscription of any period, however, names Boupalos or Athenis.³¹ Apart from a single uninformative fragment of Hipponax (70W.11) and a few testimonia, Athenis is completely unknown. Boupalos is named in two additional testimonia. Pausanias claims that Boupalos made a statue of Tyche at Smyrna. He was, Pausanias claims, the first artist to have represented the goddess with a polos on her head and the horn of Amaltheia in her arms.³² A second passage of Pausanias concerns the sanctuary of Nemesis at Smyrna. Above the images of the goddess were dedicated golden Graces in clothed form (i.e., the earlier of the two forms of Graces), created by Boupalos. In addition, in the *thalamos*, “inner chamber,” of Attalos at Pergamon, there were other images of the draped Graces made, Pausanias says, by Boupalos.³³ The importance of the two Pausanian testimonia, with their explicit emphases

on chronological priority, cannot be overstated. For modern scholars, they have guaranteed the historical existence of a late sixth-century Chian sculptor named Boupalos.³⁴ The historicity of the sculptor in turn has led to autobiographical readings of this portion of the poetry of Hipponax. The poetry is understood to describe a real work of art and a genuine vendetta, to function in real society, sociologically, much as the public humiliation of Thersites regulates social discourse within the world of the *Iliad* (a story I return to in chapter four). Reading the poetry in this way, as a record of historical social slights, it hardly matters what Boupalos and Athenis did for a living.

Reading the poetry in that way, however, rests on assertions from five or six centuries after the floruit of Hipponax, and of highly questionable veracity. They do not withstand close examination. Two issues in particular warrant careful consideration: one is the form allegedly taken by Boupalos' and Athenis' portrayal of Hipponax; the other is the testimony of Pausanias.³⁵

PAUSANIAS AND BOUPALOS

The testimonia of Pausanias concerning Boupalos are of considerable historical importance, because they have been understood as proofs that there really was a sculptor named Boupalos, and that he really was active in the Archaic period. They have served as independent evidence that Pliny's genealogy of the Chian family of sculptors is historically accurate, and not an *ex post facto* invention. Invention—that is to say, an augmentation of the *historical* sculptural family of Archermos and Mikkiades by *fictional* sculptor brothers Boupalos and Athenis. The question is not whether Pausanias and Pliny actually saw statues that they believed to be the work of Boupalos (and Athenis). The question is whether the statues they saw were genuinely Archaic in date, and not “Archaistic” creations of a much later date, attributed to Boupalos on the basis of his poetic fame.

Let us begin with the Tyche. That a sixth-century sculptor created the iconography of Tyche with the horn of Amaltheia is an extraordinary claim, because the earliest extant representation of Tyche in any form does not predate the late fifth century BC. She does not become a figure of any note in literature until the poetry of Pindar in the mid-fifth century. The horn of Amaltheia itself does not begin to appear in art until the early fifth century. There is no independent evidence of a cult of Tyche at Smyrna in the Archaic period. The testimonia otherwise associate the cult with the new city of Smyrna, built in another location, founded at the time of Alexander the Great.³⁶ The old town of Smyrna was sacked by Alyattes sometime around 600 BC and was not rebuilt on a monumental scale. “There is no trace at Smyrna [in the sixth century] of a great sanctuary . . . nor of major buildings.”³⁷

It is true that Pausanias refers to one image of Tyche, an *agalma* or statue at Pharai, as *archaios*, “ancient” (4.30.3). In Pausanias, however, the word “*archaios*” does not necessarily correspond to our definition of the Archaic period as meaning prior to 480 BC. In several places, the word appears to be used simply to establish that a given statue is earlier than some other. For example, in Aigeira (7.26.5–6) are temples of Artemis and Apollo: in the temple of Artemis, there is an *agalma* or image of Roman date: τέχνας τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, “of the technique of our own [time].” There is also an ἀγάλμα ἀρχαῖον or “ancient statue.” The temple of Apollo, “both the temple and its pedimental sculptures,” is μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, *very ancient*. As Alice Donohue observed, pedimental sculpture was not developed until relatively late (early sixth century BC) in the creation of sculpture. “If Pausanias considered such work to be exceedingly early, something that is merely *archaios* may lie a long way from the legendary past.”³⁸ In our passage, the second of the two statues of Artemis, the one called *archaion*, stands in contrast to the first, which Pausanias identified as a work of his own era; here, *archaion* may signify, in effect, pre-Roman.³⁹ The word *archaios* used by Pausanias of a statue of Tyche at Pharai (4.30.3) is no iron-clad guarantee that the image is Archaic in the sense of predating 480 BC.⁴⁰

The cult of the two Nemeses is likewise associated with the new city of Smyrna, not the old (Pausanias 7.4.2–3). The statues of Nemesis once housed in the temple, now lost, were represented on Smyrnaian coins; they correspond in style to nothing from the Archaic period and are clearly a conception of the late Classical age. Of an earlier, hypothetical group of statues that might have been contemporary with a sixth-century sculptor Bupalos (and would then presumably have been transferred from the old city to the new), there is no trace. The earliest extant representation of Nemesis is the famous Nemesis of Rhamnous, dating fully one hundred years later than the hypothetical floruit of Bupalos.⁴¹ There is no positive evidence that there was a cult or temple or statues of Nemesis at Smyrna in the sixth century BC, which Bupalos might have adorned with golden Graces.

Representations of the Graces are in fact extremely rare in the sixth century BC. In painting, there is a pair of Graces on a metope from Thermon and trios of Graces in early sixth-century Athenian vase-paintings by Sophilos and Kleitias. In sculpture, two Graces function as karyatids on the lost sixth-century BC throne of Apollo at Amyklai (3.18.9). What form those Graces took may be suggested by another passage of Pausanias (7.5.9): at Erythrai, the travel-writer saw a colossal wooden image of Athena. He inferred that it was the work of the sixth-century sculptor Endoios, in part from its resemblance to Graces and Seasons in white marble, which he says stood before the temple. Presumably, what Pausanias identified as Graces and Seasons were Archaic statues of female figures commonly referred to in modern times as Korai.

Those sparse testimonia are valuable because they suggest that, in the sixth century, on the rare occasions when the Graces were given sculptural form, they were sculpted in the round, in the forms we speak of as *korai* and *karyatids*.⁴² This cannot have been the case with the Graces decorating the sanctuary of Nemesis, since they were installed *above* (*huper*) the statues of Nemesis. Heavy marble *korai* seem unlikely to have been installed in this way. The Graces at Pergamon also seem unlikely to have been bulky freestanding statues, since they were reportedly in the personal chamber of Attalos. The representations of the Graces attributed to Boupalos seem most likely to have been sculpture in relief. Relief sculptures of the Graces were made in large numbers, to judge from archaeological discoveries, but not before the Classical period. The earliest sculptural reliefs of the familiar image of three draped girls, walking or dancing hand in hand, certainly identifiable as Graces, date to the fifth century BC.⁴³

The testimonia of Pausanias are noteworthy in part because the works allegedly manufactured by the Archaic sculptor Boupalos were seen by the travel-writer in settings that cannot have been their original locations (neither new Smyrna nor Pergamon being in existence when the sculptor was reported to have lived). A similar pattern occurs in Pliny. Almost all the buildings erected by Augustus, including the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, he says, contained statues made by Boupalos and Athenis.⁴⁴ It is curious that so many works of sculpture attributed to Boupalos (or Boupalos and his brother) survived from the sixth century into Roman times, without any accompanying epigraphy. In none of the many places where, Pliny claims, their sculptures might be seen is there an inscribed statue base to corroborate the chronology or attributions.⁴⁵ The question is not whether Pliny or his contemporaries believed that there were sculptures by Boupalos and Athenis on display in Rome. The question is whether the statues were produced in the Archaic period.

The style of the Classical relief sculpture of the Graces is worth noticing, because it offers a possible explanation of the evidence. Both the Graces and Tyche holding a cornucopia—the two sculptural types associated with Boupalos in Pausanias—are well-known types of Archaistic sculpture. Originally created after the end of the Archaic period, replicated in numerous copies in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the statue types embody stylistic features of sculpture actually developed when Boupalos was believed to have worked. The Archaistic Tyche or Graces, appearing to have originated in the sixth century BC, ought to have invited attribution to some famous sculptor of that time. In the Hellenistic age, the most famous sculptor of the Archaic period, apart from the mythical or legendary figure of Daidalos, was Boupalos. Boupalos owed his fame primarily to the fascination with the poetry of Hipponax among Hellenistic poets. The fascination is exemplified by the

programmatically First Iambos of Kallimachos, which opens with the phrase “Listen to Hipponax” and identifies the quarrel with Boupalos as the most familiar feature of Hipponactean poetry.⁴⁶ There would have been every incentive to attribute Archaistic sculptural representations of Tyche or the Graces to Boupalos.⁴⁷

Is it possible that Pausanias ever accepted an attribution of an Archaistic statue to an Archaic artist? Pausanias accepted attributions of extant works of sculpture to Daidalos, who was contemporary, he says (8.35.2), with the legendary hero Herakles(!).⁴⁸ He reports (9.40.3) that the people of Knossos possessed the “dance of Ariadne” that Homer associated with Daidalos in his ekphrasis of the shield of Achilles; Pausanias says that the work was a relief in white marble. The Homeric reference to the dance of Ariadne makes no mention of format or materials and is in fact ambiguous as to whether a material object or an actual dance is meant (Homer, *Iliad* 18.590–592; I return to this point later). Yet elsewhere (8.16.3), Pausanias claims that Homer derived his ekphrasis from Daidalos’ “dance of Ariadne,” “having never seen better.” What sort of marble artifact representing a dance could Pausanias have seen (or heard about) that would be old-fashioned enough to justify an attribution to Daidalos, if not something like an Archaistic relief of dancers? As Sarah Morris observed, “the reference to white marble virtually excludes any plausible connections to prehistoric art or to any period earlier than classical times.”⁴⁹ In the same passage, Pausanias describes a wooden statue of Aphrodite by Daidalos that takes the form of a herm. The herm-like form of statue is not archaeologically attested until late in the Archaic period.⁵⁰ With the possible exception of the herm-like statue of Aphrodite in the Garden of unknown date or appearance (Pausanias 1.19.2), known statues of the goddess in the form of a herm do not predate the fourth century BC.⁵¹ Here are two works of sculpture, accepted by Pausanias as works of the legendary Archaic artist Daidalos, that probably did not predate the Classical period.

Pausanias’ writing about the Graces and Tyche invites special scrutiny, because the author appears to have a special interest in emphasizing the age or antiquity of sculptures of those goddesses. In the course of describing Orchomenos, Pausanias discussed in detail the number, names, cults, and iconography of the Graces (9.35.1–7). About the depiction of the Graces in art, he makes just one significant distinction, between representations of the Graces in the nude, which was standard in his own day, and depictions of the Graces as clothed goddesses. ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀρχαιότερα ἐχούσας ἐσθῆτα οἷ τε πλάσται καὶ κατὰ ταῦτ’ ἐποίουν οἱ ζωγράφοι, “during the earlier period, certainly, sculptors and painters alike represented them draped” (trans. Jones). Having made this significant art historical claim, the writer proceeds to back it up with examples. This is where the Graces in Smyrna and Pergamon enter into his account: their attribution to Boupalos guarantees that they are

archaiotera. In his argument for the priority of draped Graces in the history of ancient art, Pausanias mentions only five works, by four different artists (Apelles, Pythagoras of Paros, Socrates[!], and Boupalos). On that list, the latter is the earliest artist by far. The attribution of representations of draped Graces to Boupalos is thus crucially important to the larger argument that Pausanias is trying to make about the history of artistic treatment of the goddesses.

In the case of Tyche, Pausanias reveals a personal interest. The desolation of Megalopolis in his own day, compared to the city's earlier beauty and prosperity, prompted a meditation on fortune. "I know that heaven is always willing something new, and likewise that all things, strong or weak, increasing or decreasing, are being changed by Tyche, who drives them with imperious necessity according to her whim" (8.33.1–4, trans. Jones). Mycenae, Ninevah, and so many other great cities "have been reduced by heaven to nothing." Alexandria and Seleukos, on the other hand, "founded but yesterday, have reached their present size and prosperity because fortune (*tuchē*) favors them." James Porter suggested that "the workings of fortune are in some sense the true subject of his [Pausanias'] ten books, as the sheer frequency and prominence of his descriptions of sanctuaries to Tyche throughout Greece might suggest alone."⁵²

The tension between personal belief and the archaeological evidence, which then as now suggests that widespread and fervent worship of Fortune was a phenomenon of post-Classical periods, is arguably at work in the passage in which Pausanias mentions the statue attributed to Boupalos. This passage (4.30.3–6) is the other significant digression on Tyche in Pausanias. It begins with the observation that the people of Pharai have a temple and an ancient image of the goddess; then it turns to the literary tradition. Homer mentioned Tyche, but only in passing, as he numbered her merely among Persephone's playmates in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. That is wholly inadequate to Pausanias: Homer *πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῆ μείσθη θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασι καὶ ἰσχὺν παρέχεται πλείστην*, "said nothing further about this goddess being the mightiest of gods in human affairs and displaying greatest strength" (trans. Jones). Here, where rhetorical need seems to require some counterweight to Homeric silence, to show that Tyche was in fact recognized by the early Greeks to be the powerful goddess that he knows her to be, Pausanias cites the statue of Boupalos: "Boupalos, skillful temple-architect and carver of images, who made the statue of Fortune at Smyrna, was the first whom we know to have represented her with the heavenly sphere upon her head and carrying in her hand the horn of Amaltheia, as the Greeks call it, representing her functions to this extent." In this way, Pausanias is able to confirm his own sense of the goddess' historic importance.⁵³ What I am suggesting is that, with the Graces and Tyche, considerations beyond hardheaded archaeological judgment of the

chronology of the individual monuments encouraged a belief in the relatively great antiquity of the works attributed to Boupalos.

To summarize, apart from the poetry of Hipponax, there is no good evidence of any sort to corroborate the idea that Boupalos and Athenis were real people, much less real sculptors. The belief in their historic existence rests in part on the assumption that iambic poetry is rooted in the real experiences of the poet, and in part on the testimonium of Pliny, for aspects of his account (the part about Archermos and Mikkiades) are confirmed by Archaic epigraphical sources. The available evidence supports much better an alternative hypothesis, namely, that Boupalos and Athenis had no existence in the Archaic period outside of the poetry of Hipponax. They were poetic inventions. At some point, presumably in the Hellenistic period, but perhaps already in the poetry of Hipponax, Boupalos and Athenis, the bad-boy sculptors of Chios, were linked to the family of Archermos, perhaps on the basis of the Chian connection. Because Hellenistic writers seem not to have questioned the historical reality of the characters in iambic poetry, for them, it was a matter of making sensible connections among historical data. Having become (in)famous in the poetry of Hipponax, the sculptors were likely suspects whenever it was desirable to identify creators of works of sculpture that were Archaic in style. That is how, I believe, it came to be that Pliny identified sculptures by Boupalos and Athenis on “most of the buildings erected by the late emperor Augustus.”

Paragone

If Boupalos and Athenis had no actual existence, if they are poetic inventions, Hipponax was free to give them whatever names or occupation suited his literary purposes. The poet *chose* to call his sculptor- and sexual-rival *Boupalos*, meaning “Bull-Dick.”⁵⁴ More significantly, the poet chose to make his rivals into sculptors.⁵⁵ In other words, the poet characterized the rivalry, in part, as a contest, a *paragone*, between the relative capacities of two art forms, poetry and sculpture.⁵⁶ Rivalry between poetry and sculpture is not unattested in early Greek poetry. One example is the opening statement of Pindar’s Fifth Nemean Ode (1–6, trans. Race): Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ’, ὥστ’ ἐλινύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ’ ἐπ’ αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος ἐσταότ’· ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκᾶδος ἔν τ’ ἀκάτω, γλυκεῖ ᾠοιδά, στεῖχ’ ἀπ’ Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοις’, “I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion stationary statues that stand on their same base. Rather, on board every ship and in every boat, sweet song, go forth from Aigina...” The principal term of comparison is mobility: the statues rest immobile on their bases where they were dedicated, whereas the song can travel. Here, mobility refers not to the (sense of) movement of the figures or objects within the work of art, but rather to the transmissibility of fame.⁵⁷

A slightly different critique is offered in a roughly contemporary poem of Simonides: “what man who can trust his wits would commend Cleobulus, dweller in Lindus, who against ever-flowing rivers, spring flowers, the flame of the sun or the golden moon or the eddies of the sea set the might of a statue? All things are less than the gods. Stone is broken even by mortal hands. That was the judgment of a fool.”⁵⁸ Here, the criterion of criticism is the durability of the work of sculpture, which is compared explicitly to the works of the gods and the natural world, and implicitly to the enduring power of poetry. The valuable insight is the idea that a poet saw himself, in some ways, as operating in the same arena as the sculptor. Just as the vase-painter competed with the sympotic poet in providing original but appropriate entertainment for the symposium, so the epinician poet competed with the sculptor to provide fitting tributes to athletic victors.⁵⁹

If Pliny’s account is a fair approximation of the original narrative, Hipponax has engineered a *paragone* unique in early Greek poetry: the poet described a form of sculpture merely embarrassing to himself as its subject, but described his own poetry as lethal to its targets. In addition, it appears that he envisioned a form of sculpture—caricature of the physical appearance of a man—that did not even exist. Hipponax rigged his *paragone* so that he would win, by attributing to the rival creative field a form or type of sculpture that only existed thanks to his own poetic creativity.

CARICATURE IN LATE ARCHAIC GREEK ART

One particularly significant anachronism in the literary testimonia is the claim that Boupalos and Athenis based their portraits on the actual ugly facial features of Hipponax. One part or the other of the claim appears in testimonia besides Pliny, providing some assurance that it goes back to the poetry of Hipponax. In the Suda, Boupalos and Athenis are identified as *agalmatopoiioi*, “sculptors,” who made images of Hipponax *pros hubrin*, “for the sake of outrage.” According to “Pseudo-Acron,” some said that Boupalos was a painter from Klazomenai, who painted Hipponax deformed or ugly in order to create laughter. An ancient commentary on Horace says that Hipponax was a most eloquent poet, but ugly and deformed facially. Thus Boupalos the painter presented at the Panathenaia a painting of the poet in order to move people to laugh at him.⁶⁰

Both parts of this set of claims are questionable. Sculptural representations of contemporary historical individuals, in which the facial features are distinctive visually, are not attested until the Early Classical period.⁶¹ During the period in which Boupalos and Athenis are alleged to have worked, sculptural representations of particular individuals were indistinguishable in appearance from other sculptural representations of the same type. They were identified as

portraits through inscriptions. There is no evidence to support the idea that those sixth-century artists would have made a specifically sculptural portrayal of the actual appearance of Hipponax.⁶² There is also no evidence to suggest that caricature was practiced in sculpture at this time. In fact, the very first caricatures in any medium begin to appear in vase-painting shortly after the floruit of Hipponax. This point is worth considering in some detail.

It is well known that many figures in vase-painting from the late sixth century BC onward do not appear in readily recognizable scenes of myth, legend, or history, yet they bear personal names, written on the vases. Who are they, and what is the purpose of this puzzling genre of seemingly generic imagery peopled by particular persons? This problem will concern us further in [chapter seven](#). With respect to the testimonia concerning the portrait of Hipponax, the relevant question is whether the pictorial representations of named individuals corresponded to the appearances of actual people familiar to the artists. The question was recently explored by Luca Giuliani.⁶³ Consider a vase-painting discussed in [chapter one](#) ([figure 17](#)): each figure within this vase-painting of athletic training is identified by a personal name; at least one of the names, Leagros, was well known at Athens, presumably to potters and patrons alike. Yet there is no visual difference between Leagros and any other figure depicted on this vase, which could possibly be correlated with differences in actual physical appearances of historical men. Everyone looks the same, even if they are posing in a different way. The figures belong, Giuliani argued, to a complex “game” of homoerotic social custom and ideology, in which everyone is young, lithe, and attractive. In Athenian vase-painting more broadly, there are very few exceptions to the tendency to associate the names of particular people with the generalized image of male beauty.

One roughly contemporary (ca. 520–520 BC) image of a man stands far apart from the norm ([figure 22](#)). This fragmentary red figure pyxis-lid in Boston depicts a severely atypical physiognomy. The head is larger than the torso, but attached to the body by a neck that is impossibly thin. In the type of dwarfism known as achondroplasia, the head is disproportionately larger than the limbs. But the “striking hypertrophy” of the head in this vase-painting “is a clear biological impossibility,” to borrow the language of Véronique Dasen’s study of the representation of dwarfs in ancient Greek culture.⁶⁴ Giuliani pointed out that there are several other images in Athenian vase-painting from around 500 BC and later of similarly large-headed, skinny-bodied men, but none is accompanied by an inscribed name. The images refer not to any actual person but to a general type, and they are clearly comic in intention. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that the man on the pyxis-lid is squatting most likely in order to poop. The interpretation is not certain, because the figure’s buttocks were lost along with a fragment of the lid. But it is strongly supported by a fifth-century red-figure fragment from the Athenian Acropolis.



FIGURE 22: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.216, Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund and Museum purchase with funds donated by contribution, red-figure pyxis lid, *ARV*² 81, 525–515 BC. BAPD 200661. Photo ©2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A similarly unattractive, skinny man with enormous head squats in the manner of the man in Boston; but the man on the Athens fragment pinches his nose in response to the odor of an enormous turd that he has just laid. It is not unprecedented for a reveler to be depicted as defecating in Athenian vase-painting, but these two images are unusual in visually correlating physical ugliness with shit.⁶⁵

Two further images support the argument that vase-paintings of this sort are not attempts to represent the actual appearance of real people. One is the representation of Geras, the personification of old age, in vase-painting of around 480 BC. The visual image of this loathsome life-condition has an emaciated body, pointy beard, prominent nose, and large genitalia. Geras is not a real person but a concept, yet in physical appearance, he is similar to the two men just considered.⁶⁶ The second relevant image is a much-discussed mid-fifth-century vase-painting of an ugly man talking to a fox. Like the two images of hideous men just considered, the ugly man on this cup has an unrealistically large head, with prominent nose, pointy beard, and high brow, offset by a short, skinny body. What differentiates this image from the earlier two is that

the ugly figure is engaged in conversation with an animal. The man is seated on a rock and depicted with his mouth open; seated opposite him, in an impossibly erect bearing for a four-legged creature, is a fox. The animal is also clearly engaged in conversation, for its jaws are open and one paw is raised in emphasis. For many years, the vase-painting has been identified as a representation not of an actual, contemporary person (how many people really talked with foxes?), but of the legendary author of animal-fables, Aesop. Aesop's animal characters were uniquely capable of holding a conversation with him. As François Lissarrague emphasized, the identification, though uncertain in the absence of an inscription, is nevertheless probable, not only because the image emphasizes visually the verbal exchange between the two figures, but also because Aesop was reputed to have been an ugly barbarian slave. It is the visual presence of speech that identifies the scene as most likely Aesopean. In explicating a much later literary description of Aesop, Lissarrague offered an interpretation similar to one point developed by Giuliani:

the image of Aesop is, in fact, composed of a series of traits that are diametrically opposed to that of the Greek man, for whom the ideal is to be *kalos kagathos*, beautiful and good, these two qualities being inseparably joined. Aesop is not Greek but barbarian; he is not a free man, but a slave; his is both ugly and deformed. In short, Aesop is a flawed human being, almost an animal.⁶⁷

Let us consider one further possible example of pictorial representation of a physically atypical man, among the most carefully painted character studies in all vase-painting. This is the old man walking his dog on a cup with coral-red ground in New York signed by Hegesiboulos as potter (plate XIII). The attribution of this extraordinary cup will concern us in chapter seven. For the moment, let us focus on the physical characteristics of the man. He has a misshapen skull; receding forehead; large, hooked nose; big lip; and bristly hair. Often interpreted as a representation of a foreigner, sometimes as a real foreign person familiar to the vase-painter, Giuliani rightly pointed out that the image is constructed in a manner so as to highlight its incongruity. On the one hand, the old man is dressed in a luxurious himation and carries an elegant walking stick, hallmarks of the Athenian aristocracy. On the other hand, he seems far from aristocratic in his lean stature, curved back, bowed head, and tentative step. The physiognomy of his head also sets him apart (and in subtle ways bears comparison to the grotesque figures just considered). Particularly suggestive of a humorous intention is the similarity between the man and his dog, not only in the quality of their hair or fur but perhaps even in their physiognomy and expressions.⁶⁸ It is useful to compare a contemporary, stylistically related cup from Athens (figure 23). This cup shares with the Hegesiboulos cup the relatively unusual juxtaposition of red-figure



FIGURE 23: Athens, Third Ephoreia (A 5040), red-figure on coral red ground cup, BAPD 6101, attributed to Euphronios. Courtesy Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens. Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs.

tondo-picture on a coral-red ground. The Athens cup, like the Hegesiboulos cup, also depicts a man wearing a long mantle, carrying a stick, walking his Maltese dog. But the man in Athens is the opposite of the man on the Hegesiboulos cup in terms of physiognomy. He is young, short, beardless, with small head, perhaps curly black hair, a smooth brow, unobtrusive nose, firm chin, and strong neck. He is athletic (notice his gym-kit). The contemporary, stylistically related cup in Athens is a reminder that the Hegesiboulos cup was painted and viewed in comparison with other vase-paintings, as much as, or more than, real people.⁶⁹

In short, the large-headed, small-bodied, big-nosed, scruffy-bearded male figures come into being shortly before 500 BC as pictorial motifs, not, it appears, as attempts to render the unusual physical appearance of real persons with congenital abnormalities, but as a conceptual antithesis to run-of-the-mill

beauty. These images, the closest extant parallels for the portrait of Hipponax by the sculptors Boupalos and Athenis, as envisioned in later testimonia, provide no support for the hypothesis that a real portrait, capturing the historical poet's actual features, was an art-historical possibility at the time of Hipponax.

HIPPONAX, THE GORGON, AND IAMBIC POETRY

In the surviving fragments of Hipponax, Boupalos is explicitly associated with sculpture only once. In fragment 136W, the poet called Boupalos an *andrianta*, “statue” (fragment 136W). The full citation reads ἀνριάντα· τὸν λίθινον ἔφη Ἴππῶναξ βούπαλον <τὸν> ἀγαλματοποιόν, “statue of a man: Hipponax called Boupalos the sculptor a stone statue.” The citation assures us that Hipponax used the word “*andrianta*,” “statue of a man,” to describe his rival; whether *lithinon*, “stone,” also occurred in the poem is a matter of dispute. Presumably, the insult is related to Boupalos' alleged profession of sculptor. More than this is difficult to say in the absence of the original poem.⁷⁰ One possible line of interpretation was opened by La Penna's 1957 edition of Ovid's curse-poem entitled *Ibis*. In lines 447–448, there appears to be a clever allusion to Hipponax and his enemy: *quae Pytheides fecit de fratre Medusae*, “as the son of Pytheas did for Medusa's brother,” where Pytheides is the patronymic of Hipponax (Pytheas is the father of Hipponax according to the Suda), the *frater* is Athenis, and Medusa corresponds to Boupalos.⁷¹ Late and recherché as the Ovidean allusion is, it is worth thinking it through. For it suggests that Hipponax envisioned the sculpture of Boupalos, and perhaps his own poetry, along the lines of representations of the gorgon.

As a learned, allusive poem, the *Ibis* very likely refers to an identification between Boupalos and Medusa made within the poetry of Hipponax itself. What might the nature of the connection have been? Enzo Degani offered an intriguing possibility: Ovid's allusion is predicated on an affinity between the art of sculpture practiced by Boupalos and the petrifying effect of Medusa.⁷² The equation of the petrifying power of the gaze of the gorgon with the making of statues is a familiar motif in ancient literature. Ovid described the approach to the home of Medusa in this way: “along the way, in fields and by the roads, *vidisse hominum simulacra ferarumque in silicem ex ipsis visa conversa Medusa*, I saw on all sides men and animals—like statues—turned to flinty stone at sight of dread Medusa's visage” (*Metamorphosis* 4.780–781, trans. Brooks More). Although Pindar does not explicitly compare the effect of the gorgon's gaze to the production of statuary, he records that Perseus used the head to bring λίθινον θάνατον, “stony death,” to all the inhabitants of Seriphos (*Pythian* 10.46–48).⁷³ As a sculptor, Boupalos is like Perseus when the hero utilizes the head of the gorgon, or like Medusa herself.

In Hipponax fragment 136W, however, Boupalos himself is called a stone statue. Is there any way to understand this fragment in relation to the allusive passage in the *Ibis*, in which Boupalos is identified with Medusa the *maker* of stone images? Hipponax and the gorgon have in common the distinction of being perhaps the ugliest subjects represented in early Greek sculpture. Was Hipponax, as self-described in his own poetry, as ugly as Medusa? Did his face, as described by his formidable verse, have the power to petrify his enemy? Is it possible that Boupalos turned *himself* into stone, by looking at his own sculptural likeness of Hipponax? In this way, might Hipponax have engineered the defeat of Boupalos at the very moment of what the sculptor thought was his triumph over the poet? Those questions cannot be answered on the basis of available evidence. But this much can be said: in fragment 136W, Hipponax “petrifies” Boupalos; in the *Ibis*, Boupalos is equated with Medusa, and in various other testimonia, the heart of the dispute is the poet’s facial ugliness. All point to an interest within the poetry of Hipponax in the intersection of ugliness, sculptural representation, and the formidable power of the gorgon Medusa.

A curious item in Pliny’s account offers possible support for the idea that the gorgon figured in the poetry of Hipponax about Boupalos and Athenis. Pliny claims that there was a statue of Artemis on Chios, *Dianae facies in sublimi posita, cuius voltum intrantes tristem, abeuntes exhilaratum putant*, “a face of Diana which is their [Boupalos’ and Athenis’] work. It is set in a lofty position, and people entering the building imagine that her expression is stern, but when they leave they fancy that it has become cheerful” (*NH* 36.4.13, trans. Eichholtz). W. Deonna cleverly suggested that the description best suits the image of a gorgon—hideous, menacing, but with a large, open mouth, teeth visible, and appearing to laugh. In the late Archaic period, gorgons and gorgoneia were immensely popular and well attested as temple decorations of various kinds (acroteria, antefixes, pedimental decorations, e.g., the early sixth-century temple of Artemis at Corfu). In the Archaic period, Artemis was occasionally represented in the guise of Medusa as well—with wings, mistress of wild animals, and staring directly at the viewer.⁷⁴

If Deonna is correct in his surmise that the image described by Pliny is an image of a gorgon, how might the sculptors Boupalos and Athenis have come to be associated with such a work? One possibility, that they really did make an image of Artemis that looked like a gorgon, faces the objections already enumerated—there is no solid independent evidence that Boupalos or Athenis had any existence outside of the poetry of Hipponax or later literature related, directly or indirectly, to the poetry. One alternative is that the poetic fame of Boupalos and his brother, as early Greek sculptors of hideously ugly and laughable works like the portrait of Hipponax, led someone to attribute a real gorgon-esque image of Artemis to the sculptor brothers. A second possibility is

that one or more poems of Hipponax associated Boupalos (perhaps also Athenis) with the making of sculpture as ugly as the gorgon. Perhaps the entirety of Pliny's short description ultimately originated within a poem of Hipponax. Here, in this testimonium of Pliny, is arguably a second source of information suggesting that the gorgon figured in the fictional art of Boupalos.

THE GORGON AND THE LIMITATIONS OF VISUAL REPRESENTATION

As a theme within the poetry of Hipponax, the gorgon would reverberate with two others, namely, the capabilities and limitations of visual representation, and the combination of ugliness and humor. As a subject of pictorial or sculptural art, the motif of the grinning, toothy, tusky, bearded, snaky-haired, wide- and bug-eyed gorgon became an interesting problem as soon as it was associated with the mythology of Medusa.⁷⁵ Medusa was attributed with the particular power of transfixing permanently whoever met her gaze (see for example Pindar above). What is of interest in connection with the theme of the relative capabilities of visual art compared to poetry is this: the pictorial convention surrounding the representation of the gorgon entails the frontal representation of the monster. Any beholder of such a visual representation necessarily makes eye contact with her. Should not a faithful representation of Medusa turn us all into stone the moment we look at its ever-ready eyes?⁷⁶ Does our survival of eye-contact with the gorgon mean that the sculptures and vase-paintings of the monster, carefully crafted and detailed as they may be, are failures?

The playful possibilities of this dilemma were appreciated at least as early as the fifth century BC. In the satyr-play of Aischylos entitled *Theoroi* or *Isthmias-tai*, the chorus of satyrs sing about painted likenesses of themselves, which they propose to nail to the temple of Poseidon. They describe the likenesses as having the apotropaic power of turning viewers away: κήρυκ' [ἄ]ναυδον, ἐμπόρων κωλύτορ[α, ὅ[σ] γ' ἐπισχῆσει κελεύθου τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς] φο[β]β[ι], "a voiceless herald, a restrainer of travellers, which will make visito[rs] halt in their path [by the] fea[r]some look in its eyes."⁷⁷ The satyrs speak of the images of their own faces as apotropaic, yet they delight in looking at them: εἶδωλον εἶναι τῶντ' ἐμῆ μορφῆ πλέον τὸ Δαιδάλου μ[ί]μημα· φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον, "Look and see whether [you] th[ink] at [all] that Daedalus' models are a closer image of my form than this is. All it needs is a voice!" (lines 5–17). Why are the satyrs exempt from the apotropaic power of these images if it is as effective as they claim? Indeed, in what exactly, in this passage, lies the power to frighten a viewer? The satyrs suggest that the painted images would cause even their own mother to turn and cry out in alarm. The cause of the mother's reaction would not, however, be the "fearsome look" of the painted masks but their

faithfulness to their models: ὡς δοκοῦς' ἔμ' εἶναι, τὸν ἐξέθρηψεγ· οὕτως ἔμφορῆς ὄδ' ἐστίν, “because she’d think it was me, the child that she brought up! That is how like me it is!” (fragment 78a.15–17). Yet what exactly are those models in the end other than creations of art? What is amusing about the choral song is the underlying reality that satyrs had no material, visible form apart from pictorial representations like the masks they hold. This point would have been particularly emphatic if the images held by the satyrs were, in actual performance, nothing other than theatrical masks of the exact sort worn by the chorus members.⁷⁸

The song of the satyrs illuminates the poetry of Hipponax as well as the problem of the gorgon. The poetry appears to have claimed that Boupalos and Athenis faithfully reproduced the appearance of the poet in their sculpture. Archaeological research, as noted earlier, suggests that accurate portrayals of the physiognomy of particular persons were not actually manufactured in sculpture or painting in the Archaic period. But the song of the satyrs shows that the *idea* of such a likeness, the idea that a pictorial representation might be indistinguishable from its referent, was fully available to creative literary exploitation by the early fifth century BC at the latest. In the choral ode, the idea does not conflict with reality because the objects represented by the masks—the satyrs—do not exist outside of the imaginary world of art and performance. In a sense, this may be true in the case of the poetry of Hipponax as well. If the physical appearance of Hipponax were entirely a product of poetic invention, then it would be possible to attribute to Boupalos and Athenis sculptural likenesses the faithfulness and accuracy of which could never be challenged.

The song of the satyrs underscores an important observation of Rainer Mack about the power of the gorgon. Consider the description of the head of the gorgon on the shield of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (11.36–37): τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε, “and upon it the ferocious-eyed Gorgon appeared, gazing dreadfully, and all around were Terror and Fright.” Such a description cannot safely be taken as ethnographic evidence of the image’s ancient reception. “[*Iliad* 11.36–37] should probably be taken as nothing more (and nothing less) than an account of the *fiction* of the images: it tells us how the image behaved, for Greeks, in that special world of suspended disbelief, when we agree not to question the facticity of the claims made upon our imagination.”⁷⁹ Where the song of the satyrs differs from the description in the *Iliad* is only in the extent to which the choral ode pushes the fiction to the breaking point.

For understanding what might have interested Hipponax about the fictional power of the gorgon’s gaze, Mack’s interpretation is particularly suggestive. From the moment the visual motif first appears in Greek art, he argues, the fiction of the gorgon’s ocular power is an integral part of a larger story

concerning the coming of age and assertion of royal prerogatives of the hero Perseus. A key step in the hero's maturation is the taking possession of Medusa's power. He appropriates the gorgon's power, rather than destroying it, and uses it against his enemies. This is a particularly important part of the myth: a power that was untamed, uncivilized, remote, and associated with female nature is domesticated by a (male) hero who will use it as an integral part of the exercise of social and political power. The myth explains how the capability embodied in the monster Medusa became part of civilization. But what is that power precisely? It is the ability to assert dominance through the making and maintaining of eye contact, and to objectify the person or object with whom one engages visually.

The beauty of Mack's interpretation lies in the recognition that the making and viewing of representations of the *gorgoneion* concern the making or viewing of art. At the heart of the myth is the meaning of representation. This is hinted at in the development, in the Classical period, of the literary and pictorial anecdote in which Perseus employs the reflective surface of a shield or pool of water in order to look the gorgon in the eye without harm.⁸⁰ The entire history of artistic representation of the gorgon can be understood in a similar way.

The very practice of making and viewing the image of Medusa, reproduced the key aetiological event in which one power was met and defeated by the other. . . [the *gorgoneion*] is not illustrating an object in the legend (the severed head), but staging an episode from the legend . . . [w]hen those who made and viewed the image of Medusa performed the role of Perseus, they were performing the mythological origins of the power of representation that makes that image possible.⁸¹

Medusa, I suggest, had special appeal to Hipponax as a means of addressing the possibilities and limitations of art. Inasmuch as the case that the conflict between Hipponax and Boupalos (and Athenis) was, in part at least, a competition between poetry and art concerning the relative capabilities of the two media, evoking the image of Medusa would be to evoke a visual image that spectacularly failed to do what it was supposed to do.

The stakes of the conflict between Hipponax and Boupalos were high—nothing less than death. “In anger at [the humorous likeness fashioned by Boupalos and Athenis] Hipponax unsheathed such bitter verses that some believe,” Pliny wrote, “he drove them to the noose.” Taking the bait, Pliny protests that the story of the suicides is impossible. Modern scholars are quick to assume that the suicides of Boupalos and Athenis are a result of contamination from the biographical tradition concerning Archilochos, in which the suicides of various members of the family of Lykambes are standard. An important testimonium, however, asserts that Iambe herself, the very

personification of the genre with which Archilochos and Hipponax were so closely associated, took her own life.⁸² If it is plausible that an ancient biographer fleshed out the life of one iambic poet by borrowing motifs from the biography of another, it is not easy to explain away the suicide of Iambe in the same. It seems more likely that it is a reflection or distillation of the poetic aspirations of iambographers.⁸³ If the stories of the enemies of *iambos* are not historical in every detail, it is possible to imagine that the poets themselves envisioned the ultimate surrender of their vanquished opponents in suicide. The gorgon Medusa, guaranteed by mythology to be fatal, is a perfect symbol of what Hipponax hoped to achieve within the genre of invective poetry, as well as an illustration of the failure of sculptural or pictorial representation to measure up to the same level.

UGLINESS AND HUMOR

One further aspect of the gorgon Medusa appears especially fitting to the poetry of Hipponax, namely, its combination of the frightening and the laughable. We can be sure that the sight of a depiction of the gorgon was imagined to cause fear or repel a beholder, because the poets tell us so. The gorgon crowning the shield of Agamemnon, as noted earlier, is grim-looking, staring terribly, *blosurōpis, deinon derkomenē*, and surrounded by Fear and Terror (*Iliad* 11.36–37). In the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, the gorgon decapitated by Perseus is described as a terrible monster, *κάρη δεινοῖο πελώρου*, and her sisters as dreadful and unspeakable, *ἄπλητοί τε καὶ οὐ φαταί*, with serpents around their waists. *Μένει δ' ἐχάρασσον ὀδόντας ἄγρια δερκομένω· ἐπὶ δὲ δεινοῖσι καρήνοις Γοργείοις ἐδονεῖτο μέγας Φόβος*, “they ground their teeth with strength, glaring savagely. Upon the

terrible heads of the Gorgons rioted great Fear” (223–224, 230, 233–237, text/trans. after Most 2007). The descriptions easily move from the dreadful appearance of the gorgon to the fearful response that it engenders.

What reason is there to believe that the gorgon was understood to laugh, or that the image of the gorgon was laughable? The broad up-curving mouth of the typical *gorgoneion* (e.g., figure 24), showing its teeth and large tongue, has been interpreted by various scholars as a smile or laugh, but by others as grimace.⁸⁴ Is there any evidence of how the face was interpreted in antiquity? The word used to describe the face of Gorgo in the *Iliad*,



FIGURE 24: New York 31.11.4, standlet, ABV 78,12, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300735. Fletcher Fund, 1931. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY.

blosurōpis, “grim-looking,” has a noteworthy echo in the description of Ajax charging into battle, “smiling with a grim face,” μειδιῶν βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι (Homer, *Iliad* 7.212). The parallel suggests, at the very least, that “grim-looking” is not incompatible with smiling. In the fifth century BC, there are literary sources that number the *gorgoneion* among the many *mormolukeia*, pragmatic objects designed to instill fear. They often crop up in comedy in humorous situations, like the Molossian hounds employed by husbands to scare away their wives’ lovers (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai* 417). The word *mormolukeion* was used for masks of all types, even comic theatrical masks (κωμωδικὸν μορμολυκεῖον, Aristophanes fragment 31 Henderson 2007). From a fragment of Aristophanes, we know that theatrical masks, hung in the temple of Dionysos as the patron deity of drama, were called *mormolukeia*: Τίς ἂν φράσειε ποῦ’στι τὸ Διονύσιον ὅπου τὰ μορμολυκεῖα προσκρεμάννυται, “Who can tell me where Dionysus’ precinct is, where the Mormo-Goblins are hung on display?”⁸⁵ *Mormolukeia* are associated in particular with the sort of monster that would be frightening to children (see especially Plato, *Pheido* 77e). The name Mormo is used as a synonym for the gorgon in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* 574, 581–582, where the total effect of the *gorgoneion* on its victim is not much more than confusion: τίς Γοργόν’ ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος, “who’s roused my Gorgon from her shield case?” . . . “I’m not certain yet; the terror of your armor makes me dizzy. Please, take that *mormona* away from me!” ἀντιβολῶ σ’, ἀπένεγκέ μοι τὴν μορμόνα.⁸⁶ That the *gorgoneion* was simply laughable in certain contexts is suggested by Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* (559–561, trans. Henderson): καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα γέλοιον, ὅταν ἀσπίδ’ ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις κᾶτ’ ὠνήται κορακίνους, “but it’s totally ridiculous when a man with a Gorgon-blazoned shield goes shopping for sardines!” A later literary source describes the ancient practice of hanging before the furnace of a bronze foundry images known as *baskana*; the purpose of the images was apotropaic, to avert ill, but the images are described as *geloia*, “laughable.”⁸⁷ As Katherine Topper persuasively argued, a number of representations of the story of Perseus and Medusa in fifth-century art invite a humorous response. A significant feature of those representations is the facial appearance of the gorgon, which is no longer distorted or made up partly of nonhuman features, but similar to that of a beautiful girl.⁸⁸

Jean-Pierre Vernant suggested that the form of the typical gorgon oscillates between the horror of the terrifying and the hilarity of the grotesque. What is horrible about the face, he argued, is that, in its mixture of human and bestial and male and female, it threatens a return to the formlessness and indistinctness of primordial chaos.⁸⁹ What makes the gorgon grotesque or hilarious is less precisely defined. Vernant compared the image of the gorgon with the image of the satyr or silen. The grotesque hilarity of the satyr is due in part to the crude exaggeration of its sexual organ. Just so, Vernant suggested, there is a

play between the face of the gorgon and the image of the female sexual organ. The head of Medusa is associated with the female reproductive organs through the birth of her children, Pegasos and Chrysaor, who frighteningly emerged from her neck once Perseus had removed her head.

In short, the potential of the face of Medusa to be both monstrous and humorous is another feature of the gorgon that made it an apt metaphor for the poetry of Hipponax.

MIMNES THE SHIP-PAINTER AND THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES
(PART ONE):

The engagement of the poetry of Hipponax with the visual arts is well illustrated in fragment 28W, which is very likely a complete poem. The poem recounts a colossal blunder made by a ship-painter named Mimnes:

Μιμνῆ κατωμόχανε, μηκέτι γράψης
ὄφιν τριήρεος ἐν πολυζύγω τοίχῳ
ἀπ' ἐμβόλου φεύγοντα πρὸς κυβερνήτην·
αὕτη γὰρ ἔστι συμφορὴ τε καὶ κληδών,
νικύρτα καὶ σάβαννι, τῷ κυβερνήτη
ἦν αὐτὸν ὄφεις τῶντικνήμεον δάκη.

“Mimnes, you who gape open all the way to the shoulders, don’t paint again on a trireme’s many-benched side a serpent that runs from the ram to the helmsman; for this is a dangerous omen for the helmsman, you slave born of a slave and, . . . if the serpent bites him on the shin.”

The name “Mimnēs” is exceedingly rare, attested but a single time in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, perhaps invented by Hipponax for this poem, and seemingly related to the Greek verb *mimnēskō*, “to remember.” The painter seems to have forgotten, however, the conventions governing ship decoration.⁹⁰ The fragment is perhaps best remembered for the remarkable epithet of Mimnes, *katōmochane*, otherwise unattested in Greek, and defined by Tzetzes, in one of his citations of the poem, as “gaping open from the shoulders.” It seems to be, in part, a playful modification of the Homeric word *kakomēchane*, “mechanic of evil,” used by Penelope in insult to Antinoos (Homer, *Odyssey* 16.418). The poem also appears to call the painter a “slave of a slave,” if the unknown word *nikurta* (line 5) was correctly glossed by Hesychius as *doulekdoulos*. But the most interesting feature of the poem is the idea that the painted decoration of the ship comes alive. The animation of the imagery is no mere ad hoc humorous invention, but a central, memorable, and arguably highly significant feature of the earliest and most influential of all ancient Greek poetic descriptions of pictorial art—the description of the shield of Achilles in Book Eighteen of the *Iliad*.

In the present book, the Shield of Achilles is of interest for several reasons (see chapters four and five). For the moment, I am interested in one extraordinary feature of the shield's decoration: the fact that the represented figures, though molded out of metal, are nevertheless mobile. In one vivid vignette, there is no way to understand the text other than to understand the represented figures as in motion: "he forged a fallow field . . . and across it crews of plowmen wheeled their teams, driving them up and back and soon as they'd reach the end-strip, moving into the turn, a man would run up quickly and hand them a cup of honeyed, mellow wine as the crews would turn back down along the furrows, pressing again to reach the end of the deep fallow field . . ." (Homer, *Iliad* 18.541–547). The animation of the scene, however, is emphatically contrasted with the inert materiality of the medium in the very next line of the poem: "and the earth churned black behind them, like earth churning, solid gold as it was." The passage ends with the attribution of the impression of movement to the artistry of the shield: "that was the wonder of Hephaestus' work" (Homer, *Iliad* 18.548–549).⁹¹ The handiwork of Hephaistos is often self-propelled. Twenty tripod cauldrons were fitted with wheels "so all on their own speed, at a nod from him, they could roll to halls where the gods convene then roll right home again" (*Iliad* 18.373–377). The "Bond-girls" who assist him in his studio are "all cast in gold but a match for living, breathing girls. Intelligence fills their hearts, voice and strength their frames, from the deathless gods they've learned their works of hand" (*Iliad* 18.417–420). Yet it hardly does justice to the intricate poetic design of the *ekphrasis* of the shield of Achilles to understand the animation of the represented figures as actual movement of the figures on the shield itself, "a kind of mosaic of little video scenes," as Andrew Laird put it.⁹²

Andrew Becker interpreted the animation of the vignettes on the shield as complementary to the poetics of the *Iliad*: Homeric poetry tends to represent objects not through description but via narration. When Homeric descriptions of visual art go beyond what is possible for the medium, such as for inert metal to move, they are in accord with the general action-oriented character of Homeric poetry.⁹³ But numerous other readers, including James Heffernan, have sensed a more agonistic relationship between pictorial art and poetry in the Shield of Achilles. The very design of the shield has proved impossible to establish on the basis of the text alone despite hundreds of years of careful reading.⁹⁴ In this respect, the *ekphrasis* seems to violate a basic tenet of Homeric poetry memorably defined by Erich Auerbach: "[Homeric epic] represent[s] phenomena in a fully externalized form, visible and palpable in all their parts, and completely fixed in their spatial and temporal relations."⁹⁵ In the description of the shield, many individual vignettes begin with an explicit reference to the maker or the making of the shield, only to become immersed in the unfolding actions to such a degree that the materiality of the work of art is forgotten. In the well-known vignette of arbitration, the poetic focus on the

unfolding actions within the imagery is of such intensity that twenty-six hexameter lines go by before the text returns from the dramas in the depicted cities to the material form of the shield. In this passage, there even occurs a reference to a material used for represented objects—polished stone seats (18.504)—that is completely at odds with the metal materials used in the making of the shield itself.

The description of the shield of Achilles hints at the idea of artistic rivalry in its internal references to the creators of visual art and spectacle. In describing the culminating, climactic vignette on the shield, the narrator compares the agile, athletic dance wrought by the ironically styled “crooked-limbed” god to a dance created by another artisan, Daidalos (18.590–592).⁹⁶ It is worth noting, parenthetically, that a simile, being a distinctly verbal phenomenon, transcends what could be seen within the work of art being described. The allusion to the fabled Minoan artisan is perhaps anticipated in the use of the verb *daidallo* and noun *daidala* in the opening sentences of the *ekphrasis*: ποίει δὲ πρότιστα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε πάντοσε δαιδάλλων . . . αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ποίει δαίδαλα πολλά ἰδυίησι πραπίδεσσιν, “and first Hephaestus makes a great and massive shield, blazoning well-wrought emblems all across its surface . . . across its vast expanse with all his craft and cunning the god creates *daidala polla*, a world of gorgeous immortal work” (*Iliad* 18.478–482). Already in antiquity, the propriety of this comparison of the work of a god to that of the mere mortal Daidalos was questioned.⁹⁷

In the culminating vignette of the shield, the comparison makes sense in the first instance, because Hephaistos is extending his creativity beyond the limits normally associated with visual art, into the co-expressive field of dance, usually the purview of musicians.⁹⁸ Daidalos is a rare example within mythology of a material artist operating in the field of performance art. But Daidalos also introduces into the description of the shield of Achilles a theme dear to Hipponax, namely, artistic rivalry, if the “Athens affair” was part of Daidalos’ biography already in the Archaic period. He was exiled from Athens for a crime similar to that of Hipponax, the death of a rival artist. The Homeric text perhaps even alludes to this story in the comparison of the dance to a potter testing his wheel, because one of the inventions said to have led Daidalos to murder was his rival’s invention of the potter’s wheel.⁹⁹

Comparison and competition between verbal and visual means of expression long predate the lasting stamp placed on the issue in the eighteenth century in the *Laocoön* of Lessing. In Leonardo’s writings, verbal expression, thanks to its impermanence, one sound dying out before the next one is uttered, pales in significance to visual expression: “that thing is noblest which has the longest duration. Therefore music, which passes away as soon as it is born, is of less account than painting . . .”¹⁰⁰ Becker has argued eloquently against the assumption that all *ekphrasis* entails the assertion of the superiority of verbal expression

over visual representation.¹⁰¹ Hephaistos' shield of Achilles offers its own response, so to speak, to any implicit assertion of the superiority of epic poetry to pictorial art. It does so by suggesting that the dominant subject matter of epic narration—war, death, and suffering—are nothing but a small part of a much larger world of human experience and natural phenomena.¹⁰² My claim is not that one side or the other in the debate over the agonistic dimension of ekphrastic writing is correct. It is merely that a poet like Hipponax, who was interested in articulating a *paragone* or rivalry between poetry and visual representation, could find specific means of doing so in the Homeric *ekphrasis* of the shield of Achilles. He could find them in the open acknowledgment (Homer calls it *thauma*, “wonder”) that the liveliness of the visual imagery is at odds with its inert material support, and in the shady backgrounds (physical deformity, criminal record) of the artists Hephaistos and Daidalos themselves.¹⁰³

To return to the little poem about the incompetent artist Mimnes, Hipponax imagines the painted image of the snake, like the imagery in the Shield of Achilles, coming to life. But he takes this idea much further than the Homeric *ekphrasis*, for he envisions the possibility that the painted image of the serpent might reach right outside of the very frame of the work of art and bite someone. The poem about Mimnes develops an idea subtly or ambiguously at work in the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles—the idea that poetry can do what painting cannot do—into an emphatic presentation of the point. Moreover, where the animation of the visually represented figures is a *thauma*, a “wonder,” in the Homeric text, thanks to the incomparable skill of the divine artist Hephaistos, in Hipponax it is a misfortune (*sumphorē*) attributable to the incompetence (and slavishness?) of the artist. Mimnes himself is merely a means or tool for making the more general point. In accordance with the generic expectations of iambic poetry, the general point is exemplified in the colorful criticism of a particular person. But the incompetence of Mimnes does not in fact account for the memorable image of the painted decoration coming to life and harming a bystander. It would have been enough for Hipponax to point out that Mimnes made such a basic mistake as to paint the image of the snake facing in the wrong direction, to justify the claim that Mimnes should never paint a ship again. The *animation* of the painted decoration is not attributable to Mimnes (if he had painted the snake facing in the *correct* direction, would it then *not* have come to life?). Neither is it a real possibility for painted decoration to come to life and bite someone, as anyone with any experience of pictorial representation can attest. The animation of the painted snake is possible thanks to the power of the word. It is only in the poetry of Hipponax that the painted imagery becomes potentially harmful or even (is it a poisonous snake?) lethal.¹⁰⁴

In short, in the course of writing the history of the lives of Boupalos and Athenis, which began in the Hellenistic period and continues into modern

times, it seems to have gone unnoticed that the resulting biographical figure of Boupalos is an artist of improbably Picasso-esque stature: one hundred years ahead of his time in giving pictorial form to the goddess Tyche; responsible perhaps for the earliest canonical sculptural representation in relief of the three Graces; prolific beyond belief, with sexual prowess to match the artistic output; and perhaps most significantly, creator of the most biting genre of pictorial art in Western civilization, caricature. What has obscured the role of Hipponax in the creation of this larger-than-life figure is a failure to appreciate the context and conventions within which the poet was operating. Hipponax was not making a name for himself, like Pliny, through the reconstruction of plausible narrative histories out of primary documents. Nor was he a confessional artist, making poetry out of his own lived experience. He was fashioning a reputation for himself within the competitive, literate arena of the symposium, by engaging with literary characters and literary situations and artistic motifs of the past, including Odysseus, Medusa, and Hephaistos. Historical truth mattered less than artistic originality. The obscurity surrounding the creative work of Hipponax is unfortunate, because the poetry arguably preserves the most interesting and original thoughts on pictorial and sculptural representation in surviving Archaic Greek poetry apart from epic.

DID EUPHRONIOS LISTEN TO IAMBIC POETRY?

One further fragment of Hipponax brings us back to the connection between vase-painting and iambic poetry. Fragment 117W is a poem about (in part?) the theft of a cloak and a thief who, in turn, is robbed of his goods by a man named Aischulides. Aischulides happens to be a potter. Rosen suggested that he was one of the many stock figures peopling the narratives of Hipponax, because his name is transparent in meaning “Son of Shameful/Disgusting.”¹⁰⁵ A late source even claims that the father of Hipponax was a potter named Ebalus.¹⁰⁶ There is no further information on how the potter or potters figure in the poetry of Hipponax. But their existence is further evidence of the poet’s demonstrated interest in art. Their presence also seems like an open invitation to a vase-painter to engage with the poetry of Hipponax.

If the comparative examination of the vase-painting of Euphronios and poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax suggests that there is a meaningful relationship among the three oeuvres, in terms of fictionalization of the creators of the work or the incorporation of fictional artists within it, what might have been the nature of the relationship? Are the three bodies of work informed primarily by the general interest in identity-formation and role-playing characteristic of the Archaic symposium?¹⁰⁷ Are they, in other words, parallel but unconnected manifestations of, or responses to, a particular social practice? Or is there reason to believe that the discourses are perhaps also

directly connected? Is there any evidence of a direct connection between Euphronian vase-painting and the poetry of Archilochos or Hipponax?

The name of Smikros, the pictorial invention of Euphronios, in its implications of smallness, reverberates within iambic poetry. In fragment 114W of Archilochos, the narrator contrasts a military officer who is conspicuously handsome and fastidious with an officer who is less than blameless in physique yet steady and courageous (and the narrator's preference). In the comparison, the former officer is specifically identified as tall, and the latter emphatically contrasted as *smikros*. In a poem that appears to be programmatic in its definition of Hipponax (fragment 32W), the poet, identifying himself by name, prays to Hermes for a *κυπασσίσκον καὶ σαμβάλισκα κάσκερίσκα*, "little frock, and little sandals, and little fur lined-shoes."¹⁰⁸ In the emphatic smallness of Hipponax' things, there is an amusing contrast with the massiveness inherent in the name of his rival, the fictitious sculptor Boupalos, an avatar of Monty Python's Biggus Dickus. One thinks of the name of the vase-painter, Smikros, "tiny," emerging from the tip of the enormous, Boupalean phallus of the silen on the amphora in Berlin (plate VII). Even the role model of Archilochos and Hipponax in epic, Odysseus, in his shortness of stature compared to that of Agamemnon or Menelaos, embodies the thematics of smallness. Upon the escape from the cave of Polyphemos, for example, when Odysseus informs the monster of his real name, the *kyklops* is stunned: "Oh no, no—that prophecy years ago . . . it all comes home to me . . . [Telemos warned me] that I'd be blinded here at the hands of one Odysseus. But I always looked for a handsome giant *φῶτα μέγαν* to cross my path, some fighter clad in power like armor-plate, but now, look what a *ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιαδὸς καὶ ἄκιυς*, a dwarf, a spineless good-for-nothing, stuns me with wine, then gouges out my eye!" (*Odyssey* 9.507–517). In this passage, the *kyklops* sets in opposition *megan* and *oligos*, "tall" and "little," and acknowledges that he grossly underestimated the abilities of the shrimp. "Smikros" is a marked and memorable term in iambic discourse and its antecedents.

More speculative is the possibility that the narrator of one or more Archilochean poems was engaged in a rivalry with a sculptor bearing a name closely related to that of the vase-painter Euphronios. Ewen Bowie argued that "Euphron" may have appeared in several Archilochean poems as a rival of the poet for the affections of a woman. In fragment 23W.9, he reads *Ἐυφ[ρο]νι*, *Euph[roni]* as the dative of the personal name, Euphron. That fragment, as noted in chapter two, consists of a speech by an Odysseus-like narrator who appears to be interested in an amorous engagement with a high-born woman. Bowie also recognizes *Εὐφρων* as a vocative form of the name, Euphrōn, in the fourth line of Theognidea 1123–1128, which he suspects is a poem by Archilochos (and in which the narrator compares his trials to those of Odysseus).¹⁰⁹ In the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, the name "Euphron" is not rare, but very few

attestations predate the later Classical period. In the Cycladic islands, the earliest occurrences of the name Euphron by over a century are three early fifth-century dedicatory inscriptions signed by Archilochos' fellow Parian, Euphron. What is particularly suggestive about them is the fact that they identify Euphron of Paros as a sculptor.¹¹⁰

It is wholly a matter of speculation that the name Euphron was associated with sculpture on Paros prior to the early fifth century BC, say, within the same family. But if a character named Euphron appeared in Archilochean poetry, and if the character were a sculptor, and if the fifth-century historical sculptor were named after him, then there are several interesting implications. The poetry of Archilochos would have provided a model for the appearance of sculptors as social rivals in the poetry of Hipponax. If there were a rivalry within Archilochean poetry between the poet-narrator and a sculptor, then interactions between iambic poets and visual artists would appear to have been a traditional theme of iambic discourse, rather than a topic of particular interest to Hipponax alone. Finally, if Euphron were a familiar iambic name for an artist, then it raises questions about the origins even of the name of the vase-painter Euphronios. For this is exactly how Euphronios appears to have inserted himself into the vase-painting in the Louvre (*plate XI*)—as “Euphron.”¹¹¹

CHAPTER FOUR

HEPHAISTOS IN EPIC: ANALOG OF ODYSSEUS AND ANTITHESIS TO THERSITES

One detail remains to be considered in connection with the persona of the physically imperfect but technically clever poet-artist Hipponax. The meter used, and allegedly invented, by Hipponax, is known as the *chōliambos*, or “crippled iambic meter”: “worthy of mention among the acatalectic (iambic) meters is also the one called ‘lame,’ an invention of Hipponax according to some.”¹ “The iambic meter of old is divided into comic, tragic, satyric, Hipponactean which is also called ‘lame’ . . .”² The deviant metron was also called the *skazōn*, the “lame metron.”³ No real explanation was ever offered in antiquity for the origins of the description of this meter as “crippled,” but we know that Hipponax used the word *chōlos* in his poetry (frag. 171W: *cheirochōlos*). The earliest known portrait of an artist, the Homeric figure of Hephaistos, is a powerful god, a versatile artisan, a fine artist—and a physically deformed, unattractive, and socially shunned member of the Olympian pantheon. The artist god calls himself *chōlon*, “crippled, lame” (Homer, *Iliad* 18.395–397). For the crippled character of Hipponax’ verse as well as the poet’s personal ugliness, Hephaistos is a model.⁴

THE FAULTLESS SHIELD OF ACHILLES AND ITS FAULTY MAKER

Throughout ancient poetry, Hephaistos is responsible for virtually every fine object possessed by the gods and many of the finest things possessed by mortals. Without him, they would all still be huddling in huts. He built each of the

houses of the gods (Homer, *Iliad* 1.606–608). His own house, bright as a star, he built out of bronze (18.369–371). His workshop was equipped with mechanical golden assistants of his own invention, like young girls in appearance, with understanding, speech, and strength (18.417–420). He was largely responsible for the creation of Pandora, who stands at the beginning of the line of mortal female humans (Hesiod, *Theogony* 571–612; *Works and Days* 60–105). In epic poetry, the finest artifacts of gold or silver manufacture are, as often as not, attributed to this god. When Menelaos wishes to give Telemachos a particularly memorable gift, he selects a silver bowl, which, he claims, was made by Hephaistos himself (*Odyssey* 4.615–617). The culmination of the description of Odysseus' visual inspection of the lavishly decorated palace of the Phaiakian king Alkinoos are the gold and silver guard dogs flanking the door, immortal and unaging, the work of Hephaistos (*Odyssey* 7.91–94).

In Homeric epic, the most celebrated of all Hephaisteian objects is the shield that he makes for Achilles. The gold and silver decoration inlaid on the bronze shield takes up 134 lines of poetry (18.482–608). The agency of Hephaistos is emphasized by the structure of the description, which takes the form of a narrative of the god's creation of the shield. The work of art comes into being through the labor of Hephaistos and the unfolding of the poetry simultaneously, implicitly linking the creative work of the metal-working god with the inventiveness of poetic narrative. In fact, the god's artistry is praised most profoundly insofar as it is compared implicitly to the *Iliad* itself as a work of art. The comparison is invited by the scope of the shield's decoration, which encompasses the earth and the heavens, nature and culture, war and peace, justice and brutality, farming, viniculture, and animal husbandry. All of those things reappear in brief but pregnant moments in the epic at large, in the form of similes. The comparison between visual image and poetic discourse is also invited by the emphasis in the *ekphrasis* on music, which is the epic's medium. This would be especially evident if the verses "the god-like singer was singing in their midst, accompanying himself on the phorminx" are added to the text.⁵ The final significant vignette in the poetic description of the shield's decoration, the culmination of the *ekphrasis*, is a circular dance of young boys and girls, which is compared to the rapid turning of a potter's wheel by an artisan. The *ekphrasis* establishes a precedent for thinking about fine art and visual representation in relation to poetic performance and even the craft of pottery. Of course, there is a case to be made that the poetic description invites a comparative and even competitive assessment of the capabilities and limitations of pictorial representation (discussed in [chapter three](#)). The respect implicitly accorded to Hephaistos' creation in the Shield of Achilles shows that the contest is occurring at the highest level.

The description of the shield of Achilles suggests a work of art without blemish. The narrative of the shield's creation begins, however, with the

observation that Hephaistos was anything but unblemished. He is *κυλλοπόδιων*, “club-footed” (18.371). The narrative calls attention repeatedly to the god’s inability to move easily, and to his unusual combination of monstrous upper body and spindly legs. “He heaved up from the anvil block—his immense hulk hobbling along but his shrunken legs moved nimbly . . . He sponged off his brow and both burly arms, his massive neck and shaggy chest . . . and grasping a heavy staff, Hephaistos left his forge and hobbled on. Handmaids ran to attend their master . . .” (18.410–417).⁶ The episode begins by identifying this consummate artist as a *πέλωρ*, quite literally a “monster.” It reveals that he, a god, experiences perspiration. And it ends by contrasting the god’s limited mobility with the fleetness of his own mechanical creations. Here, art is a means of complementing the deficiencies of nature.

The god not only describes himself as *chōlon*, “crippled” (18.397), but also claims that he was ostracized for his imperfection by his mother Hera. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (311–321), this is admitted by Hera herself: “my son has turned out a weakling among the gods, Hephaistos of the withered legs (*ἡπεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν παῖς ἔμὸς Ἥφαιστος ῥικνὸς πόδας*), whom I myself bore. I picked him up and threw him in the broad sea” (trans. West 2003b). The development of Hephaistos into a peerless artisan is implicitly related to Hera’s rejection and ejection of her son from Mount Olympos. In one account (*Iliad* 18.394–402), Hephaistos explains that he was offered refuge by Thetis and Eurynome in their cave on the river Okeanos, where he was able to manufacture jewelry for nine years without any god or mortal impeding his progress. In another (*Iliad* 1.590–594), he claims to have crash-landed on Lemnos after being thrown from the heights of Mount Olympos, and to have been rescued by the local Sintians. Lemnos was legendary for its primitive barbarian metal-working inhabitants. In the *Odyssey* (8.294), the Sintians are characterized as *ἀγριοφώνους*, “wild-speaking.” By the Classical period at the latest, the Sintians were associated or identified with the Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, two other non-Greek ethnic groups that haunt ancient speculations about early Greek life. The Sintians were attributed with the invention of fire, weapons of war, and other baleful things.⁷ The Kabeiroi, extra-Olympian deities worshipped on Lemnos, associated with wine and metalworking, were said to be the children of Hephaistos.⁸ In yet another literary account, Hera does not throw her son bodily out of heaven, but apprentices him to a metal-smith on Naxos.⁹ In all those accounts, technical, artisanal, and artistic knowledge implicitly reside somewhere outside of the social spaces of the Olympian deities. The products of technical or artistic ability may have been sought after by the Olympians, but the practices themselves were literally and figuratively beneath them.

When Thetis supplicates Zeus in Book One of the *Iliad*, the sky god is sitting serenely on the topmost peak of Mount Olympos (498–499). When he

agrees to do what she asks, he merely bows his head (524–530). When Thetis comes to Hephaistos, she finds him toiling in his foundry, dripping with sweat, manufacturing automatic tripods for the rest of the gods, to make their lives even easier. Integral to the Shield of Achilles as a narrative is the idea that the finest work of art in cosmic history can only be the product of a man who suffers for his being an artist. Nine years in a cave on the remote river Okeanos is one way of saying that artistry requires hard work in isolation, not just nodding the head before rejoining a cocktail party.

THE SONG OF DEMODOKOS: REVENGE, GUILF,
AND ARTISTIC STRATEGY

The rejection of Hephaistos by a goddess on account of his birth-defect is the theme of a celebrated story in the *Odyssey* (8.266–366). It is a tale within a tale, for it is sung by the bard Demodokos, and accompanied by lyre-playing and, it seems, dancing. In this tale, Hephaistos claims that Aphrodite, his lawfully wedded wife, spurns him in favor of the war god, “just because of his stunning looks and racer’s legs while I am a weakling, lame from birth” (8.308–311).¹⁰ Through his mastery of the art of metalworking, Hephaistos is able to catch the adulterers in his marriage bed, in flagrante, in a trap of invisible but unbreakable netting. He invites the Olympian gods to his house: δεῦθ’, ἵνα ἔργα γελαστὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιεικτὰ ἴδησθε, “come here so that you can see deeds that are laughable and not to be endured” (8.307 my trans.). Upon the arrival of the male deities, ἄσβεστος δ’ ἄρ’ ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι, “uncontrollable laughter burst from the happy gods” (8.326). The tale exemplifies the narrative pattern in which an artist or poet triumphs over those who would reject him socially through the skillful use of his own artistry.

In its absurd and comic qualities, the Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos may appear at first glance to be unrelated to the story of mortal struggle against adversity and opposition that is the theme of the *Odyssey*. But the story of infidelity and revenge has numerous echoes elsewhere in the epic. It has long been noted that the rivalry between Hephaistos and Ares corresponds in several ways to the immediate context in which the song is performed.¹¹ The Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos is framed and motivated by rivalry (8.96–255): the Phaiakian king, Alkinoos, arranged a series of entertainments for the mysterious stranger we know to be Odysseus. During the athletic portion of the program, the stranger is invited to join in. He demurs. A young Phaiakian, Euryalos, mocks him: “I never took you for someone skilled in games, the kind that real men play throughout the world. Not a chance. You’re some skipper of profiteers, roving the high seas in his scudding craft, reckoning up his freight with a keen eye out for home-cargo, grabbing the gold he can! You’re no athlete, I see that” (8.158–164). To this

Odysseus replies with an insult of his own, then picks up a discus and throws it farther than any discus thrown by a Phaiakian athlete. Odysseus challenges the Phaiakians to compete with him in other sports as well. At this point in the dispute, anxious Alkinoos intervenes, tactfully suggesting a change in the program of entertainment from sports to song. What follows is the song of Demodokos about the adulterous love of Ares and Aphrodite, which serves to make Odysseus and the Phaiakians laugh, and breaks the tension.

In the [previous chapter](#), it was noted that there are significant links between that account of Odysseus' triumph over the young Phaiakian and the self-description of Hipponax. Here it is the links between that account and the Song of Demodokos that are important. When Euryalos, the good-looking, speedy antagonist of Odysseus, is introduced in the epic, he is literally compared to Ares (8.115), the antagonist of Hephaistos within Demodokos' song. At the same time, Odysseus describes himself in a manner that assimilates him to the figure of Hephaistos within the song: "only at sprinting I fear you'd leave me in the dust, I've taken a shameful beating out on the heavy seas, no conditioning there on shipboard day by day. My legs have lost their spring (τῷ μοι φίλα γυῖα λέλυνται)" (8.230–233). Both stories follow a plot-pattern in which an unprepossessing figure with weak legs bests a better-looking, speedier fellow through clever speech and action.¹² The description of Odysseus the stranger, offered by the Phaiakian prince Laodamas, as a counterpoint to Euryalos', is reminiscent of Homeric descriptions of Hephaistos: "[Odysseus is] no mean man, not with a build like that . . . μηρούς τε κνήμας τε καὶ ἄμφω χειρᾶς ὑπερθεν ἀρχένα τε στιβαρὸν μέγα τε σθένος, Look at his thighs, his legs, and what a pair of arms—his massive neck, his big, rippling strength" (8.134–136). Compare the description of Hephaistos from Book Eighteen of the *Iliad*, quoted earlier, which emphasizes the god's burly arms and massive neck (ἀρχένα τε στιβαρὸν, *Il* 18.415=*Od.* 8.136). One wonders additionally if Euryalos' disparaging description of the occupation of Odysseus the stranger, which emphasizes a very un-aristocratic concern for business and gain, does not also evoke the image of the least aristocratic of the gods, the hardworking *banausos*, "laborer," Hephaistos.

The story of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite is part of a larger *Odyssean* concern with the question of the marital fidelity.¹³ The theme is introduced in the very monologue that opens the epic (*Odyssey* 1.32–43). The infidelity of Agamemnon's wife and of Aigisthos is the most important evidence presented in Zeus' defense against the claim that mortals owe all their troubles to the gods. He claims that the gods warned Aigisthos not to seduce Klytaimnestra or murder her husband. The result was the death of the adulterers. Implicit in many passages of the *Odyssey* is the question of the fidelity of Penelope in the face of the long absence of Odysseus. In Book Four (244–258, 271–289), Helen and Menelaos each recalls an incident from the Trojan War that potentially

resonates with Penelope's situation on Ithaka. Helen claims that she herself recognized Odysseus even as his vagabond-disguise fooled the Trojans during his infiltration of the city, and bathed and clothed him and kept his secret. Menelaos recalls Helen speaking seductively, in the voice of the wife of each man hiding inside the Wooden Horse. The image of Odysseus infiltrating the hostile space of Troy disguised in rags, or laying a trap for the Trojans, obviously recalls the return of Odysseus to Ithaka as a beggar. Will Penelope recognize him? Will she keep his identity secret from the suitors? If she uses her seductive powers to enthrall the suitors, will she do so to advance their ultimate destruction, or protect her own options? These are the questions raised by the tales told by the king and queen of Sparta.¹⁴ In the underworld, Agamemnon tells the story of the infidelity and treachery of Klytaimnestra, and advises Odysseus, "even your own wife—never indulge her too far. Never reveal the whole truth, whatever you may know; just tell her part of it, be sure to hide the rest" (II.441–443). Having praised Penelope as exceptional among women, Agamemnon cannot help but return to his initial point: "when you reach your homeland steer your ship into port in secret, never out in the open . . . the time for trusting women's gone forever!" (II.454–456). The Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos is one of several stories in the *Odyssey* that maintain the focus on the question of fidelity of spouses.

THE MARRIAGE BED AND THE CUNNING CRAFTSMANSHIP OF ODYSSEUS

For all its levity, Demodokos' song dovetails in important ways with the larger narrative of Odysseus' reunion with Penelope. It does so in the manner in which it frames the problem confronting Hephaistos, the solution he employs, and the centrality of the marriage bed. The trouble with Ares is that he can outrun Hephaistos. Hephaistos overcomes the problem by laying a trap. Odysseus faces a similar though more dangerous dilemma at Ithaka. Given the large number of suitors, how can he prevent them from escaping before he has been able to punish them all, and how can he prevent them from overpowering him? Like Hephaistos, Odysseus essentially immobilizes his enemy, confining the suitors within the walled enclosure of the palace until he can dispatch every last one. Both god and hero employ a trap to catch the men hitting on their wives. As the amused audience of gods compliment Hephaistos, *χωλὸς ἔὼν, τέχνησι*, "the cripple [wins] by craft" (8.332). It is not surprising that Hephaistos is the only figure in the epic to share the distinctive Odyssean epithet, *polumētis*, "of many wiles" (*πολυμήτιος Ἡφαιστόιο*, *Iliad* 21.355).

In the *Odyssey*, the comparison between Hephaistos and Odysseus extends beyond Book Eight and the adultery-foiling traps they employ. In Book Five

(228–261), a lengthy description of the building of a raft establishes the hero's knowledge and experience as a craftsman. In Book Nine (391–393), Odysseus compares his blinding of Polyphemos to the work of a blacksmith tempering an axe. Upon his return to Ithaka, Odysseus adopts the disguise of a beggar and limps into his palace with the help of a staff (17.196, 203, 338). He imagines himself dragged out of his palace by the foot (16.276), a fate envisioned by others (17.478–480, 18.10). That actually happened, Hephaistos claims, to he himself (*Iliad* 1.591). Sizing up Odysseus in his disguise, the servant girl with the sharp tongue, Melantho, suggests that the most appropriate place for him to spend the night would be a foundry or smithy.¹⁵

Of the many links between the Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos, and the denouement of the *Odyssey*, the most powerful is the marriage bed. In Demodokos' song, the bed-trap, the creation of Hephaistos, with the adulterers immobilized on it, revealed publicly to the other gods, is the proof of infidelity. In Book Twenty-three, the bed, the handiwork of Odysseus, is ultimately the proof of *fidelity*. It would be hard to overstate the importance of Odysseus' bed as the turning point in the story. By cleverly taking up Odysseus' impatient suggestion that a bed be made up for him, and speaking as if the heavy bed had been moved out of the bridal chamber, Penelope can truly test the identity of the man who appears to be her husband. For only one person besides her and her handmaid knows that the bed cannot be moved, and that person is Odysseus. The indignant, seemingly spontaneous narrative he tells of how he had once built the bedroom around an olive tree, which became one of the legs of the bed, is the proof of his identity that Penelope has been waiting for.¹⁶ Fixedness is a key feature of this bed, and a quality foreshadowed by the bed in the Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos.

The affinities between Hephaistos and Odysseus are underscored in a simile immediately preceding the exchange between Penelope and Odysseus concerning the bed. The physical transformation of the hero by Athena, so that he may appear as he did when he sailed away to Troy twenty years earlier, is compared to the graceful artistry of a master craftsman who had been taught every sort of art (τέχνην παντοίην) by Athena and Hephaistos (23.159–161). Reverberation between the recognition of Odysseus via the secret of the immovable bed and the story of Hephaistos immobilizing his wife and her lover lies not only in the recurrence of the name of Hephaistos and the theme of *technē* within the simile. The simile is repeated verbatim in Book Six (232–234), to describe the transformation of Odysseus during his encounter with Nausikaa. The repetition invites consideration of the manner in which the arrival and recognition of Odysseus on Scheria prefigure the return and acknowledgment of the hero on Ithaka.¹⁷ In the first occurrence of the simile, the name of Hephaistos anticipates the role played by the Odysseus-like god in the song of Demodokos. It plants the seed of comparison that grows

in importance throughout the epic. In the second, the reappearance of Hephaistos as the source of all skilled art or *technē*, at the moment of Odysseus' self-identification through the account of his construction of his marriage bed, hammers home the full relevance of the Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos. The song is a guide not only to the manner in which Odysseus will triumph over the suitors but also to the way he will establish his identity. Throughout the epic, in fundamental ways, the figures of Hephaistos and Odysseus, and the stories of their successful use of the complementary arts of technology and ambush, *technē* and *lochos*, are made to resonate with each other.¹⁸

The simile is of even further significance, inasmuch as it identifies Odysseus as a beautifully wrought work of art.¹⁹ "As a master craftsman washes gold over beaten silver . . . so she lavished splendor over his head and shoulders now" (23.159–162). The idea of equivalence between art and person is immediately reiterated, in an even more profound way, in the narration of the building of the bed. Not only is the bed, like the artwork to which the hero is compared, adorned with precious materials such as gold and silver. Much more importantly, the bed is the very *σήμα*, *sēma*, the "sign" or "token," of who he is. This is so on a mechanical level, because the recounting of the creation of the bed, which mentions the secret of the olive-tree post, supplies Penelope with a clear sign that the man before her is the man who made her marriage bed. The text emphasizes this through the repetition of the word *sēma*: Odysseus says that a *μέγα σήμα*, "great sign," resulted from the making of the bed (23.188–189), and Penelope confirms that the details of the making of the bed revealed by the hero are the *σήματα*, "signs," that no one other than Odysseus could have known (23.225). It is so on a metaphorical level as well. At the heart of the marriage bed is a secret, enclosed in a secure room, waiting patiently for its long-delayed revelation, which will be instrumental in the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope. But the efficacy of the secret is the *story* of its creation. Penelope cannot test the identity of the stranger, like Saint Helena identified the True Cross, by merely bringing the man into contact with the object. The man must tell the story of the bed's creation, and the story must have been retained by both Odysseus and Penelope as their secret. In the emphasis on telling one's story at the right moment, and concealing it at others, the episode of the bed expresses the essence of the hero of the *Odyssey*.

Jean Starobinski noticed the special significance of the conjunction of narrative and object in this episode. "The narration of external activity stands *in place of* (in the fullest sense of that term: it develops in space, it establishes itself in space) the expression of internal identity." For a hero like Odysseus, who tells many different accounts of himself, is narrative by itself going to

persuade Penelope of his identity? As she says, “in my heart of hearts I always cringed with fear some fraud might come, beguile me with his talk” (23.215–217). Starobinski continued: “He who contrived to protect his abiding project by sowing fictions all along the way faces, at the end, the arduous task of proving his true name and rights. The fact that he was believed when he told lies, that he succeeded in making his mask plausible, constrains him, in order to win true recognition of his true self, to furnish the most cogent proofs.” That is why the bed is such an extraordinarily powerful sign: “The ‘I have made,’ together with the object made, are more probative than the ‘I am’ would have been.”²⁰

The logic of this is amenable to the poems suspected of both revealing and concealing the identity of Archilochos, or the poems fabricating a fanciful identity for Hipponax, or the vases signed *Smikros egraphsen*, or representing him, or representing Euphronios himself, from the brush of the master. In earlier chapters (especially two) were presented Odysseus’ strategies of concealment, dissimulation, fictionalization of self, and delayed revelation, in the pursuit of his goal of reunification with his wife and family. The brilliant sentence in Book Thirteen of the *Odyssey* (253–256), uttered the moment after Odysseus learns that he is indeed on his native soil again after twenty years, epitomizes this way of being in the world: “he spoke, addressing her [Athena] with winged words; but he did not speak the truth, but held back his speech, always turning over cunning thoughts in his heart. ‘I have *heard* of Ithaka.’” (my trans.).²¹ Those strategies, which serve non-aesthetic needs at the level of the plot of the epic—basic survival—are arguably utilized within the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax aesthetically. Within the fictional world of their verse, the narrators engage in serious struggles with their rivals just like Odysseus. But on the discursive level, the poet-narrator makes his way within the field of poetic creativity, rivalry, and reception by employing the same strategies of concealment and fictionalization of self. A like strategy informs the vase-painting of Euphronios. Within the social world depicted on the stamnos in Brussels (plate I, figure 1), the artist Smikros subtly asserts his suave familiarity with elite and expensive ways of living. On the level of pictorial conception, however, the entire conceit of self-portraiture is a sleight of hand.

But does the *Odyssey* itself, as a work of art, not already utilize some of Odysseus’ tricks aesthetically? The account of the recognition of Odysseus via the marriage bed comes so late within the story of the successful restoration of authority over the household in Ithaka that even the hero himself expresses exasperation. “What other wife could have a spirit so unbending? Holding back from her husband, home at last for *her* after bearing twenty years of brutal struggle. Come, nurse, make me a bed, I’ll sleep alone” (23.168–171). At this

moment, the *Odyssey* appears to be on the point of yet another postponement of the denouement, if not an acknowledgment of failure of the spouses to recognize each other. Only the words *πόσιος περιωμένη*, “putting her husband to the proof” (23.181), rouses the reader or the listener, encourages him or her not to wander off or put the book down. Nowhere in the epic up to this point is there a clear indication that the marriage bed will be the thing to trigger the recognition of Odysseus by Penelope. What about the marriage bed in Demodokos’ Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos? On the one hand, the poem clearly invites scrutiny of this song for what it might say about Odysseus. This is so for reasons just given (weak legs, Ares-like opponents) and also because this is but one of three songs performed by Demodokos in Book Eight, the two others featuring Odysseus as their protagonists. On the other hand, the immortal status of the protagonists of the Song of Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaistos, and the burlesque qualities of the tale, shrewdly *disguise* the full significance of the song in relation to the conclusion of the epic. The history of scholarship on this particular song of Demodokos, which has so often treated it as largely irrelevant to the core concerns of the epic, is proof of the effectiveness of the epic’s strategy of dissimulation.

One way of looking at the role of Penelope in the *Odyssey* is as a model of how to respond to the interpretive problems presented by characters who tightly control or authorize their own stories. She is, as often observed, a match for her husband in discretion and dissimulation. And her familiarity with those arts leads her to be cautious and skeptical in the evaluation of the claims of others. Penelope’s first reaction to the report of Eurykleia that Odysseus was returned and had killed all the suitors is perceptive skepticism that one man, working alone, could have killed all the suitors, since they always went around in a pack (23.35–38). Because Eurykleia cannot offer an eyewitness account of how the tactical problem was overcome, but has seen the bodies, Penelope supposes that a god must have done the deed (23.63). As she enters the room to see her son and the corpses of the suitors and the man who killed them, she chooses whether to stand apart and question her husband or take his hands and kiss his head, and she chooses to sit quietly opposite the man and study him (23.85–93). Irene de Jong offered a fitting tribute: “I submit that this passage, in which nothing is said but all the more is thought, would not be out of place in any modern novel; it invites comparison with . . . Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs Dalloway*.”²² Telemachos upbraids Penelope for this aloofness; she responds, “if he is truly Odysseus, home at last, make no mistake: we two will know each other, even better—we two have secret signs, known to us both but hidden from the world” (23.105–110). Odysseus excuses Penelope’s reserve with the thought that his current dirty, disheveled appearance makes recognition difficult, goes to the bath, and returns, looking like the man who left his wife twenty years earlier. He has forgotten, it seems, Penelope’s allusion to

knowing each other through a secret sign, which will take the form not of his physical appearance but of his handiwork, the marriage bed.

Penelope's actions during the long interview in Book Nineteen also arguably betray, but do not explicitly confirm, awareness of the possibility that the stranger is her husband. Odysseus does not answer Penelope's immediate request for identification. Suggesting that she considers this to be deliberate evasion is her immediate response—to tell the story of how she herself deliberately put off the suitors' demand that she marry one of them through the ruse of the shroud. Later she observes that the stranger's feet are no doubt just like those of Odysseus, since the two men must be about the same age (23.358–360). And when the stranger assures her yet again that Odysseus will return and destroy the suitors, she proposes—a seemingly spontaneous and potentially reckless thought—to hold a contest. Whoever strings the bow of Odysseus most easily and shoots an arrow through twelve axes, just as he used to do—she will go with that man (23.555–581).

The narration of Penelope's interactions with stranger and suitors achieves perhaps the greatest level of elusiveness in Book Eighteen. Athena prompts Penelope to show herself to the suitors. The goddess does so, we are told, so that Penelope might stir up the desire of the suitors and be more valued by her husband and son (18.158–164). The thought is a truly invasive one, and the queen “laughed without reason” (ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλασεν). The explanation she offers the maid for the novel desire to appear among the suitors is not the reason cited by the goddess but the pretext of talking with her son. Once in the hall, having upbraided her son for allowing the stranger to be mistreated, she announces to the suitors that the time determined by her husband before he left for war for her to remarry is at hand. Telemachos has come of age. But where are the customary courtship gifts? The question the reader or listener wants answered above all in relation to her speech—is Penelope sincere in her determination finally to choose a new husband, or is her speech a ruse?—is, crucially, never answered by the narrator of the poem. “Staunch Odysseus glowed with joy to hear all this—his wife's trickery luring gifts from her suitors now, enchanting their hearts with suave seductive words but all the while with something else in mind” (18.281–283). So Odysseus. But we are offered only the conviction of a character within the poem, one who knows Penelope better perhaps than any other character, it is true, but one who nevertheless is not omniscient like the narrator.²³ The long-drawn-out interactions preceding explicit mutual recognition between the stranger and Penelope contribute significantly, on a formal level, to the pleasurable narrative suspense of the end of the *Odyssey*.²⁴ But Penelope's caution, curiosity, and skepticism also seem a fit response to a man who controls his own story, who instinctually conceals whatever information about himself is not essential to the immediate situation, and who does not hesitate to offer a fictional account. “Penelope

recognizes Ulysses not by his scar but by his imagination.”²⁵ In the presence of poetry and art like that of Archilochos, Hipponax, and Euphronios, we all need to be like Penelope.

THE LAUGHTER OF THE GODS AND HEPHAISTOS’ SELF-MOCKERY:

“Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦδ’ ἄλλοι μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, δεῦθ’, ἵνα ἔργα γελαστὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιεκτὰ ἴδησθε,” “Father Zeus, look here—the rest of you happy gods who live forever—here is a sight to make you laugh, revolt you *too!*” (8.306–307). Standing in the doorway of Hephaistos’ house, the gods who responded to his invitation burst out laughing. Why did the gods laugh? Much debated is whether the deeds mentioned in line 307 are, from the point of view of Hephaistos, “laughable,” ἔργα γελαστὰ, *erga gelasta*, or “no laughing matter,” ἔργ’ ἀγέλαστα, *erg’ agelasta*, the basic meaning of the word “*gelasta*” in the second alternative being negated by an alpha privative. The text can be read either way, because the difference is a question of word division (although inversions of adjectives through the addition of an alpha privative seem rare in Homeric poetry).²⁶ The question is important, because how it is answered in turn informs the interpretation of the laughter of the gods itself. One strand of interpretation understands Hephaistos to be inviting the Olympian gods to laugh derisively, mockingly, at the adulterous couple and, in this way, to take Hephaistos’ side.²⁷ But that is not the reason cited in the text for the laughter of the gods. ἄσβεστος δ’ ἄρ’ ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι τέχνας εἰσορόωσι πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστιοιο, “Uncontrollable laughter burst from the happy gods when they saw the god of fire’s subtle, cunning work” (8.326–327). They are amused by a reversal of expectations: ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἡφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἄρηα ὠκύτατόν περ ἔοντα θεῶν . . . χωλὸς ἐὼν τέχνησι, “Look how limping Hephaistos conquers War, the quickest of all the gods . . . The cripple wins by craft,” as one god puts it (8.330–332). The language expresses little derision of Ares or Aphrodite and much delight at the surprising positive achievement of Hephaistos.²⁸ Importantly, *technē*—artistry, craft, technical knowledge—is singled out by the gods as the means of the Hephaistos’ triumph.

The alternative reading of line 307, that *Hephaistos* did not think the situation was funny, allows one to imagine the gods laughing in part at least at the cuckold god.²⁹ This reading is encouraged by the other word used to describe the *erga gelasta* or *erg’ agelasta*, namely, *epieikta*, often translated as “unendurable.” The unendurable deeds or *erga* are understood to be ὡς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἐόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, “how me being crippled Aphrodite always dishonors,” described in the very next line.³⁰ But this reading brings its own difficulties. It is an unnatural way of reading the word *erga*, which is closely associated with work, labor, craft, and the

products of work. The natural way to read the word *erga* within this passage is suggested by the way in which the gods respond to what they see, which is to laugh at the *technē*, “artistic work,” of Hephaistos. It is even possible to understand *epieikta*, “unendurable,” as slyly referring to the response of Ares and Aphrodite to the work of Hephaistos. For as the god says, “I doubt they’ll want to lie that way much longer . . . but then my cunning chains will bind them fast” (8.316–317). It is true that Hephaistos himself says that the sight of the couple *in flagrante delicto* causes him distress (314). But the god’s full description of his own work, *erga gelasta kai ouk epieikta*, nicely anticipates that the audience of gods will find Hephaistos’ handiwork amusing while Ares and Aphrodite find it unendurable.

It would also be easier to believe that Hephaistos did not find his situation funny if one could believe that he had deep marital feelings for Aphrodite. But in this respect, the narrative contradicts other accounts, which identify Ares, not Hephaistos, as the legitimate husband or partner of Aphrodite, and Hephaistos as the husband of one of the Graces. In the *Iliad* (18.382–383), Hephaistos is married to Charis. In Hesiod’s *Theogony* (945–946), he weds Aglaia, the youngest of the Charites or Graces, while Ares and Aphrodite are the parents of three children (933–937). On the lavishly and knowledgeably decorated volute krater known as the François vase, many Olympian gods travel to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in chariots together with their spouses; Aphrodite rides with Ares. The pairing of Ares and Aphrodite in a chariot appears to be attested in art as early as the seventh century.³¹ It is true that the marriage of Hephaistos and Aphrodite was not unattested outside of the Song of Demodokos. There is an unambiguous representation of Ares and Aphrodite in fetters on an Archaic vase from Lemnos.³² The representation of the return of Hephaistos on the François vase is easily interpreted as informed by the story of Aphrodite’s unhappy marriage to Hephaistos (as noted in the [next chapter](#)). My point is simply that any historical audience of the song of Demodokos is likely to have known that Ares was the traditional partner of Aphrodite and might well have wondered about the basis of Hephaistos’ claim. No storyteller working with figures as traditional as the Greek gods can expect his audience to forget everything it knows. The narrative arguably achieves part of its humorous effect by having Hephaistos make a claim that is itself on questionable ground.

The third reason to suspect that the spectacle of Ares and Aphrodite entangled in bed was intended to have a humorous effect on its audience—that Hephaistos meant *gelastà*, “laughable,” and not *agélasta*—is the reaction of Hermes and Apollo. Apollo slyly asks Hermes if he would endure being tied up in order to sleep with Aphrodite (8.335–337). “If only it were so!” exclaims Hermes (8.339). He would not care if the chains were triple and all the goddesses and gods looked on, if only he could sleep with the goddess

of love. ὡς ἔφατ', ἐν δὲ γέλωσ ὄρτ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, "so he spoke, and laughter broke out among the gods" (8.343).

The reaction of Hermes points to a particular manner in which humor can be utilized, a manner in which Hephaistos, Archilochos, Hipponax, and Euphronios are arguably all adept. The gods laugh at Hermes when he mocks himself; in this way, everybody laughs and no one is left out.³³ This is one way to envision the intention behind the invitation extended by Hephaistos to the gods to come to his house to witness his cuckolding in the first place. Hephaistos could have achieved the aim of getting back the gifts that, he claims, he gave to Zeus in exchange for Zeus' daughter without inviting the rest of the gods to witness. Hephaistos need only catch Ares and Aphrodite in his trap in order to extract from the gods the return of his gifts, because he alone has the ability to release them from their inopportune immobilization. It is not as if he needs to press a momentary advantage, exposing the lovers to public laughter, before the gods forge immortal bolt-cutters or pick the lock and thereby release the couple themselves. The exposure of the couple immobilized in intimacy serves a complex purpose of eliciting for Hephaistos the approbation of the gods while, simultaneously, calling attention to his weaknesses and undesirability. Those two elements—admirable technical virtuosity and self-acknowledged imperfection and social rejection, usually treated as two separate and unrelated aspects of the story—arguably form a single complex mythical persona. Technical virtuosity is possible and necessary thanks to infirmity and disrespect.

Paradigmatic of Hephaistos' self-serving self-mockery is the very first appearance of the god in the *Iliad* epic. The passage is a useful guide to the interpretation of Hephaistos' intentions in Demodokos' song. In both passages, if Hephaistos is the object of laughter, that is so because he initiates and manipulates the laughter to accomplish his aims.³⁴ In Book One of the *Iliad* (531–600), the god intervenes in a quarrel that threatens to spoil a feast of the immortals. Hera challenged Zeus, Zeus lost his temper and threatened Hera with physical violence, and the rest of the gods and goddesses are troubled. In an effort to resolve his mother to her inability to stand up physically to Zeus, Hephaistos tells a story of a previous occasion when he tried to defend her physically. He was hurled off of Mount Olympus for his troubles. The fall nearly killed him, though he is a god, and he required resuscitation. The self-revelation of this embarrassing tale of immortal weakness is a turning point in the unfolding situation—it causes Hera to smile. This is so perhaps because the story tactfully avoids reference to Hera's own role in throwing Hephaistos off Olympus.³⁵ Her positive response is a measure of Hephaistos' skill in rhetorically effective speech. Then Hephaistos serves wine to all the assembled Olympian gods. They are overcome by laughter as they watch Hephaistos hustling around the room: ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνώρτο γέλωσ

μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν, ὡς ἶδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα (1.599–600). Why do the gods laugh at this sight? Do they laugh derisively, out of *schadenfreude*, at the imperfection or infirmity or discomfort of the god? To answer “yes” is to project onto the passage ideas that are not present in it. There are two phases to the smith god’s intervention. First, he tells Hera a story, which elicits a smile. Then he offers her a cup, which she accepts. The smile of Hera, and receipt of the cup, are difficult to construe as derision. And they are contextually the most relevant guide to the significance of the laughter of the gods at the sight of Hephaistos wheezing around the room. In addition, as a number of readers have noticed, in this scene, in working his way around the room pouring nectar, Hephaistos is playing a role familiar from other passages of epic, the role of a young, desirable cup-bearer such as Ganymede or Hebe.³⁶ The image is laughable, because Hephaistos is neither a good-looking young person nor unambiguously subservient to the other Olympians.

This reading of the assembly of the gods in Book One of the *Iliad* is supported by the account of the attempted assassination of the hero of Euripides’ *Ion*. The Euripidean account appears to be, in part, a gloss on the Homeric passage. In the play (lines 1122–1128), a servant describes the feast prepared by Ion for the townspeople of Delphi. The setting of the banquet, a tent made up of tapestries bearing figural decoration, is described in detail. Then the stage is set for the dramatic action: when the guests had enjoyed the meal, “an old man came forward and took his place in the middle of the floor, and he caused much laughter among the feasters by his eager bustling. From the water jars he kept bringing water for the guests to wash their hands . . . and had charge of the golden drinking cups, having assigned this duty to himself” (lines 1171–1176, trans. Kovacs 1999). As Froma Zeitlin noted, the description bears an uncanny resemblance to the epic scene of Hephaistos bustling around the hall of Zeus and engendering the laughter of the assembled gods. She rightly emphasized that “in both scenes, the laughter arises in part from the incongruity of the old man in the role of cupbearer, a task usually assigned to a beautiful boy.”³⁷ The Euripidean passage makes the cause of the laughter explicit: γέλων δ’ ἔθηκε συνδείπνοις πολύν, πρόθυμα πράσων, “and he caused much laughter among the feasters by his eager bustling” (1172–1173). The participial phrase, *prothuma prassōn*, “doing things eagerly,” serves to explain the eruption of laughter.

This is not the only allusion to Hephaistos in this passage. The description of the tent takes the form primarily of a series of *ekphraseis* of the decoration on the woven fabrics that constitute the walls and ceiling of the structure (lines 1141–1165). As often recognized, the elaborate *ekphrasis* of the celestial scene, woven into the fabric that formed the ceiling of the tent, evokes the opening

lines of the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles. The very first things Hephaistos wrought upon the shield (18.483–489) were the heavens, and the stars or heavenly bodies specifically enumerated (sun, moon, Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, and the Bear) correspond to the celestial figures included in Euripides' *ekphrasis*.³⁸ Particularly evocative of the Homeric *ekphrasis* is the compound character of the total decoration of the tent erected by Ion: celestial scenes, battles, hunting, and, finally, Kekrops and his daughters. In creating the tent, Ion is like Hephaistos, and in describing its decoration, Euripides is like Homer. In the *Ion*, the collocation of two memorable descriptions from Homeric epic, both of which feature the god Hephaistos, make the allusion to the smith god unmistakable.³⁹

In Euripides' evocation of the laughably bustling elderly Hephaistos-like cup-bearer, the old man is no fool. His comical antics are a deceptive means to a very different end, a diversion, which created the opportunity for him to distribute the drinking vessels without raising suspicion, and place the drop of poison in Ion's wine cup. The description of Hephaistos in the Homeric account of the assembly of the gods provided for Euripides a model not only of the hardworking, hustling old cup-bearer but also of the clever man who deliberately mocks himself in order to advance his ulterior objective. I also call attention to the ease with which Euripides, or the text, moves from an evocation of the most celebrated work of Hephaistos' art, in the shield-like decoration of Ion's tent, to that of the most laughable of the god's actions, in the overly solicitous old man. The god's artistry and antics are of a piece.

Let us return to the comparison between the comic actions of Hephaistos in the *Iliad* and those of the *Odyssey*. The same rare hexameter line expresses the eruption of immortal laughter in the assembly of the gods and in the song of Demodokos (*Il.* 1.599=*Od.* 8.326). By mocking himself as he does in the *Iliad*, Hephaistos cleverly dissolved the tension between Zeus and Hera and restored a happy social equilibrium to the feasting gods. Through a similar self-exposure of physical weakness and social unattractiveness in the Song of Demodokos, Hephaistos allows the gods to see for themselves, with their own eyes, not only his cleverness but also his mastery of the use of humor. Both the *Iliadic* and *Odyssean* passages highlight, explicitly or implicitly, the rhetorical, dramatic, and technological inventiveness of Hephaistos, which surprises and delights the gods. They do not expect such artistry or accomplishments from an imperfect, undesirable figure. They are laughing with him more than at him. The narrative exemplifies a model of humor in which a poet, artist, or symposiast makes himself a positive object of laughter.⁴⁰ In this way, he fosters a solidarity in the drinking group that encompasses himself, calls attention to his own creativity, and adds humor to his tool kit.

THERSITES AND HEPHAISTOS: TWO MODELS OF THE USES
OF HUMOR

The deceptively skillful reconciliation by Hephaistos of the quarrel between Zeus and Hera is strategically placed in the *Iliad*. It closely follows the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon earlier in Book One, and so it is natural to read Hephaistos' intervention with that of Athena or Nestor in the earlier incident. There, the two heroes engage in an escalating exchange of increasingly explicit threats and insults (1.53–309). There too the dispute is brokered by a deity. At the moment when Achilles slides his sword out of its sheath, contemplating whether to kill Agamemnon on the spot or contain his pounding anger, Athena intervenes. But the goddess does not help Achilles to accept his situation or ameliorate his anger, as Hephaistos does for Hera. Athena merely persuades him to desist from immediate, irrevocable action. Next, Nestor tries to resolve the dispute. Nestor, like Hephaistos, deploys a personal anecdote: in his youth, he fought alongside the greatest heroes ever to walk the earth, and those great men listened to Nestor (1.247–284). But the intervention of Nestor lacks the skillful use of self-deprecation that characterizes the intervention of Hephaistos. The identity of Nestor's foe, the centaurs, may strike one today as perhaps bathetic or anticlimactic, but there is no trace in the text that the name was intended or received humorously. And Nestor's intervention failed. It is true, as often pointed out, that the juxtaposition of the two quarrels in Book One of the *Iliad* brings out by contrast how much easier it is to resolve a dispute among immortals, who have less to lose, than among mortals. The ultimate threat facing the gods is but a punishing fall. Agamemnon, by contrast, very nearly lost his life on the parade ground. But the juxtaposition also brings out differences in the manner in which one intervenes creatively and effectively in an assembled group.

The violence averted by Hephaistos in Book One of the *Iliad* also precedes the violently resolved quarrel involving Thersites in Book Two. The juxtaposition is particularly significant because, in both scenes, laughter plays the decisive role in resolving the dispute. Two models of how to use laughter to facilitate the cohesion of a group are developed in Books One and Two. Although Thersites is commonly compared to Archilochos and Hipponax as paradigms of social or political criticism, Hephaistos arguably offers a closer model for the manner in which those poets leverage themselves in their verse.

In Book Two (1–210), the Achaian expedition devolves into anarchy. Remarkably, having been assured in a dream from Zeus that he may now capture Troy, Agamemnon tests the resolve of his army by misleadingly suggesting that Zeus had turned against them. In a speech to the entire army, he provocatively advocates flight. Far from eliciting feelings of shame, meeting

resistance, firing up the fighting spirit, the recommendation, backfiring, results in a mad collective dash for the ships. “And now they might have won their journey home, the men of Argos fighting the will of fate, yes” (2.155), had not the goddesses Hera and Athena taken action.⁴¹ Athena found Odysseus. Divinely inspired, Odysseus seized the scepter from Agamemnon, restrained the army from immediate departure, and forced it back into assembly, with difficulty.

“But one man, Thersites, still railed on, nonstop,” *Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μῦθος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκόλωα* (2.212). This man receives a remarkably long introduction. We learn first about his mental temperament and habits: *ὄς ἔπεα φρεσὶ ἦσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦδη, μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν*, “his head was full of obscenities, teeming with rant, all for no good reason, insubordinate, baiting the kings.” One point is particularly important: he says “anything to provoke some laughter from the troops,” *ἀλλ' ὃ τί οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοῖον Ἀργείοισιν ἔμμεναι* (2.213–216). It is important because it reveals the motivation underlying the speech Thersites is about to give. However much its content mirrors fundamental problems of morale and disenfranchisement articulated by Achilles in Book One, the timing and intention of the speech is motivated by Thersites’ habit of railing at the kings for the sake of a laugh.

This scene is unique in epic poetry for the amount of detail given to the physical description of a man:

αἰσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·
 φολκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τῷ δέ οἱ ὄμω
 κυρτῷ, ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
 φροξὸς ἔην κεφαλῆν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.

“Here was the ugliest man who ever came to Troy. Bandy-legged he was, with one foot clubbed, both shoulders humped together, curving over his caved-in chest, and bobbing above them his skull warped to a point, sprouting clumps of scraggly, woolly hair” (2.216–219). In a phrase that seems deliberately designed to invite comparison with Achilles, the self-styled *aristos* or “best” of the Achaians (1.224), Thersites is said to be “the *aischistos*, ‘ugliest,’ of the Achaians” (2.216).⁴² In the *Iliad*, the closest parallel for this extraordinary physical description is perhaps Priam’s impressions of the Achaian heroes as he surveys them from the walls of Troy. Particularly similar is the description of Odysseus, which touches on both the unusual physique and extraordinary rhetorical abilities of the hero (3.191–224). A closer parallel occurs in the *Odyssey*, in the description of Odysseus as he is transformed by Athena into an ugly old man (13.429–438, quoted below). That passage is the closest parallel for the description of Thersites in the sense that it is presented not by a character within the story (like Priam), but by the narrator, and because it

constitutes a pause in the narrative. But perhaps the most memorable features of the description of Thersites, being *pholkos*, perhaps meaning “drop-footed,” and *chōlos*, which means “crippled,” are ones that he shares with Hephaistos.

In Book Two of the *Iliad*, Thersites speaks critically of Agamemnon, with whom the Achaians were exceedingly angry.⁴³ Why is the king unhappy, Thersites asks, what does he want now? His camp is filled with bronze and many girls, which the Achaians offer to him first, whenever they capture a city. Thersites even refers to himself as the sort of person who undertakes the hard work of capturing a Trojan, the ransom gold for whom will go to the king. Perhaps this is meant to make the army laugh, for the physical description of the man suggests that he, like Hephaistos, would have difficulty running down anyone with two good legs. Pushing the limits of acceptable speech, Thersites even asks if there is some young girl Agamemnon wants, to keep for himself and fuck.⁴⁴ He criticizes the army, calling it “ladies,” for putting up with the inequitable compensation structure of the expedition. He reminds the army of one reason why they might very well be angry with Agamemnon, namely, that the king has dishonored Achilles, who is a far better man. (The other reason why they might very well be furious with the king is that his recommendation to return home, something the army clearly desires, turns out to have been a pointless ruse.) Thersites ends his speech by wondering that Achilles allowed the king to get away with the seizure of Briseis (2.225–242).

This is a well-constructed speech, as Odysseus will himself concede in his response (λιγύς περ ἔὼν ἀγοπητής, “though you are a clear speaker in assembly,” 2.246). It closely echoes the criticisms of Agamemnon made by Achilles in Book One. Both Achilles and Thersites argue that Agamemnon receives the lion’s share of the spoils even though the hard work that generates them is done by other men. Achilles never receives an equal share even though he is the best warrior. Thersites is rehearsing arguments that are thematically central to the entire *Iliad*.⁴⁵

However much his argument may be mainstream, Thersites’ verbal assault backfires. His recommendation to the army that it sail for home pits Thersites against the man tasked by the goddess Athena with preventing just that scenario from becoming reality. In a stroke of genius, Odysseus fights fire with something like an incendiary device. It would have been a challenge to take Thersites’ argument at face value, responding point for point, given the facts that no less a hero than Achilles was making the same claims, and that the army seemed to agree with them. So Odysseus takes the low road. He insults Thersites (“no one alive less soldierly than you”) and threatens him (“[I’ll] strip the clothing off you . . . and whip you howling naked back to the fast ships,” 2.248, 261–263). Then he strikes him on his shoulders with the nail-studded scepter, and Thersites crumples under the blow, tears welling up in his eyes and a bloody welt in the middle of his back. The army laughs (2.270).

The sample of sentiment included in the narrative (2.271–277) suggests that the Achaians are delighted that Odysseus put an end to the quarrelsome interjections of Thersites, which appear to have tried their patience over time. But the hero's intervention has not cleared the air as effectively as Hephaistos broke the tension on Mount Olympos. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἠδὺ γέλασσαν (2.270): the participial phrase, *achnumenoi per*, “though grieving in their hearts,” which accompanies the statement *ep' autōi hedu gelassan*, “they laughed sweetly at him,” seems important if elusive. Presumably, the soldiers are not upset that Odysseus has beaten Thersites, since the text goes on to say specifically that they approve of what he did. The only odd note struck by the sample of rank-and-file sentiment is its hyperbole: “a thousand terrific strokes he's carried off—Odysseus, taking the lead in tactics, mapping battle-plans. But here's the best thing yet he's done for the men—he's put a stop this babbling, foulmouthed foul!” (2.272–275).⁴⁶ The word *per*, “though,” seems to suggest that the men are distressed even as they are laughing. The slapstick comic intervention of Odysseus has not completely dissolved the army's underlying anger, which presumably concerns the shabby manner in which Agamemnon has treated it or Achilles or both.

TERSITES AS EMBODIMENT OF THE “LOWER CLASS”

The social-political framework of the narrative of Thersites' intervention and humiliation has been perceptively described by Bruce Lincoln.⁴⁷ In the convening of the assembly in Book Two of the *Iliad*, a distinction is drawn between the *basilēes*, or “kings,” and the rest of the army. Before speaking to the army as a whole, Agamemnon holds an executive session of elders. To them alone does he reveal the true intention behind the suggestion he will make to the army to sail home, the intention of testing the troops. “And out he marched, leading the way from the council. The rest sprang to their feet, the σκηπτουχοὶ βασιλῆες, ‘sceptered kings,’ obeyed the great field marshal. Λαοί, ‘rank and file,’ streamed behind and rushed like swarms of bees . . .” (2.84–87). Here the verbal differentiation is between the *skēptouchoi basilēes* and the *laoi*. When Agamemnon's pep rally fails, and the army is earnestly preparing for departure, and Odysseus is engaged to prevent the soldiers from leaving, the distinction between kings and others reappears. The text describes two different kinds of intervention, depending on the social status of the person(s) to whom Odysseus is speaking.

Whenever Odysseus met some man of rank (βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα), he'd halt and hold him back with winning words: “my *friend*—it's wrong to threaten you like a coward, but you stand fast, you keep your men in check! It's too soon to see Agamemnon's purpose clearly. Now he's only testing us, soon he'll bear down hard. Didn't we all hear

his plan in secret council?" ... [but] when he caught sight of some common soldier (δήμου ἄνδρα βοόωντα) shouting out, he'd beat him with the scepter, dress him down: "you *fool*—sit still! Obey the commands of others, your superiors (φέρτεροι)—you, you deserter, rank coward, you count for nothing, neither in war nor council."

His concluding remarks to the common soldier are cherished by monarchists everywhere: οὐ μὲν πως πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί· οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς, "how can all Achaeans be masters here in Troy? Too many kings can ruin an army—mob rule! Let there be one commander ..." (2.188–204). The symbolism of the scene has been appreciated by many: seizing the scepter from Agamemnon, and using it to reestablish the hierarchical authority of the commander-in-chief, Odysseus is offering a counter-example to Agamemnon of how to be an effective king.⁴⁸

The great differences between Odysseus' words and actions, depending on whether the target was a king or a "man of the *dēmos* making noise," *dēmou andra booōnta*, are relevant to the interpretation of the episode involving Thersites. When Odysseus responded to Thersites' critique of Agamemnon, he did not reason with him, as he reasoned with the kings, but hit him with the scepter, and insulted him, just as he did whenever he encountered a "man of the *dēmos* making noise." It is almost as if the episode of Thersites is a specific example of the sort of intervention that is described in a general way earlier in the passage. It is not necessary to assume that an elaborate ideology of distinct social classes (*basilēes* and *dēmos*, or *basilēes* and *plēthus*) informs the narrative to recognize that this episode (in conjunction with the quarrel in Book One) is articulating the differences between the ways in which one might interact with those equal in power, and the techniques one employs in dealing with the less powerful.⁴⁹

The comparison between the rebukes Odysseus made to an anonymous "man of the *dēmos*" and his attack on Thersites touches on an important question about Thersites' social status or origins. Outside of the *Iliad*, the man has a modestly significant pedigree. According to the fifth-century BC mythographer Pherekydes (fragment 123 Fowler 2000), he was the son of Agrios, grandson of Portheus, and therefore first cousin (once removed) of Diomedes, a major player in the *Iliad*. Pherekydes (or the later commentary that cites Pherekydes) explains that Thersites was among the heroes who hunted the Kalydonian boar. He lost his nerve, was thrown off a cliff by Meleager in disgust, and was permanently injured. That explains the physical deformities attributed to him in the *Iliad*.⁵⁰ Thersites' noble lineage, especially his relationship with Diomedes, is relevant to the interpretation of the story of his death, which was told, it is reported, in the lost epic entitled *Aithiopsis*. According to Proklos' summary of the epic, Thersites was killed by Achilles because the scold had accused the hero of treasonous affection for the enemy

combatant Penthesilea; the murder led to a dispute among the Achaians, which necessitated the purification of Achilles for the crime. In the late antique epic of Quintus of Smyrna (1.769–773), Diomedes was outraged by the murder of Thersites, because Thersites was his cousin.⁵¹ It is a matter of debate whether the genealogy known to Pherekydes was already familiar to the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and suppressed, or unknown and subsequently constructed either independently or in part on the basis of ideas contained in Book Two. On the one hand, the *Aithiopsis* appears to have been an old epic (or to represent an ancient tradition).⁵² One inference that might be drawn from its plot is that, in this narrative tradition, Thersites was related genealogically to one or more Achaians, because his murder did not go unnoticed. On the other hand, as the ancient commentaries on the *Iliad* already wondered (on line 2.212), could Odysseus have physically struck Thersites without eliciting a negative reaction, if Thersites had been the cousin of Diomedes? The uncharacteristic absence from the *Iliad* of information about Thersites' family is particularly notable in view of the length and detail of his introduction. Why are patronymic and place of origin the only things absent from this fulsome account? The absence of those things, taken together with the manner in which Odysseus treats Thersites, as if he were no *basileus* but a "man of the *dēmos*," can be accounted for in two ways: one is that the figure has no genealogy, because he was invented by the poets working in the *Iliadic* tradition for this particular situation. Compatible with that hypothesis is the transparent quality of the name Thersites, which invites comparison with the word *thrasos*, "rashness, insolence." The name seems ideally tailored to his personality as described in this episode.⁵³ Equally plausible, however, is the idea that Thersites' elite family background has been deliberately downplayed in this episode. Compatible with that idea is the thought that part of Odysseus' genius or strategy was to treat this minor *basileus* as if he were merely a "man of the *dēmos*."⁵⁴

Long ago, George Calhoun argued against reading the story of Thersites in relation to social class or politics.

The Thersites episode has often been solemnly scrutinized for a social and political significance which I think it does not have, and a character whom the poet took pains to particularize has been hailed as the type of the common man, the champion of the people against the nobles. Thersites is introduced for a purely literary purpose, and that purpose is attained when the cross-currents of bewilderment, anger, and discontent aroused by conflicting commands are swept up into the burst of universal merriment that greets the "heckler's" discomfiture.⁵⁵

It is undeniable that the Thersites episode is an integral part of the unfolding narrative of Books One and Two. This is shown particularly by the close rhetorical relationship between the argument advanced by Thersites in Book

Two, and the one made by Achilles in Book One. It is also apparent, however, that the episode as a whole is carefully constructed so as to highlight differences in the ways in which Odysseus treats the members of the Achaian expedition, depending on their status as leaders or followers. The particular manner in which he eliminates the challenge issued by Thersites to the continuation of the expedition is predicated on this framework of differential treatment. The point is, social status may not be the primary object of representation in Book Two, but it is an important feature of the narrative, and not irrelevant to the larger and central question of the equitable awarding of *timē*, “honor, recognition,” in the *Iliad*. Just so, “social status” is not the primary point of the narrative of the quarrel and its reconciliation by Hephaistos in Book One. But elements of social subordination are employed in order to articulate the particular mode of self-deprecating humor exemplified in the episode.

TERSITES AS EMBODIMENT OF THE DISCOURSE OF BLAME

Social stratification and political authority are not the only cultural phenomena that arguably lurk in the background of the Thersites episode. In 1979, Gregory Nagy published an influential argument that related the narrative not to social theory (at least, not directly) but to poetic genre.⁵⁶ The words used in the epic to describe Thersites—*aischistos* or “most base” (in Nagy’s translation) or *echthistos* “most hateful”—are words associated with the poetry of blame. The two heroes to whom Thersites is most inimical, Achilles and Odysseus, are emblematic of epic poetry as a medium for the preservation of the *kleos* of exceptional individuals, or praise. Nagy suggested that Thersites, as represented in the *Iliad*, is the embodiment of blame. The story of his defeat by Odysseus mirrors the alignment of epic, as a poetic genre, with the larger cultural discourse of praise. “Thersites is the most inimical figure to the two prime characters of Homeric Epos *precisely because it is his function to blame them*. Epos is here actually presenting itself as parallel to praise poetry by being an institutional opposition of blame poetry.” The fundamental distinction articulated here is related to the dyadic model of the origins of poetry, sketched by Aristotle in the passage of the *Poetics* discussed in [chapter two](#) (1448 b 23–33, trans. Halliwell): “[p]oetry branched into two, according to its creators’ characters: the more serious produced mimesis of noble actions and the actions of noble people, while the more vulgar depicted the actions of the base, in the first place by composing *psogoi*, ‘invectives,’ (just as others produced hymns and encomia) . . . Of the older poets some became composers of epic hexameter, others of *iamboi*, ‘iambic lampoons.’” Relevant also is the Aristotelian account of the origins of comedy. Thersites, the most *aischos*, “ugly” (or “base”), of the Achaians, regularly spoke in assembly whatever he thought would be funny, *geloion* (*Iliad* 2.215). As noted in [chapter two](#), Aristotle defined comedy in

relation to *aischros*, “the shameful or ugly”: “Comedy, as we said, is mimesis of baser but not wholly vicious characters: rather, the laughable is one category of *aischros*, ‘the shameful’” (I449 a 31–33).

Perhaps the most far-reaching point of Nagy’s interpretation is his claim that the physical ugliness of Thersites is a metaphor of the character of blame poetry: “surely the base appearance of Thersites serves to mirror in form the content of his blame poetry.” The affinity between physical ugliness and the poetry of invective is well documented in the case of Hipponax (as seen in [chapter three](#)).⁵⁷ The lesson learned from close examination of the poetry and testimonia concerning Hipponax, however, is that the physical ugliness of the poet is a carefully crafted feature of his poetic *self*-presentation. Ugliness is a pretext for an engagement in an inter-media competition with (arguably fictional) visual artists, which allows the poet not only to transfer responsibility for the notoriety of his looks to another party but also to demonstrate the superiority of (his own) poetry over the medium of sculpture. In a sense, though his self-described appearance is laughable, and he engages in blame of his enemies, the aim of the poetry is praise–self-praise of the poet. The careful crafting of his own physical appearance even allowed Hipponax to identify himself with an emblem of epic praise, the hero Odysseus. Generally speaking, ugliness allowed Hipponax to stake out a position as a praiseworthy underdog. Physical appearance crops up in the poetry of Archilochos as well, although not in relation to himself. The narrator of fragment 114W, as noted in [chapter two](#), expresses a preference for a general who is short, with a bent shins, a firm stance, and a big heart, over a tall, preening, clean-shaven, and vain general. In the description of the preferred general, one discerns, once again, the epic figure of Odysseus. In short, physical ugliness is indeed a feature of the persona or characters of the two poets most closely associated in the Archaic period with “blame”—but ugliness is a means to an end. It is an instrumental part of a complex strategy of claiming a marginal status from which to assert one’s superiority, originality, creativity, and, ultimately, praise-worthiness.

The instrumentality of ugliness is exemplified in the *Odyssey* by Odysseus himself. Consider the words he speaks to Penelope while he is in disguise, attempting to demonstrate that he knew Odysseus without openly revealing that he himself *is* Odysseus: “He kept a herald beside him, a man a little older than himself. I’ll try to describe him to you, best I can. Round-shouldered he was, swarthy, curly-haired. His name? Eurybates. And Odysseus prized him most of all his men. Their minds worked as one” (*Odyssey* 19.244–248). It seems beyond much doubt that Odysseus is describing a man of African physiognomy—a man very different in appearance therefore from the run-of-the-mill Achaian.⁵⁸ By choosing to describe this man, Odysseus is able to make three points: the unusual physical appearance of Eurybates allows for no ambiguity about whether the stranger is talking about a man familiar to

Penelope or some other man; this is proof that the stranger really had known Odysseus. In addition, the fact that this man, very different in appearance from other Achaians, is Odysseus' most trusted lieutenant suggests that Odysseus values inner qualities over appearances, or believes that appearances tell one nothing about a person's real nature. In that respect, the passage of the *Odyssey* really does express a sentiment very similar to what is expressed in the poem of Archilochos about the two generals (fragment 114W). Finally, by choosing to describe a man who is unattractive and imperfect by mainstream Achaian standards, but most like-minded to Odysseus, the unappealing beggar who is relating this account seems to be hinting that there is something like Odysseus hiding within himself.

Underscoring the often instrumental function of ugliness in epic is the fact that the figure who shuts down the "ugliest" of the Achaians in the *Iliad* is the same man who voluntarily undergoes transformation into a figure of roughly equal ugliness in the *Odyssey*.

She shriveled the supple skin on the lithe limbs, stripped the russet curls from his head, covered his body top to toe with the wrinkled hide of an old man and dimmed the fire in his eyes, so shining once. She turned his shirt and cloak into squalid rags, ripped and filthy, smeared with grime and soot. She flung over this the long pelt of a bounding deer, rubbed bare, and gave him a staff and beggar's sack, torn and tattered, slung from a fraying rope. (13.429–438)

What is different about this instance in which Homeric epic describes a very unheroic physical appearance, compared with the Thersites episode, is that appearance, in this case, is clearly and unambiguously a means to an end (compare 13.308–310 and 333–335). The temporary disfigurement of Odysseus allows him to infiltrate his home, line up allies, and position himself to take advantage of the opportunity provided him by Penelope's contest to string her husband's bow. In this narrative, physical and verbal impersonation of a dishevelled beggar allows one man, perhaps a nobleman once but a nobody, politically speaking, now, to gain the advantage over one hundred of the region's best and brightest.

One incident in particular involving the disguised Odysseus in the *Odyssey* is comparable to the episode of Thersites in the *Iliad*. This is the encounter with Iros in Book Eighteen (18.1–107). In both poems, a man is introduced into the story in order to be defeated by Odysseus. Like Thersites, Iros is an abject person who receives an elaborate introduction, which touches on his customary habits and physical appearance. Iros is a beggar with a big appetite, a weakling but large in size. Just as Thersites used to *neikeieske*, "quarrel," with Odysseus and Achilles, Iros *neikeiōn* with (the disguised) Odysseus (*Il.* 2.221, *Od.* 18.9). The scene in the *Odyssey* is unfolding before an assembly of sorts, just as the scene in the *Iliad*, though it is an assembly of sybaritic suitors and not

dissatisfied soldiers. The prospect of a fistfight between Iros and the beggar makes the suitors laugh, just as the beating received by Thersites makes the soldiers laugh. Antinoos threatens Iros with violence similar to, but even more ghastly than, the stripping and public nakedness and exile to the ships with which Odysseus threatened Thersites. Iros, like Thersites, is struck physically and dispatched from the story for good. The suitors laugh again when the beggar returns from dragging away Iros, and this time the language, ἡδὺ γελώντες, “sweetly laughing” (18.111), is exactly the same as the language describing the laughter engendered by Thersites’ comeuppance (*Iliad* 2.270, *hēdu gelassan*).

The Iros episode is of particular interest to those who study the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax, as seen in [chapters two](#) and [three](#). The word used by Antinoos to describe the entertainment unexpectedly provided by the verbal and physical fight, *τερπωλή*, “pleasure” (18.37), is the word used synonymously, it seems, for iambic poetic performances, in Archilochos fragment 215W. Hipponax appears to have modelled his narrative of his own fistfight with Boupalos on this epic scene (fragments 73.4, 120, 121W). For my present purposes, what is of interest is the fact that Odysseus is cast very differently in the Iros episode than he is in the encounter with Thersites. In the Iros affair, Odysseus is at least as ugly and as destitute as the beggar Iros. If Thersites and Iros are metaphors for blame poetry, in their physical ugliness and appetite, then Odysseus, the hero of the praise poetry of the *Odyssey*, at this moment, is no less a figure of blame. The point is, ugliness and hunger are instrumental to a strategy that will result in his eventual triumph, not metaphors of an unbridgeable gap between praise and blame.⁵⁹

EPIC RAP BATTLE: THERSITES VERSUS HEPHAISTOS

Let us return to the point of departure of our discussion of the story of Thersites, namely, the manner in which Hephaistos resolved the dispute among the gods at the end of *Iliad* Book One. The proximity of the two passages in the *Iliad* that feature collective laughter invite comparison.⁶⁰ Lame-ness is an obvious similarity in physical appearance shared by Thersites and Hephaistos. Their ugliness and deformity may also affect their place within their societies. Certainly, Hephaistos was banished from Olympus because he was crippled (so he claims in *Iliad* 18.396–397, and Hera admits in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 317–318). He was rejected, as he claims in the song of Demodokos, by Aphrodite for the fact that he is crippled and not handsome like Ares. Although there are good reasons to think that the gods laugh at Hephaistos at the end of Book One of the *Iliad* because he is performing a menial task that should be performed by a good-looking young servant, it is also possible for a reader or listener to think that they laugh at him for his looks.

It is not possible to say with certainty that the physical ugliness of Thersites, singled out so uniquely in the text of the *Iliad* (the *ugliest* man to come to Troy!), is integral to his penchant for making the Achaians laugh, but the proximity of the two traits within the text (2.215, 216) tempts one to think that the Achaians laughed at him in part because of his looks. Thersites, like Hephaistos, was not prevented from speaking even within the highest circles of power of his society. Outside of the *Iliad*, Thersites was a member of the elite, related by blood to celebrated heroes such as Diomedes. Finally, both figures routinely attempt to elicit humor from their audience. All those affinities underscore the comparability of the two instances of humor in the opening two books of the *Iliad*: when Thersites begins to speak in the troubled assembly of the Achaians, he is, for the moment, like Hephaistos when he begins to speak to Hera in the midst of the grumbling gods.

The similarities end the moment the words leave their mouths. Thersites fails to persuade the Achaians to his point of view. His suggestion that the Achaians return home elicits a crushing response from Odysseus. Thersites is subject to physical violence and excluded from the laughter uniting the Achaians. Hephaistos succeeds in persuading Hera to back down, averting the threat of violence, and himself engenders the laughter that unites the gods.⁶¹ One reason why Thersites' performance failed is that Thersites misidentified the occasion of the restive, dispirited assembly as an appropriate moment for a comic interlude. Hephaistos correctly matched his form of intervention to the convivial Olympian context, just as Demodokos correctly guessed that the comical tale of Ares and Aphrodite would alleviate the tension at the Phaiakian feast. But the failure of Thersites' performance is also due to the things he chose to say. He aimed exclusively at generating derisive laughter by highlighting or exaggerating the king's avarice. Crucially, unlike Hephaistos, he did not leverage himself, his own weaknesses or limitations, as an object of humor.

In fact, the figure within Book Two who demonstrates the most skillful understanding of humor is not Thersites, but Odysseus. By mentioning explicitly the humorous intention behind Thersites' past speeches in assembly, the text raises the expectation that the army will laugh at this one. The reader or listener is not disappointed. But the expectation that the humor will be generated by something contained within Thersites' speech is foiled. It is the physical assault on Thersites, which reduces him to the level of a "man of the *dēmos*," that makes the Achaians laugh. Odysseus turned the tables on Thersites, by refusing to take him seriously as a satirical speaker, which disarmed the man of the only skill he possessed. Crucially, Odysseus used physical violence with restraint. He did not kill or permanently injure the man, but merely made him cry in public. The parallel story in the *Aithiopsis*, in which Thersites taunted Achilles, and Achilles killed Thersites on the spot, exemplifies how skillfully Odysseus resolves the crisis in the *Iliad*. For in the *Aithiopsis*,

the murder of Thersites by Achilles resulted in a rebellion within the army, whereas as the (relatively) milder beating of Thersites by Odysseus actually quelled the rebellion, or began the process of quelling the rebellion, already set in motion in Books One and Two of the *Iliad*.⁶² As in the *Odyssey* so in the *Iliad*, Odysseus and Hephaistos employ similar strategies to overcome threats or resolve conflicts.

Concerning the relationship between physical ugliness and poetic blame, Bruce Lincoln offered an explanation that goes some way toward acknowledging the fluid or dynamic nature of the relationship:

Yet starting from the same point—the association of an ugly language of blame with an ugly speaker of that language—one may move the analysis in a somewhat different direction [from the theory of Gregory Nagy] by stressing that ideals of beauty and ugliness do not spring unproblematically from nature, but are themselves culturally constructed. Blame thus originates not with “the ugly,” but rather with persons who suffer the adverse judgments of others who, in one fashion or another, more thoroughly embody their society’s aesthetic norms. “The ugly” thus comes to experience those norms as the ultimate source of their suffering, and they can ratify or embrace society’s notion of “the good” and “the beautiful” only at the cost of denouncing themselves. Yet they have another option to them, for they may also denounce the norms and those whom they profit, although in doing so they risk offending people, particularly those who are most successful and powerful under the established regime of beauty.⁶³

The dynamic described by Lincoln is exemplified by the figure of Hephaistos in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. His genealogy is unorthodox, an elite and powerful mother but obscure paternity. His physical limitations or imperfections result in his physical expulsion or emotional rejection by other gods and goddesses. He is often in exile. His situation appears to be exactly like the situation of “the ugly” in Lincoln’s scheme. Hephaistos can accept his society’s notion of beauty only by discounting his own worthiness to be the husband of Aphrodite. Or he can reject the norms but at the cost of his relationships with Aphrodite, Ares, or Zeus. It seems to me, however, that the narrative of the assembly of the gods at the end of Book One of the *Iliad* and, perhaps less completely, the Song of Demodokos in the *Odyssey* offers a third way. The technological knowledge, cunning, and rhetorical skill of Hephaistos allow him to out-fox those who would put him down, reclaim a position of equability, even briefly take up a position of leadership among the Olympians, and unite the gods for a moment of collective, consciousness-raising good will.⁶⁴

All of the characters we have studied, Smikros, Euphronios, Archilochos, Hipponax, and Odysseus, entail some mixture of unattractiveness, marginalization, social ambition, untruthfulness, cunning, virtuosity, and humor, in

themselves as well as in the poems or paintings that give form to them and to which they give form. Hephaistos is the formula distilled to its essence, for he is the ugliest, funniest, and (along with his close associate Athena) the most cunning of the gods. For the understanding of how the formula may manifest itself in Greek art, Hephaistos is of particular interest because he is also, in addition to all those other things, the essential practitioner of the visual arts. Euphronios may not represent himself or his alter ego Smikros as unattractive, but that is perhaps due to the fact that, as artisans, they enter the representational arena as socially marginal figures. Smikros and Euphronios emulate beautiful people—wealthy symposiasts, frivolous young komasts, or suave pederasts (plates I, III, XI, and figure 14). Perhaps like the gods at the end of *Iliad* Book One, witnessing Hephaistos' imitation of Ganymede, the users and viewers of those vases, watching Euphronios represent himself and his alter ego as the beautiful people they are not, laughed appreciatively, acknowledging the artist's inventiveness.

CHAPTER FIVE

PICTORIAL SUBJECTIVITY AND THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES ON THE FRANÇOIS VASE

The song of Demodokos in Book Eight of the *Odyssey*, which celebrates the triumph of Hephaistos over Ares, is closely comparable to a venerable story of the triumph of Hephaistos over his cold and aristocratic mother. The “return of Hephaistos,” as the triumph over Hera is known, was very frequently represented in Greek art of the Archaic period. In the most ambitious surviving example, the so-called François vase of around 570 BC, the mythological dynamic articulated in epic poetry is thematized in brilliantly subtle ways. Hephaistos is both outcast and celebrity. His technological sophistication enables him, like Doctor Strangelove, to become an indispensable member of a pantheon of perfect physiques in spite of his physical deficiencies.

The earliest known occurrence of the story of the return of Hephaistos is a substantial Archaic *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*. The hymn told the story of the birth of Dionysos in a remote, hidden, foreign location, and his eventual acceptance as a major Olympian deity thanks to his role in the return of Hephaistos.¹ The fullest surviving literary account, however, is attributed to the late Roman writer Libanios: Hera banished her son Hephaistos from Olympos out of shame due to his lameness. Hephaistos was not without resources, however, because of his skills. He built a throne with invisible bonds and sent it to his mother as a gift. Delighted, she sat down, but found herself held fast in the chair. In council, the gods determined that it was necessary for Hephaistos to return to Olympos, for only he could release the bonds. Ares attempted to bring Hephaistos back by force, but the pyrotechnics of the

god of the forge were too much for even the war god. Hera's great distress remained. Finally, Dionysos was able to engineer the return of Hephaistos by making the smith god drunk with wine. When Hephaistos released Hera from her chair, the goddess thanked the wine god for his help by persuading the Olympian gods to admit Dionysos too into their number.²

Numerous parallels have been noted between the return of Hephaistos and parts of the *Iliad*. They suggest that the return was a long-familiar tale. In Book Fourteen (230–276), hoping to persuade Hypnos to anesthetize Zeus, Hera travels to Lemnos (traditionally associated not with the god of sleep but with Hephaistos) and offers him a golden throne manufactured by Hephaistos. Discreetly passing over in silence the offer of the (slightly used?) chair, Hypnos declines, recalling a time when Hera was physically placed in “stress positions,” and gods were thrown off of Mount Olympos, because Hypnos had knocked Zeus out. When Hera sweetens the offer, however, with the possibility of marrying one of the Charites, Hypnos eagerly agrees to do as she wishes. Throwing gods off of Mount Olympos, immobilizing Hera, golden thrones made by Hephaistos, wheeling and dealing for services among the gods, even perhaps the promising of beautiful, immortal goddesses as brides are motifs shared by the tale in Book Fourteen and the return of Hephaistos. It has even been suggested that the isolated, seemingly ad hoc story of the persuasion of Hypnos in the *Iliad* was modelled on the story of the return.³

There are even more substantial similarities between the Demodokean story of the revenge on Ares and Aphrodite and the return of Hephaistos. In both, he uses the same basic artifice, a piece of furniture equipped with invisible yet unbreakable bonds. It seems likely that the gods laughed at the turning of the tables on Hera, bound immovably in the chair, just as they laughed at Hephaistos' capture and exposure of Ares and Aphrodite in their tryst. Evidence for that supposition comes from one of the fragments associated metrically and thematically with an Archaic poem by Alkaios relating the story of the return of Hephaistos: γέλαν δ' ἀθάνατοι θεοί, “and the immortal gods laughed.”⁴ Ares is bested in the return of Hephaistos as well as in the Demodokean tale. Both stories entail discussion and negotiation among the gods over what must be done in order to persuade Hephaistos to release his captives.⁵ Most importantly, in both stories, Hephaistos is rejected by a goddess because he is lame and a weakling, and reestablishes his place or status thanks to his artistry.

THE RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS ON THE FRANÇOIS VASE

The return of Hephaistos is an important link between the narrative pattern we have been following—of the imperfect, ugly, shunned, but brilliant, artist—and the practice of painting vases. The return is the most popular story about

Hephaistos in Greek art, and among the most popular of any story in Athenian vase-painting. In fact, the fullest early account of the myth is not in any extant literary source. The fullest early account is a pictorial representation on the François vase, an ambitious volute krater created around 570 BC (plate XIV, figure 25). The vase bears the signatures of its creators on both sides: Kleitias *egraphsen* and Ergotimos *epoiēsen*.⁶ The representation of the return of Hephaistos on this vase differs in emphasis from hundreds of later Athenian vase-paintings of the story. In the latter, the principal theme is the lively, musical, and often obscene processional movement of the entourage of Dionysos.⁷ On the François vase, the emphasis is on the clash of cultures between mainstream Olympian society and “hippy” values embodied by Hephaistos and Dionysos.

On the right, Dionysos conducts Hephaistos back to Olympos to release his mother. On the left, eight gods await the arrival of Hephaistos, amid “conflicting emotions and a charged atmosphere,” as J. D. Beazley diplomatically put it.⁸ Hermes, Artemis, and perhaps Apollo (the figure is fragmentary) are bystanders. Ares does not stand, but sits on a low block, head down, wearing his armor, holding his weapons. Athena looks back at the war god. In the downcast look and abject pose, one wishes to see the humiliation of Ares, elite warrior bested by the weakling Hephaistos. And in the disdainful look of Athena, one likes to see *schadenfreude*. One theme of this myth, which aligns it with the intervention of Hephaistos at the end of *Iliad* Book One, is that social disharmony may be remedied more effectively through the convivial power of Dionysos than through military means represented by Ares. The relative prominence of Hera compositionally, seated stiffly in her elaborate throne in the middle of the frieze, corresponds both to her role in sowing the seed of the crisis and to her personal need for rescue. The immobilization of Hera, however, is more than just an inconvenience to the goddess. It is a threat to the harmonious cohabitation, or coexistence, of the Olympian gods and goddesses generally under the leadership of Zeus. That is one way of understanding why Zeus was given an even more central, more prominent, position than Hera.

The king and queen of heaven, for all their importance within the plot of the story, however, do not occupy the center of the composition. The center is occupied by Aphrodite, who is the first of the Olympian gods to greet the entourage of Hephaistos. Dionysos leads a mule on which sits the deformed god, his right foot pointed dysfunctionally in the opposite direction of his left. The mule is followed by three of the henchmen of Dionysos, part horse, part man, and seemingly all phallus, identified collectively by name as *Silanoi*. The silens are accompanied by four nymphs (labelled *Nu<m>phai*), one of whom plays a pair of cymbals, “an orgiastic instrument hitherto unheard in heaven” (Beazley). One of the silens cannot keep his hands off the girls, and he carries one in his arms.



FIGURE 25: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Return of Hephaistos.



FIGURE 26: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

For any viewer familiar with Demodokos' claim that Aphrodite was bound to Hephaistos in marriage—and wondering why the gods would have promoted such a union of beauty and beast—the prominent position of Aphrodite in this vase-painting affords an explanation. Determined to restore harmony to the coexistence of the gods under his leadership, would Zeus have demurred from offering the crippled god the goddess of love, in return for the release of Hera? The bartering of goddesses in exchange for services rendered is one conception of the lifestyle of the gods well attested in poetry as early as Homeric epic, as we have seen. Hephaistos is not exempt from feelings of lust for the goddesses, even if his ability to consummate a relationship is limited. It is a familiar story that he attempted to rape the favorite daughter of Zeus, the goddess Athena, an unpromising date, given her commitment to a life of chastity. A moment of passion ended untriumphantly, with the crippled god's sperm on the still-virginal goddess' thigh.⁹

It is true that Aphrodite, more than any other Olympian deity but perhaps Hermes, is comfortable in the environment of ripe female figures and overheated male libidos that surrounds Dionysos.¹⁰ In a mythological application of the commutative property, one might say, the presence of hyper-lusty silens and ever-nubile nymphs draws the goddess of love into their midst. The possibility cannot be denied, however, that a viewer of the vase in the early sixth century BC, familiar with the Song of Demodokos thanks to the circulation of an *Odyssey*, might have conjectured that Hephaistos received Zeus' blessing to wed Aphrodite on the occasion of his return to Olympus.¹¹

Visually, the most unusual and striking thing about this representation of the return of Hephaistos is the utter difference between the society of Dionysos and that of the Olympian gods. The differences include the presence of the intoxicating *pharmakon* of wine, which is completely foreign to the nektar-sipping society of the gods of Homeric epic (e.g., *Iliad* 4.1–4). The shrill aulos and incessant cymbals are a far cry from the mincing choral music with stringed accompaniment at Olympian concerts (e.g., *Iliad* 1.603–604). The libertine sexual mores of the silens and nymphs stands in contrast to the conviction among the gods that sexual activity should occur in private (compare Hera's qualms about making love outdoors “for all the world to see,” *Iliad* 14.330–332). Pictorially, the physiognomy of the silens marks them out as of a wholly different order of being compared to the gods. They have not only the ears and tails of a horse, which characterize every silen, but also the legs of a horse, which is unusual.¹² In addition to the silens' horse legs, which noticeably mark them as physiologically other than the Olympian gods, their immense erect phalli set them apart from the gods in terms of ability or willingness to exert self-control. Even the faces of the silens attract attention: “the heads of Kleitias' satyrs, with their roomy aquiline noses, and the hair

towering over the forehead, are very like the heads . . . of his centaurs, but if anything wilder and more terrifying” (Beazley). The return of Hephaistos is a triumph for the smith god in part because his readmission to Olympian society was not predicated or conditioned on his undergoing a total “makeover” into a prim and proper Olympian god. That point is expressed visually on the François vase through the vivid differentiation of the arriving entourage of Hephaistos from the Olympian gods and goddesses. Exile did not increase his desire to be more like the rest of the Olympians, and it certainly did not expose him to good society.

SOCIAL HIERARCHY AMONG THE GODS IN THE WEDDING OF PELEUS AND THETIS

“[T]he *Return of Hephaistos* . . . is ingeniously linked, or hooked, to the chief picture by the special role which two gods, Dionysos and Hephaistos, play in both.”¹³ As Beazley noticed, the return of Hephaistos forms an important gloss or commentary on the depiction of the gods arriving for the marriage of Peleus of Thetis (figure 26), which is the principal subject of the vase. The internal references between the two visual narratives are important, because they highlight the relationship between artistic prowess and the leveling of social hierarchy.

The representation of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis appears to be structured along the lines of the *epaulia*, an ancient ceremony following a wedding, during which songs, dances, and the presentation of gifts occurred. A detailed description of the ceremony occurs in an ancient commentary on a passage of Homer’s *Iliad* concerning the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The ceremony occurred on the day after the wedding when the bride was already in residence in the home of the groom. *Epaulia* are also the presents brought by the bride’s father to the bride and groom in a parade. The procession was led by children, who were followed by people bearing gifts, including clothing, items of personal adornment, and vases.¹⁴ The scene on the François vase corresponds to the description in part. Thetis is already in the bedroom of a palace that presumably belongs to Peleus, as he greets the arriving guests at the courtyard altar of his home. The arrival of the guests takes the form of a parade, with most of the guests arriving via chariot and some arriving on foot. The father of the bride (Nereus) is present, the Muses are providing song, and the procession is led by figures who, while not children, are of lesser importance hierarchically than later guests (the first guest to arrive is a centaur). And at least one guest carries a gift.

Among the nine guests who arrive at the house of Peleus on foot, rather than in the cavalcade, is the god Dionysos (figure 26). He is unusual for the

large vase that he carries, the manner in which his legs are positioned, and his frontal face. The object that he carries, his evident exertion, and his visual engagement with someone in the viewer's space will occupy us later. For the moment, consider the manner in which he travels to the feast. Other important immortals travel not on foot, like Dionysos, but in four-horse chariots. All eight of the Olympian gods waiting for the return of Hephaistos on the reverse of the vase, for example, ride in chariots to the wedding reception (the names of Apollo and Artemis are lost, but they were certainly included). Among the deities in chariots, only two surviving figures (Maia, mother of Hermes, Amphitrite, wife of Poseidon) are not major players in the politics of Olympos. The figures travelling on foot are, for the most part, divine collectives—Muses, Moirai, or Horai, part of the mid-level bureaucracy of the pantheon; or figures with atypical, complex, or strained relationships to Olympos, such as Demeter or Hestia. Only three other male deities are not riding in cars. One, Okeanos, with bull's head and serpent's tail, is too big to fit in a chariot; another, the father of the bride, Nereus, presumably arrived early to help set up the reception. The third is the lame god Hephaistos (figure 27).

Hephaistos is depicted with feet turned out, bringing up the rear of the procession, riding sidesaddle on an “entry-level” vehicle, a lowly donkey. Though bringing up the rear within the world of the story, Hephaistos is dramatically “spotlit” compositionally by the curving handle of the vase. You cannot miss him. Compositionally, he is in proximity to the sea gods Okeanos and Nereus. This corresponds in some measure to the story that he dwelled with the Nereids Eurynome and Thetis on the banks of the river Okeanos for nine years.¹⁵ But the implications of difference in status between this deity and the other Olympian gods seem undeniable. For a crippled god can ride in a chariot, he just cannot walk.

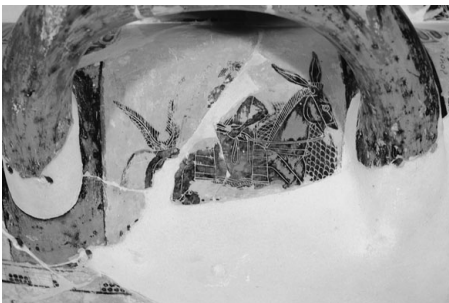


FIGURE 27: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Detail of Hephaistos in the wedding procession.

Among the immediate artistic predecessors to the François vase is a lavishly painted dinos of around 580 BC signed by Sophilos (figure 28). It also depicts the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. On the dinos, most of the gods and goddesses active on Olympos in epic poetry (Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Aphrodite and Ares, Hermes and Apollo, Athena and Artemis) ride in chariots; other, seemingly less powerful or important deities (Iris, Hestia, Demeter, Chariklo, Leto, Hebe, Cheiron, Charites, Muses, Horai, Okeanos, Tethys, Eileithyia) travel on foot. Among the latter group are Dionysos and Hephaistos.¹⁶ On both vases, the exclusion of



FIGURE 28: London, British Museum, 1971.11-1.1, black-figure dinos, *Para* 19,16 bis, signed by Sophilos, BAPD 350099. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Dionysos and Hephaistos from the Olympian motorcade conveys pictorially the idea that they occupy lower or marginal positions within in the social hierarchy on Olympos. The François vase differs from the dinos because it additionally sets up a unique visual relationship between Dionysos and Hephaistos. Beazley noted this: “as Dionysos came in front of the chariots, on foot, hurrying, burdened, face turned aside, so Hephaistos comes behind the chariots, not driving, but riding side-saddle on a donkey, he also in part turned toward the spectator.”¹⁷

More significantly, the François vase differs from Sophilos’ dinos in pairing the representation of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis pictorially with the return, another myth that primarily concerns the social hierarchy and political structure of the Olympian gods. In the representation of the return of Hephaistos on the back of the François vase (plate XIV, figure 25), Dionysos and Hephaistos travel to the home of the Olympians, just as they travel to Peleus’ house in the main scene on the vase. Dionysos is on foot and Hephaistos on a pack animal (a mule rather than a donkey, a concession to the greater formality of the occasion?). But what a difference a day makes. The Olympian gods are no longer elevated in their fancy chariots. They are humbled in their seats, humiliated at their failure (Ares), putting one another down (Athena), helpless perhaps before an unwanted bridegroom (Aphrodite). In the representation of the wedding of

Peleus and Thetis, Dionysos is unaccompanied and carries his own bulky gift. In the return of Hephaistos, he does not accept that he must leave his entourage behind, or carry anything by himself. He enters Olympos with a noisy and offensive crew of silens and nymphs, who bring wine, which they seem all too ready to drink, whatever the local custom. Beazley nicely summarized the situation in this way: “[t]hus the two gods who had to be content with a humble place at the wedding of Peleus are exalted at the expense of all the others.”¹⁸

This is not an over-reading, for the hierarchical and authoritarian structure of the Olympian pantheon informs the most prominent pictorial narrative on the François vase. Pindar could describe Peleus, witnessing the gods come to his wedding, as the recipient of the greatest possible gift, because Peleus is a mortal. “[Kadmos and Peleus] are said to have attained the highest happiness of any men, for they even heard the golden-crowned Muses singing [at their weddings] . . . the gods feasted with both of them, and they beheld the regal children of Kronos on their golden thrones and received their wedding gifts.”¹⁹ The event was viewed very differently by Thetis, who was a goddess. Anyone familiar with the *Iliad* or Archaic art knows that Thetis did not go willingly into marriage with a mortal. She was raped on the beach by Peleus, who acted with the complicity of mightier gods. Pindar offered an explanation of this improbable union in another poem (*Isthmian* 8.26–48): Themis foretold that Thetis was destined to give birth to a son who would become mightier than his father. Hearing that, Zeus and Poseidon dropped Thetis like a rock. The gods agreed to marry her to a mortal so that her son would be mortal and thus no threat to the reign of Zeus. Laura Slatkin has persuasively argued that this myth underlies the characterization of Thetis within the *Iliad*.²⁰ But even if the myth were Pindar’s invention, the imbalance or inequality of power between Thetis and the other goddesses is palpable on the François vase (figure 26). It is expressed pictorially in her partial visual seclusion inside the house, which stands in contrast to the public appearances of all the other goddesses at her wedding. She is not even allowed to stand with the other marine members of her family, Nereus, Doris, and Okeanos. Thetis is forced to adopt the restrictive and demeaning habitus of mortal women—a second-class status in relation to the male gender from which immortal goddesses are usually exempt.

The depictions of Dionysos and Hephaistos on the François vase highlight the hierarchical class structure of Olympian society and, simultaneously, illustrate its overturning. By singling out Dionysos and Hephaistos twice, and depicting their status in relation to the other gods in two different ways, Kleitias suggests that social status among the gods is dynamic: as one walks around the vase, one gets the sense that the building up and breaking down of divine hierarchy exists in a never-ending dialectical relationship.

GOLDEN AMPHORA, OR S-O-S AMPHORA, OR BOTH?

Beazley's interpretation of the significance of Hephaistos within the complex pictorial proposition of the François vase is persuasive, as far as it goes. It accounts for the alterations to the compositional scheme employed in the earlier vase-paintings of Sophilos and offers one interpretation of the presence of the return of Hephaistos as a pendant to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. In its emphasis on the dynamic nature of the status of Hephaistos within Olympian society—down one moment and up the next—it is comparable to the presentation of the god in passages of epic poetry examined in [chapter four](#). It has even been suggested that it is analogous, in mythical, symbol terms, to Athenian society in the post-Solonian period in expressing a tension between aristocratic and banausic socioeconomic groups.²¹ My particular claim is that the presentation of Hephaistos on the François vase is comparable to that of the god in epic in highlighting the inseparability of physical imperfection and social inferiority, on the one hand, and compensatory technological and artistic superiority, on the other. How does the vase address specifically the identity of Hephaistos as an artist comparable to the artist responsible for the shield of Achilles who, despite all appearances of imperfection, is capable of incomparable beauty? One of the ways in which the François vase accomplishes this is by depicting one of Hephaistos' artistic creations.

Hephaistos' partner and pendant, Dionysos, occupies the exact center of the obverse of the François vase ([plate XV](#), [figure 26](#)). His stance is much wider than that of his neighbors in the wedding procession. He is one of just two figures within the procession to be shown with a frontal face. And he carries a large amphora, which is the most prominent object to break the border of any frieze on the François vase. Compositionally, he is a key element of vase's overall design. The formal prominence of the figure virtually demands speculation about his semantic functions. Let us begin with the large amphora.

The vase carried by the god bears the tell-tale neck-decoration of an archaeologically attested if somewhat antiquated ceramic form of transport vase. The type is known as an "S-O-S" amphora, after the painted decoration on its neck. The decoration suggests that the vase carried by Dionysos is made of clay, like the François vase itself. Although the S-O-S amphora is thought to have been primarily used as a container for oil, many scholars have suggested that the depicted vase should be interpreted as full of wine, which Dionysos is bringing to the wedding feast.²² A wine-drinking vessel closely associated with Dionysos, the kantharos, rests on the altar in front of Peleus, waiting to be used perhaps for a greetings libation, as soon as the wine arrives. In 1951, however, Andreas Rumpf suggested that the depicted amphora was meant to be understood in relation to a particular story. Hephaistos made a golden amphora that he gave to Dionysos. Dionysos in turn gave the amphora to Thetis. Thetis gave

the amphora to her son Achilles, whose remains were interred in it by the Achaians at Troy. Much of the story is contained in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was also related in a lost poem of Stesichoros. In Stesichoros, Hephaistos gave the amphora to Dionysos as a thank-you present for a party at which Dionysos hosted the smith god; the party may have been the drunken event that resulted in the homecoming of Hephaistos to Olympos, which is pictured on the François vase itself.²³ Since Rumpf first suggested that the vase is the golden amphora, and not a ceramic jar full of wine, scholars have supported one interpretation or the other.²⁴

The principal reason why there is a debate is that both interpretations are credible. If the S-O-S amphora were used at the time for transporting wine, it seems hard to deny the possibility that a viewer might imagine that Dionysos is bringing wine to the wedding, even if the god is not holding the jar level. For one well-attested sphere of human experience over which Dionysos presided was the making and drinking of wine, which was often spoken of as Dionysos' gift to humankind. Indeed, on the back of the François vase, there is a representation of a myth, the return of Hephaistos, that functions in part to celebrate the positive social-cohesive power of wine, which is present pictorially in the form of a very full wineskin.²⁵ A variety of arguments, on the other hand, have been advanced in favor of the hypothesis that the amphora carried by Dionysos represented the fabled golden amphora. Literary sources, such as the passage of Pindar quoted earlier, claim that the gods brought gifts to Peleus and Thetis on the occasion of their wedding. It is frequently suspected that the branch carried by Cheiron on the François vase will be given to Peleus, to become the awesome ash spear used by Achilles in the Trojan War.²⁶ If Cheiron is bringing a gift, it would not be gauche for Dionysos to be carrying one too.

In favor of the golden-amphora interpretation is one point on which virtually everyone agrees, namely, that the imagery on the front and handles of the François vase predominantly concerns the fate of Achilles (plate XV). The main scene on the vase depicts the marital union of his mother and father. One likes to think that the child was conceived on the night before the moment depicted. The first guest to greet the groom, Cheiron, will become the tutor of the young hero. Above the wedding scene, there is a representation of the chariot race in honor of Achilles' dear friend Patroklos. The occasion is clear from the fact that Achilles is pictured as the organizer of the race. Below the wedding scene, there is an intricate pictorial narrative of the pursuit of Troilos by Achilles. The presence and gesture of Apollo allude clearly to what any viewer might be expected to know (visible in figure 29): that Achilles will catch Troilos in spite of the boy's being on horseback, murder him on the altar of Apollo, and be murdered in turn by the angry god in response. The aftermath of Apollo's action is prominently depicted on



FIGURE 29: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Side view.

both handle plates (figure 29), the lifeless corpse of Achilles borne off the battlefield by the great Ajax. Of course, if the krater were envisioned, in the course of its creation or reception, as serving ultimately to contain the ashes of a deceased person (which is not incompatible with the idea that it was also envisioned as a convivial mixing bowl), then the allusion to the golden funerary urn implicit in the S-O-S amphora may have been even more readily actualized. Given the amount of imagery on the François vase concerned with the fate of Achilles, as well as the vase's predilection, well illustrated in the pursuit of Troilos, for proleptic, allusive visual narration, it is hardly a stretch, therefore, to think that a painter or viewer of the vase, familiar with stories preserved and transmitted in epic and other poetry, might have seen the future burial urn of Achilles in the amphora carried by Dionysos.

STESICHORĒ: LITERARY ALLUSION OR POOR SPELLING?

In an influential essay of 1983, Andrew Stewart advanced an additional argument in favor of identifying the container carried by Dionysos as the

golden amphora. The names of the Muses who attend the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François vase correspond exactly with those of the Muses in Hesiod's *Theogony* (77–79)—with one significant exception.²⁷ The ninth Muse on the vase is named Στεσιχορῆ, Stesichorē. Terpsichorē is how the ninth Muse is called in Hesiod. That is how she is named in Pindar (*Isthmian* 2.7–8), Plato (*Phaidros* 259c), and later writers as well. Stesichorē, on the other hand, is unattested in Greek literature before the fifth century of our era, to judge from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. After the François vase, the name does not occur again until Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* (14.226 and 400; cf. 29.238 and 242), where its transparently artistic meaning of “she who arranges the chorus” makes it an appropriate invention to describe the musical, improvisational social milieu surrounding Dionysos. The name is unattested in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* and in the *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* as well. It is, in short, without parallel as the name of the ninth Muse. Yet it seems very unlikely that Stesichorē is the product of mistakenly misspelling the name Terpsichorē. Given the small number of misspellings among the large (130!) number of inscriptions on the vase (“one mistake in 42”), the experienced linguist, philologist, and epigrapher of vase inscriptions Rudolph Wachter assessed Kleitias as a “highly literate painter.” About the spelling of Stesichorē specifically, he concluded, “the observation that the variants which occur on our vase also fit the metre, practically rules out the possibility that they are just careless mistakes on the part of the vase-painter.”²⁸

Stewart argued that the name “Stesichorē” was a conscious and deliberate substitution for Terpsichorē, with a singular purpose. The vase carried by Dionysos is an allusion to the story of the golden amphora, which was related by the contemporary poet Stesichoros, whose name is a near homonym of the name Stesichorē. Stewart argued that the name of the muse served to acknowledge the dependence of the pictorial representation on the poetry, like a footnote.²⁹ The interpretation proposed by Stewart faces two difficulties. First, it has been rigorously argued that the history of the golden amphora as told by Stesichoros differed from what one sees on the François vase. Second, it is not certain that poetry of Stesichoros was in circulation before the time of the creation of the François vase. If the story of the golden amphora had been familiar to Kleitias and his contemporaries, it may be that it was so thanks to the circulation and re-performance of Homeric, not Stesichorean, poetry.³⁰ Nevertheless, Stewart's general idea, that the name of the muse may evoke the name of the poet, remains the most plausible alternative to misspelling as an explanation of Stesichorē. If the poetry of Stesichoros had been in circulation early enough for a beholder to perceive an allusion to the poet, however, I do not believe that the function of the allusion was deferential citation. The vase-painting says that Kleitias has made “Stesichorē” merely one small part of a much larger pictorial world, much as the *Iliad* makes the Shield



1: Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A717, red-figure stamnos, *ARV*² 20,1, signed by Smikros as painter, BAPD 200102. Photo courtesy and ©RMAH, Brussels. Obverse.



11: Madrid, Museo del Prado, Diego Rodriguez Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656. ©Museo Nacional del Prado/Art Resource, NY.



111: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8935, red-figure krater, *ARV*² 1619,3bis, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 275007. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.



iv: Arezzo, Museo Archeologico, 1465, red-figure volute krater, *ARV*² 15,6, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200068. Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource, NY.



vi: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8935, red-figure krater, *ARV*² 1619,3bis, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 275007. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Detail of Thodemos.



vi: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G30, red-figure neck amphora, *ARV*² 15,9, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200071. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand-Palais/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.



vii: Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.19, red-figure neck amphora, *Para* 323,3 bis, signed by Smikros, BAPD 352401. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



viii: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G103, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV*² 14,2, signed by Euphronios, BAPD 200064. Photo courtesy Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



1x: Paris, Musée du Louvre C11071, red-figure neck amphora, *ARV*² 15,10, signed by S[mikro]s, BAPD 200072. Photo: Les frères Chuzeville. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



x: Paris, Musée du Louvre G110, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV*² 14,3, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200065. Photo: Claude Gaspari. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



x1: Paris, Musée du Louvre G110, red-figure calyx krater, *ARV*² 14,3, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 20065. Photo: Claude Gaspari. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.



xii: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 82.AE.53, red-figure psykter, attributed to Smikros, BAPD 30685. Photo courtesy the J. Paul Getty Museum.



xiii: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.47, Rogers Fund, 1907, red-figure on coral red ground cup, *ARV*² 175, Hegesiboulos Painter, BAPD 201603, tondo. Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, OASC. Tondo.



xiv: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Reverse.



xv: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Obverse.



xvi: New York 1997.388a-eee, 56, and 493, fragmentary black-figure krater, BAPD 46026. Detail: Oukalegon. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a-eee). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.463). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY.



xvii: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2294, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 400,1, Foundry Painter, BAPD 204340. Photo: Ingrid Geske. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Ingrid Geske/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.



xviii: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8073, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 342,19, manner of the Antiphon Painter, ca. 480 BC. BAPD 203543. Photo ©2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



xix: Athens, Agora P10359, black-figure on coral red ground cup, BAPD 9023768. Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.



xx: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.47, Rogers Fund, 1907, red-figure on coral red ground cup, *ARV*² 175, Hegesiboulos Painter, BAPD 201603, tondo. Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, OASC. Obverse.



xxi: Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, 20760, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 84,14, signed by Skythes, BAPD 200674. Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.



xx11: Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.20, red-figure hydria, *Para* 508, attributed to Euphronios or his manner, BAPD 340207. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.



xx111: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2421, red-figure hydria, *ARV*² 23,7, attributed to Phintias, BAPD 200126. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.



xxiv: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. 3251, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 113,7, Thalia Painter, BAPD 200964. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.



xxv: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2279, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 115,2, signed by Peithinos, BAPD 200977. Photo courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.

of Achilles a small part of its war narrative, and Hephaistos makes war but one part of his pictorial microcosm.

INTENTIONAL AMBIGUITY IN THE VASE CARRIED BY DIONYSOS

What is interesting about the details of the vase carried by Dionysos (figure 26), and what would resolve the interpretive dilemma, is the possibility that the depicted vase might elicit both interpretations. That Kleitias intentionally chose a type of vase, and gave it a most prominent position compositionally, and depicted Dionysos himself carrying it, so that the amphora had the greatest chance of calling to mind *both* a legendary work of art by the mythical artist Hephaistos *and* a ceramic vase made by a potter—someone like Ergotimos. This would not be the first time in Greek ceramic production that a famous literary vessel was simulated by a common ceramic form. An eighth-century skyphos from Pithekousai bears an inscription proclaiming itself to be the “cup of Nestor.” Presumably, the inscription corresponds in part at least to the description in Homer of Nestor’s unwieldy cup (*Iliad* 11.631–636).³¹ The possibility that the amphora carried by Dionysos is intended to evoke two different associations is not part of the history of scholarship on the François vase, perhaps because the vase-painter Kleitias is prized for his attention to detail, clarity, and precision. One is reminded of stereotypes concerning other complex artists. About the multiplicity of dramatic moments plausibly identified in Leonardo’s *Last Supper*, Leo Steinberg wrote,

the effect is “ambiguous,” and the habit of placing ambiguity under a negative sign—as a symptom of indecisiveness or imprecision—has led scholars to disagree about what the painter was illustrating, each partly discounting unwelcome clues as trivial or accidental. Respect for the master made them posit a single signification, lest Leonardo appear to have blurred the contours of his presentation . . . Scholarly disagreements are not [to be] treated as occasions for taking sides, but as hints that Leonardo is doing more than one thing at a time.³²

The overall decorative program of the François vase, as well as its individual visual narratives, are rife with allusion, analepsis, prolepsis, and what one might call “meta-narrative” connections between individual scenes—such as the connections between the wedding of Peleus and the return of Hephaistos in relationship to treatment of the dynamic duo Dionysos and Hephaistos. If any Archaic artist was capable of deliberate development of ambiguity for narrative and formal pictorial effect, Kleitias was capable.

The significance of the amphora carried by Dionysos is manifold. It is plausibly interpreted, as so many modern observers have seen, as the golden amphora. As the golden amphora, it points in more than one direction: it is a potent proleptic symbol of a principal theme of the obverse of the François

vase—the fate of Achilles. But it also celebrates the artisanal or artistic abilities of a figure featured on the reverse of the vase—Hephaistos. This bimodel signification of the amphora, as a beautifully made golden burial urn, subtly suggests an equivalency between heroic and artisanal effort. The amphora is also plausibly understood as container for the wine necessary for a happy wedding party. As such, it is self-referential as a tribute to the sort of product manufactured by contemporary Athenian potters. The ambiguous signification of the amphora makes it possible to go further: the products of potters like Ergotimos are the equivalent of the products of the very god of artisanal work himself. Thinking through the many implications of the compositional pre-eminence of the amphora, we are led to the idea that the unsung, subjective star of the François vase is the artist himself.

WHO WAS THE FATHER OF THE PYGMIES?

The amphora carried by Dionysos is not the only indirect reference to the creativity of Hephaistos on the François vase. At the very bottom of the vase, wrapped around the foot, is a lively scene of diminutive men battling large birds (plates XIV–XV, figure 30). The image is readily recognizable on the basis of literary accounts as a representation of a fabled event, the annually



FIGURE 30: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Pygmies and Cranes.

recurring battle between the Pygmies and the *geranoi* or “cranes.” The picture is important in my argument for several reasons. For the moment, I am concerned just with the seemingly esoteric question: who was the father of the Pygmies?

That question was answered in a poem attributed in antiquity to Hesiod, known as the *Catalogue of Women*, and dating to the seventh or early sixth century BC.³³ Book Three of the *Catalogue* contained a flight and pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads comparable in ambition to a Hollywood blockbuster. The *Gēs periodos*, or “journey round the world,” as the chase was known, provided a poetic opportunity to survey the strangest and most far-flung of the earth’s population. A large papyrus fragment of the *Gēs periodos*, published in 1915, contains many esoteric ethnic names, including the name of the *Pygmaioi* or “Pygmies.” Here are the critical lines 16–20 of the papyrus fragment:

γ]ένεθ' υἱὸς ὑπερ[μ]ενέος Κρονίωνος·
]Μέλανές τε καὶ Αἰ[θ]ίορες μεγάθυμοι
 ἡδὲ Κατου]δαῖοι καὶ Πυγμαῖ[οι] ἀμηνηνοὶ
]κρείοντος Ἐρικτύπου εἰσὶ γενέθλης.

]was born, son of Cronus' [i.e., Zeus'] very strong son,
]the Black Men and the great-spirited Ethiopians
 and the Subterranean Men] and the strengthless Pygmies:
 they all] belong to the lineage of the sovereign Loud-Sounder.³⁴

Tantalizingly absent from the words preserved on the papyrus is the name of the son of Zeus, and the name of the god described as “loud sounder,” who was the father of the four ethnic groups. Because the word *eriktupos*, “loud sounder,” is used as an adjective in Hesiod’s *Theogony* to describe Poseidon, it has often been assumed that the ancestor of the peoples enumerated was the sea god.³⁵

The interpretation of this portion of the *Catalogue of Women* was dramatically improved in 1984, by the publication of new critical editions of papyrus fragments of Philodemos’ *On Piety*. The importance of this work of Epicurean theology is that it contained a scholarly study of earlier Greek poetry concerning the gods, including this section of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. For the understanding of our fragment, the relevant portion of *On Piety* is contained on one papyrus fragment (P.Herc. 243 II). In this fragment, the lovers attributed to various gods in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod are enumerated. After discussing lovers of Hermes, P.Herc. 243 II turns to Hephaistos. Here is the text of lines 16–27:

τὸν] δ' Ἡφαιστον οὐ[-
 δ' ὑπ]ὸ τῆς πηρώσε[ως]
 σ]ώφρονι
]καὶ τῆς Ἀφ[ροδ(ε)ίτης]
 ἐρῶν]τα καὶ τῆς Ἀ[-

θηνᾶς] καὶ τ[ῆς Χά]ρ[ιτος
 κ]αὶ τῆς [
 κατὰ] δ' Ἡσίοδον καὶ
 . . .]τῶν Μελάνων
 καὶ τ[ῶν Αἰθι]όπ[ων
 καὶ τ[ῶν Κατουδαί-
 ων κ]αὶ τῶν Πυγμαί-.³⁶

“But Hephaistos [claims Homer] was not restrained (or self-controlled) even on account of his lameness, but he loved both Aphrodite and also Athena and Charis and also . . . [According] to Hesiod, [he is also father] of the Black Men and Ethiopians and Subterranean Men and Pygmies.” The relevant portion begins with an enumeration of the lovers of Hephaistos according (most likely) to Homer. Then the commentary turns to Hesiod in line 23 and mentions the four ethnic groups enumerated in the *Catalogue*, including the Pygmies. It is virtually certain that these lines address the sexual activity of Hephaistos: there is no room in the preceding line 22 for the introduction of the name of a different male god, which is how the text marked the transition in line 16 from the preceding discussion of the lovers of Hermes, to the discussion of Hephaistos: [ton] d’ *Hephaiston*, “concerning Hephaistos.” In addition, the lovers and issue of Poseidon in Hesiod appear to have been discussed in a different section of *On Piety* than this one (see *Catalogue of Women* fragment 157 Most).

For the restoration of the name of the father of the Pygmies in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, the great significance of *On Piety* is this: in attributing ancestry to Hephaistos, Philodemos claims to be following Hesiod; and the list of ethnic groups in *On Piety* in fact corresponds exactly, not only in name but even in order of presentation, to the list of peoples in lines 17–18 of the Hesiodic fragment. The identification of the Pygmies and the other three tribes as descendants of Hephaistos is no Hellenistic innovation but genuinely Archaic. The new edition of this portion of *On Piety* made it possible in fact for Wolfgang Luppe to restore the key lacuna in lines 16–17 of the *Catalogue*: [Ἡφαιστος γ]ένεθ’ υἱὸς ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος [τοῦ δ’ὑἱδοῖ] Μέλανες, “Hephaestus was born, son of Cronus’ very strong son, and his [i.e., Zeus’] grandsons, the Black men . . .”³⁷ There is independent evidence of the existence of this genealogy in the case of one of the four ethnic groups, for Pliny (*Natural History* 6.35[30]) explains that Hephaistos (Vulcan to be precise) was the father of Aithiops, the eponymous ancestor of the Ethiopians, because the peoples living in the hottest part of the world were abnormally shaped by fire.

In sum, at the time of the creation of the François vase, there was a poetic tradition in circulation, in which the Pygmies, the pictorial coda to the vase, were the children of Hephaistos, one of the vase’s thematic foci. As the children of the artisan god, the Pygmies are a kind of stand-in for all artists who model themselves on Hephaistos. This idea is reflected perhaps in the

position of the Pygmies within the overall decoration of the vase: the entire extraordinary edifice stands upon the shoulders of the Pygmies, so to speak. At the same time, the Pygmies are tiny men, who have difficulty defending themselves against mere birds. And they are the smallest figures, in the smallest frieze, on the lowest part of the vase. This ambivalent set of meanings accords perfectly with the characterization of their father Hephaistos, as both the agent of great works of art yet also a weakling.

The Pygmies contribute to the characterization of Hephaistos indirectly, while advancing other pictorial propositions at the same time. Those other propositions, which concern the cranes and the geographical significance of the imagery, will be considered shortly. For the moment, notice the similarity between two motifs, the amphora carried by Dionysos and the Pygmies, in the ways in which those motifs operate semantically: they belong to narratives that are not directly concerned with Hephaistos yet nevertheless call to mind the creativity of the god. It is as if indirection or clever allusion were a thematically appropriate means of evoking the clever Hephaistos.

WHO IS DIONYSOS LOOKING FOR, AND WHAT DOES HE WANT?

There is one additional example of indirect reference to Hephaistos on the François vase, this one the most sophisticated and ambitious of all. In the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the figure of Dionysos ([figure 26](#)) differs from the other figures within the representation, and from other early representations of Dionysos, in several significant ways. Unlike other wedding guests, whose feet are close together, the feet of Dionysos are widely spread, and his leading left knee is heavily bent. It is also unprecedented in art for the god Dionysos to carry wine in bulk or a transport vessel of any sort. Dionysos is also one of only two figures within this scene to be shown with face directed toward the viewer. The other is the muse Kalliope playing the syrinx. Images of Dionysos shown with frontal face are not unknown, but they are not attested again until two generations later.³⁸ The anomalies can be appreciated by comparing the procession of gods and goddesses on the François vase to the procession of deities on the dinos signed by Sophilos ([figure 28](#)). There, the Muse playing the syrinx is depicted with a frontal face, just as she is on the François vase. Not so Dionysos. Although Dionysos occupies the same position within the processions on the two vases, the god on the François vase is very different from the god on the dinos in his orientation and accessories. The frontal face, large amphora, and unusual stance are not part of a familiar, preexisting iconography of Dionysos, but specific and germane to the visual propositions developed on this particular vase.

The pose of Dionysos stands apart from the poses of the other wedding guests, but what is its significance?³⁹ The François vase itself offers two distinct

parallels, with two distinct semantic associations, for the pose with feet widely separated and both knees bent. One is the pair of Gorgons depicted on the insides of the volute handles. The interpretation of those figures as moving swiftly through the air is suggested by their wings, the fact that their feet do not touch the ground line, and the fact that they might appear to be travelling over a liquid surface when the krater was filled with wine. The other parallel is offered by the pair of images of Ajax bearing the body of Achilles over his shoulder, which are represented on the exterior surfaces of the volute handles (figure 29). Unlike the Gorgon, Ajax has no wings, and his front foot is planted firmly on the ground. It has been suggested that Ajax is fleeing from the fight with the body of his friend. But that is not the impression given by the image, which is dominated by the dead weight of Achilles. The pull of gravity toward the ground line is visibly evident in the limp arms, legs, and hair of the now inert demigod. Ajax seems to struggle merely to lift his heavy load off the ground.⁴⁰ Of the two parallels supplied elsewhere on the François vase, the dead-weight-lifting figure of Ajax provides a better understanding of the significance of Dionysos' actions than the flying Gorgo. Like Ajax, Dionysos is an earth-bound figure, carrying a large object, with his front foot planted firmly on the ground, both knees bent, in the immediate vicinity of other figures who are moving at a ceremonially slow pace, in a narrative context in which swift running seems out of place. The composition of the figure of Dionysos appears to suggest that he, like Ajax, is carrying a heavy object. The finding is important, because it contributes to the understanding of the gaze of the god.

The image of Dionysos carrying a heavy amphora is unusual and noteworthy for the god's frontally depicted face. In vase-painting, frontal faces function in two different ways. In some contexts, the frontal face indicates that a figure has disengaged from interaction with other figures within the virtual world of the image. That is the case in representations of figures *en face* who are dead, asleep, drunk, or intensely engaged in musical performance (like Kalliope on the François vase).⁴¹ In other contexts, the frontal face seems primarily intended to engage visually with a spectator. Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux argued that the pictorial representation is most likely to do this when the represented figure is similar to the spectator in identity.⁴² On the krater in Munich attributed to Euphronios (plates III, V), for example, Thōdēmos raises a cup to his lips and looks away from the other figures within the representation. The image is meaningful as a representation of a figure so intoxicated that he has become unaware of his surroundings. But it is also meaningful in relation to the identity of the person most likely to be viewing the vase. Presumably, the ideal spectator of the krater in Munich is a symposiast sipping wine from a kylix as he looks at the vase. At that moment, the *en face* figure operates like a mirror in which the ideal spectator sees himself.

This is not the only way in which a frontal face may address or engage a spectator. The figure of Kalliope might be understood to engage visually with whoever stops to listen to her music, but not to invite an identification with her on the part of the viewer.⁴³ As noted in [chapter three](#), the gorgon Medusa was regularly depicted with a frontal face. In multi-figure narrative representations, it is possible to understand the apostrophe of Medusa as expressing the prohibition within the mythical world of the story against making eye contact with the gorgon. In other types of picture, however, such as the popular image of the disembodied *gorgoneion* (e.g., [figure 24](#)), there are no other figures present within the image from whom the frontal face can be thought of as turning away. The gaze of the *gorgoneion* exists solely in relationship to the spectator. This is doubly problematic. First of all, the image cannot meaningfully be understood to operate like a mirror, for any real spectator of a *gorgoneion* is as different in identity from the gorgon Medusa as can be. Second, the mythology surrounding the gorgon assures us that direct eye contact with this creature results in petrification, yet any viewer of a *gorgoneion* can attest that the viewing experience did not literally live up to expectation. The solution to the problems presented by the *gorgoneion*, as noted in [chapter three](#), is to adopt, as a viewer, vicariously, the point of view of Perseus at the moment when he looked into the polished surface of a shield, saw the face of Medusa as he sliced it off her body, and lived to tell of the experience.

The formal and theoretical implications of this way of interpreting a frontal face will be explored in the [next chapter](#); for the moment, let us return to the figure of Dionysos on the François vase ([figure 26](#)). Let us suppose that the god's visual address is related to the pose of his body and the object that he carries. What is its meaning or significance? Beazley offered this interpretation: "in archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard. The god here, feeling the weight and the effort, turns towards the spectator, almost as if for sympathy, a contrast to the easy, unconscious bearing of the other deities."⁴⁴ This is productive, in part. The position of the god's legs really does seem to indicate that he is carrying a heavy load. The god's solicitation is presumably not motivated literally by physical inability, for gods routinely lift heavy objects with ease in early Greek poetry and art.⁴⁵ It is rather a question of the propriety of the labor he is engaged in. Menial labor is not something that the gods are accustomed to do. In Book Eighteen of the *Iliad* (372–377), when Thetis calls to order new armor for Achilles, Hephaistos is busy manufacturing intelligent rolling tripods, capable of speeding in and out of the homes of the gods, so that they need not carry anything themselves. On the other side of the François vase ([plate XIV, figure 25](#)), Dionysos carries nothing in spite of the fact that ongoing administration of wine is an essential part of the unfolding story of the return of Hephaistos. He carries nothing because his minion carries the wine. Where Beazley's instinct seems acute is in his implication that Dionysos'

present occupation would not be relevant or meaningful to the other gods given their “easy, unconscious bearing.” And so Dionysos looks around for someone more likely to appreciate his menial task.

Beazley’s interpretive instinct is accurate as far as it goes, but his choice of the word “spectator” is problematically vague. Is it productive to think that Dionysos can actually see anyone looking at him, even those of us looking at a picture of the François vase in, say, this book? The productive question, it seems to me, is: within the mythological world that shaped and defines the life of this god, who is he most likely to be looking for in the space occupied by the spectator? Imagining his response as a god to performing menial labor, it is possible to endow the figure with whom Dionysos makes eye contact—let us call him the internal spectator—with a few specific attributes. On this particular occasion, the internal spectator is unlikely to be one of the silens who usually carry his gear. For there is but a single mixed-species demigod within the entire company at Peleus’ wedding, the centaur Cheiron. It seems that the lesser demigods did not make the guest list. Among the many immortals arriving at the house of Peleus, only one regularly engaged in menial labor or the handling of fine manufactured objects. That immortal is Hephaistos.

The pictorial strategy employed by Kleitias in depicting Dionysos is particularly powerful because the fictional object of the god’s visual interest happens to coincide in space with you or me as the spectator of the vase. The searching gaze of Dionysos, on the lookout for his associate Hephaistos, makes eye contact with us: the structure of the picture invites us to wonder what it would be like to be the artisan god. Perhaps one can, imaginatively, go further. Any viewer with the most rudimentary understanding of how paintings are made was (and is) aware of this fact: one person undoubtedly sat in front of this image prior to the beholder. That person was the vase-painter. Once upon a time, a vase-painter looked at the figure of Dionysos, as he was painting it—and the figure of Dionysos looked back at the vase-painter. In that moment, Dionysos made eye contact with one other person, besides Hephaistos, certain to be familiar with carrying a heavy vase, since carrying pots is what ceramic artists do for a living. Anyone thinking through the depiction of Dionysos this far will recognize, I suggest, that an equivalency is being advanced between the legendary artist Hephaistos and the creator of the François vase. It is similar to the equivalency suggested by the ambiguity surrounding the amphora Dionysos carries. Does the god carry a golden amphora made by Hephaistos, or an S-O-S amphora made by a contemporary potter and vase-painter like Ergotimos and Kleitias? Both pictorial features elide the distinction between divine artistry and contemporary craftsmanship. The frontal face of Dionysos invites even more: because it addresses a figure (Hephaistos) who occupies the same location as the beholder, it encourages the viewer to identify with the point of view of an artist.

ODYSSEUS AND THE CHARIOT RACE

Common to the meanings of the Pygmies, the vase carried by Dionysos, and the frontal face of the god proposed in this chapter, one might say, is that they are too clever by half. In the vase-painting of Euphronios, and the poetry of Archilochos, Hipponax, and the Homeric tradition, as I have tried to show in the four previous chapters, similar kinds of invention were pursued, with a zeal akin to that of the extreme sports enthusiast. What the inventions have in common is a program of calling attention to the artist or poet of a work while simultaneously concealing his presence or identity. The concealment often takes the form of speaking or painting in the guise of some other figure—often, an artist-manqué. In the self-fashioning of their fictional facades, Archilochos and Hipponax adopt the disguise of the epic character Odysseus. The interest in engaging with the epic presentation of the hero appears to reflect a recognition that traps and lies and rhetorical sophistication can be used just as creatively by poets and artists as by heroes. This is suggested, among other ways, by the Song of Demodokos, which shapes a story about Hephaistos so that the artist-god and epic hero resemble each other in physique, situation, and problem-solving. To the evidence of the interest in the Archaic period in Odysseus as a stand-in for the artist, one can I believe add the François vase.

On the front of the François vase, above the wedding procession and below the boar hunt, is a chariot race conducted by Achilles (plate XV, figure 31). Five chariots race from a turning post at the left end of the frieze toward Achilles, who stands at the right end. A chariot race conducted by Achilles is the most thoroughly recounted event in the funeral games for Patroklos related in Book Twenty-three of the *Iliad* (23.262–615). Like the epic account, the pictorial representation includes five contestants, one of whom is Diomedes, and is supervised by Achilles. It has long been recognized, however, that the names of the contestants and the order of finish do not correspond to those of the epic account. The first- and second-place finishers in the picture, Odysseus and Automedon, are not even competitors in the epic account, and Hippo[the]on and Damasippos, the fourth- and fifth-place finishers, never occur anywhere in Homeric epic. In addition, Diomedes, who is the winner of the race in the epic, finishes a mere third in the picture.

These discrepancies have been accounted for in several different ways, from the assumption that Kleitias himself did not know the Homeric account, to the possibility that he was following a different poetic narrative, to the likelihood that, in an oral milieu, precise correspondences between textual and pictorial narratives were not verifiable.⁴⁶ The interpretive difficulties are due primarily to two factors. On the one hand, there is good reason to believe that the *Iliad*, directly or indirectly, informed the creation of this scene on the François vase. The untimely death of Patroklos and its heavy effect on Achilles are integral,

interrelated parts of the narrative tradition of the wrath of Achilles that developed into our *Iliad*. The story of the funeral games in honor of Patroklos in particular seem likely to have originated within the *Iliad*: they are far more lavish than one might expect for a hero of Patroklos' stature and therefore seem entirely motivated by Achilles' grief.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the names of the fourth- and fifth-place finishers on the François vase, in particular, tell against the theory that the picture faithfully reproduces any particular poetic tradition about this Trojan War event. Hippo[the]on and Damasippos are completely unknown to the Greek epic tradition, and very rare as historical personal names.⁴⁸ The obvious horsiness of the names, which contain the root word *hippos*, "horse," suits the pictorial context of chariot-racing. "Horsey" names are familiar from contemporary Corinthian vase-painting, in which they appear, as here, in heroic scenes but correspond, as here, to no known figure in the epic tradition. They have been called "throwaway names."⁴⁹ "Throwaway" or "horsey" names are an *artistic* convention within a school of vase-painting familiar to Kleitias. But their appearance in this scene is strikingly at odds with the prosopography elsewhere on the François vase. Look at the various scenes on the vase, and notice how many recognizable mythological figures are correctly identified in writing. Is it credible that a man who could remember the names of thirty-three individual gods, goddesses, heroes, and heroines while painting the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, or of the two most famous brothers of Troilos within the epic tradition, or of the Lapiths and centaurs employed in epic—is it credible that a person as knowledgeable as that could not remember the names of more than *three* Achaian Trojan War heroes besides Achilles, and had to resort to horsey "throwaway" names, out of necessity, to fill out the roster of the horse-racers? To me, the presence of "throwaway" names, in a picture by a painter with a track record of prodigious prosopographical recall, in a context that begs merely for just two more Homeric names, suggests a certain willfulness. The choice of names seems to say that the writing in this picture is not slavishly dependent on some other authority.

On the François vase, in short, the subject of the chariot race conducted by Achilles seems almost certainly to have originated, ultimately, in the *Iliad*. But the names of the contestants and the order of finish in the chariot race do not correspond to those of the epic account. Memory-lapse or misremembering or even the oral transmission of Archaic Greek narration seem inadequate as explanations. What is missing is an account of the *positive* meaning of the field of competitors and order of finish of the chariot race, just as it is shown on the François vase.⁵⁰

A memorable feature of the Homeric account is the argument of Nestor. Recognizing that his son Antilochos possesses the slowest horses, Nestor tells him candidly, it will be necessary to cheat. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ σὺ, φίλος, μῆτιν

ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ παντοίην . . . μήτι τοι δρυτόμος μέγ' ἀμείνων ἢ ἐ βίηφι· μήτι δ' αὖτε κυβερνήτης ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ νῆα θοῆν ἰθύνει ἐρεχθομένην ἀνέμοισι· μήτι δ' ἠνίοχος περιγίγνεται ἠνιόχοιο, “So plan your attack [literally, instill *mētis*, ‘intelligence,’ into your breast] . . . It’s skill, not brawn, that makes the finest woodsman. By skill, too, the captain holds his ship on course, scudding the wine-dark sea though rocked by gales. By skill alone, charioteer outraces charioteer” (Homer, *Iliad* 23.313–318). The passage calls to mind the epic biography of Odysseus in the image of the sea captain navigating his ship through heavy weather. It calls to mind the biography even more in the explicit reference to the opposition between *mētis* and *biē*, “force.” In early Greek poetry, there is a traditional thematic opposition between those two approaches to overcoming adversity or meeting opposition, and *mētis* is most closely associated with Odysseus.⁵¹ When Odysseus (finally) introduces himself to the Phaiakians, for example, he defines himself in relation to cunning: “I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, known to the world for every kind of craft (literally, *doloi*, ‘stratagems’ or ‘traps’)” (*Odyssey* 9.19–20). In the penetrating discussion of the temperament of Odysseus in Book Thirteen of the *Odyssey*, quoted already in the introduction, Athena offers this appreciation: “any man—any god who met you—would have to be some champion lying cheat to get past *you* for all-round craft and guile!” (13.291–293). In the first description of the hero within the *Odyssey* (1.260–262), Odysseus is pictured travelling abroad in search of poison with which to coat his arrow heads.

The association of Odysseus with *mētis* is not merely predicated on isolated incidents, but appears in fact to have been programmatic. In the *Odyssey*, in the first of the three songs that he performs in Book Eight (73–82), Demodokos sings of a quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus. Ancient commentaries on the passage claim that the substance of this quarrel concerned how Troy could be taken, whether by force, as Achilles advocated, or by artifice, the opinion of Odysseus. The commentators’ identification of the substance of the quarrel is supported by the subjects of the two other songs performed by Demodokos in Book Eight: the second song is the tale of how Hephaistos entraps the seducer of his wife, a foreshadowing of Odysseus’ entrapment of the suitors of Penelope, and the third song (8.492–520) explicitly concerned the *dolos* or “trap” that Odysseus placed before Troy, the wooden horse. The first song of Demodokos invites one even to think about the two surviving epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, one concerning Achilles, the other Odysseus, in relation to each other as studies in the use of force and intelligence, respectively.⁵²

In the Homeric chariot race for Patroklos, as it turns out, Antilochos beats Menelaos for second place, κέρδεσιν, οὐ τι τάχει γε, “not by speed but by cunning” (*Iliad* 23.515). He took advantage of an irregularity in the track to



FIGURE 31: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Chariot race.



FIGURE 32: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Theseus, Ariadne, and the Athenian children.



FIGURE 33: Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, black-figure volute krater, *ABV* 76,1, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, BAPD 300000 (François vase). Photo Fernando Guerrini. Courtesy of the Archaeological Superintendency of Tuscany. Kalydonian boar hunt.

engage in a game of “chicken,” and then shrewdly managed the accusations that followed the completion of a race marred by dirty tricks.⁵³ First, Antilochos insists that the second-place prize is his. Then he offers the prize to Menelaos to placate the king whom he had recklessly edged off the track. His speech to the king is so magnanimous, so diplomatic, that Menelaos in turn gives back to him the award! Through guile, chutzpah, diplomacy, and subtle self-mockery, Antilochos walks away with the second-best prize even though he had the slowest nags. In short, the chariot race depicted on the François vase, which gives the palm to Odysseus, conveys the most important theme in the Homeric account, the triumph of the (Odyssean) traits of cunning and rhetorical skill, even as the picture alters the epic’s entry list and order of finish.

One way to understand the names and arrangement of the charioteers on the François vase is as “close reading,” so to speak, of the story in the *Iliad*. The vase-painting offers an original interpretation of one important theme of the episode. The pictorial program of the François vase as a whole, however, suggests a different or additional significance of the Odyssean chariot victory. Several other narratives entail or arguably even celebrate intelligence or trickery. The effectiveness of *mētis* over superior force appears to be a recurring idea on the François vase. Let us briefly consider some examples.

MĒTIS ON THE FRANÇOIS VASE

The extraordinarily detailed representation of the ambush of Troilos (plate 15, figure 29) depicts Achilles in an uncharacteristically Odyssean activity. For Odysseus was more closely associated with traps and ambushes than any other hero of the Trojan War. To enumerate one example in addition to the ones already mentioned, in Book Ten of the *Iliad* (10.469–514), Diomedes chooses, as a partner for a covert mission into enemy territory, Odysseus over all the other Achaians “since he surpasses in planning” (περίοιδε νοῆσαι, 10.247). The mission results in the outfoxing of a Trojan spy Dolon, whose name literally means “the deceitful one,” and the ambush of the Trojan ally Rhesos. Achilles is not so closely associated with ambush as a tactic. Achilles’ remark, pointedly made to Odysseus (*Iliad* 9.312–313), “I hate that man like the very Gates of Death who says one thing but hides another in his heart,” suggests that deception was more than a little distasteful to the hero. That impression is confirmed by Horace (*Ode* 4.6.13–16), who perceptively observed that Achilles, being opposed to taking Troy through treachery, favoring open attack, would never have hidden inside a wooden horse.⁵⁴ The representation of the ambush of Troilos on the François vase places the visual emphasis on Achilles’ speed. But the events leading up to the chase, such as the concealment of Achilles behind the fountain house and the venturing of Troilos and Polyxena outside of the safety of the citadel, are easily envisioned thanks to the

presence of the architectural settings within the image. Any viewer familiar with the epic tradition can see that, to capture Troilos, Achilles employed a covert technique in which Odysseus excelled.⁵⁵

The most prominent story on the François vase, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (plate XV, figure 26), was only possible thanks to a trap. Being accorded by the gods the honor of marrying the sea-goddess Thetis (Pindar, *Isthmian* 8.26–48, *Nemean* 5.30–36) was one thing, actualizing the plan quite a different thing. No goddess formerly courted by Zeus and Poseidon is likely to join in marriage, voluntarily, with a mortal man. Peleus must subdue the goddess by force to join with her at all. But how can a terrestrial being lay hands on a creature of the sea if she does not come to him willingly? Peleus hid in ambush on a beach where Thetis and her Nereid sisters regularly emerge from the deep to dance in honor of the gods. The capture of Thetis and struggle to subdue her are not explicitly shown on the François vase. But the subject was familiar to Kleitias, for it is depicted on a fragment of a vase attributed to him.⁵⁶ The capture of Thetis is called to mind on the François vase itself by the guest who greets Peleus with a handshake. For Cheiron helped Peleus plan the capture of Thetis, as many vase-paintings and literary sources attest.

On the reverse of the François vase, two additional narratives exemplify the triumph of intelligence over greater force. The representation of Theseus leading the fourteen Athenian boys and girls offered to the Minotaur (plate XIV, figure 32) is of interest for several reasons. For the moment, the important point is that the underlying narrative, in which a part-bull brute with an appetite for children is overcome by a clever boy, is a multi-layered display of *mētis*. In order to confine the Minotaur and tribute victims alike, the legendary architect and inventor Daidalos devised an ingenious trap, the Labyrinth. To make it possible for Theseus to outfox Daidalos and escape from the Labyrinth, Ariadne gave him a ball of thread (pictured on the François vase) and taught him how to tack one end of the string to the entrance (this trick itself was said to be an invention of Daidalos).⁵⁷ How did Theseus secure this invaluable aid of Ariadne? He cleverly seduced her. On the François vase, this is given special pictorial form, to which I will return.

The story of Theseus, Ariadne, and the Athenian tribute victims has numerous points of similarity to the confrontation between Polyphemos and Odysseus in Book Nine of the *Odyssey*. The importance of the latter tale is that it “restates the opposition between *biē* and *mētis* in the clearest as well as the broadest terms.”⁵⁸ Both stories entail enclosure of the hero and his companions within a seemingly inescapable physical space (Labyrinth or cave), together with a subhuman monster who is stronger and desirous of eating them. In both, there is a two-fold challenge of incapacitating the monster and then escaping from the enclosure by means of some ruse. Kleitias painted at least

one other ambitious volute krater with multiple pictorial narratives, two fragments of which have survived.⁵⁹ One of the fragments reveals that the subject of the comparable top-most register on the fragmentary krater was the escape of Odysseus from the cave of Polyphemos. At the very least, the fragmentary krater shows that the adventures and character of Odysseus were neither unknown nor uninteresting to Kleitias.

The other scene on the reverse of the François vase to exemplify the triumph of intelligence over superior force is the return of Hephaistos to Olympos (plate XIV, figure 25).⁶⁰ Having been removed from Olympos by force, Hephaistos engineers the necessity of his return through the gift of the clever chair-trap. Then he repels the embodiment of brute force, the war-god Ares, with superior knowledge of fireworks. The reading of the François vase that I am proposing here, of seeing an affinity between the triumph of *mētis* over *biē* in the return of Hephaistos and the victory of Odysseus in the chariot race, has an excellent precedent, namely, the story told by Demodokos of Hephaistos' entrapment of Ares and Aphrodite (see chapter four). The Homeric passage is important because it explicitly identifies the clever trap of Hephaistos as an example of problem-solving in the manner of Odysseus. At the same time, the triumph of Hephaistos reverberates with other pictorial elements on the François vase that focus attention on the nature and work of artisans. In this particular pictorial narrative, one begins to see how a seemingly remote tactical question, how great heroes of the past overcame physical obstacles, is relevant to the challenges facing artisans in the here and now. If Achilles is the hero special to the sort of aristocrat often suspected of commissioning a vase as ambitious as the François vase, Odysseus is the patron saint of its creators.

THE FRANÇOIS VASE AND THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES

Let us return to the representation around the foot of the François vase of the Pygmies (plates XIV, XV, figure 30), the children of the god who fathers works like this vase. There are several metaphorical meanings plausibly perceived in the Pygmies. One is that artists are “small” by social measures yet the essential foundation on which any great work of art stands. Another is spatial, for the Pygmies were associated with the lands to the extreme south of Greece. It is worth examining the play of spatial and geographical metaphors on the François vase, because it calls to mind a work of Archaic Greek art of comparable complexity and subtlety, the Homeric Shield of Achilles.

To appreciate the spatial metamorphosis of the François vase, it is necessary to begin at the top. The names of the heroes (and dogs!) hunting the Kalydonian boar in the uppermost register of the obverse of the vase (plate XV, figure 33) are identified by name. Many of the names of the heroes

(though not the dogs) correspond to names familiar from the *Iliad* and other epic accounts of this serious hunt.⁶¹ But not all. Those with name recognition cluster around the boar; farther toward the left and right edges of the picture are fighters with seemingly non-traditional, not to say unheroic, names (e.g., Aristandros). The un-epic name of one boar hunter has much greater significance. Κιμ(μ)έριος, “Kimmerios,” is singled out, along with two other figures in the picture, including Τόχσαμις, “Tochsamis,” and Euthymachos, by his arms and dress. Unlike the rest of the heroes, these three figures fight with bow and arrow, rather than spear. The name “Tochsamis,” containing the root-word *tokson*, meaning “bow,” calls attention to the weaponry. Euthymachos, “the one who fights straight or out in the open,” is an ironic name for an archer, for that method of fighting was sometimes thought of as sneaky.⁶² The three archers are also distinguished pictorially by the tall, pointy, flapped caps that they wear, and by their tight-fitting, ornamented tunics. The appearance of this outfit within Athenian vase-painting has been thoroughly studied. As Gloria Ferrari demonstrated, it is often worn by squires or assistants to heroes, particularly heroes of the Trojan War, such as Achilles.⁶³ The association between bowmen dressed in this outfit and subordinate status accords with their positions in back of the leading heroes of the Kalydonian boar hunt.

The clothing and weaponry also correspond, however, to descriptions of the clothing and equipment of Scythians in Herodotos (e.g., 7.64). In historical writing, the Scythians have a *geographical* significance. They were closely associated with the regions to the north of the Black Sea. In Kleitias’ picture, the geographical associations of the outfit are made explicit by the name “Kimmerios.”⁶⁴ The word makes its first appearance in Greek literature, in the *Odyssey* (11.14), as the name of a people. The Kimmerians, in the *Odyssey*, dwell beside the earth-encircling river Okeanos, in a place where the sun never shines and it is always night. As early as the seventh-century poet Kallinos (frag. 3W=test. 1 Gerber 1999), the Kimmerians were also a historical people associated geographically with the northeast. In Herodotos (1.15–16), they originally inhabit regions to the northeast of the Black Sea, and they were pushed into the areas of the Near East and Asia Minor by the Scythians in the eighth and seventh centuries.

The presence of a Bowman, dressed like a Scythian and named Kimmerios and therefore calling to mind in two different ways regions to the north of Greece, is anomalous within its immediate pictorial context. The Kalydonian boar hunt unfolded in the Greek heartland and not the far north. This specially crafted figure does not resonate geographically within the story of the hunt, but it resonates significantly with the Pygmies running around the foot of the base (plates XIV, XV, figure 30). François Lissarrague recognized that the two scenes, the battle between the Pygmies and the *geranoi* or “cranes”

and the Kalydonian boar hunt, are related to each other spatially. “[W]e are here at the other end of the world, in a mythical and far away land, but also at the end of a vase whose surface, including the foot, is treated as a microcosm.”⁶⁵ We are at the other end of the world because the Pygmies are associated with the opposite end of the earth from the Kimmerians in Greek thought. In the *Iliad* (3.1–7), the noisy army of the Trojans is compared to clamorous cranes migrating from winter climes toward the river Okeanos, where they come into violent contact with the Pygmies. Like the Kimmerians, the Pygmies are associated with the earth-encircling river, but at the opposite extreme. The land of the Pygmies is where the cranes go when they *flee* just the kind of weather characteristic, in the *Odyssey*, of the land of the Kimmerians. The departure of cranes for the south with the arrival of winter in the north is no ad hoc invention of the *Iliad* but a traditional idea in early Archaic poetry. Compare Hesiod: “take notice, when you hear the voice of the cranes every year calling from above out of the clouds: she brings the sign for plowing and indicates the season of winter rain” (*Works and Days* 448–451, trans. Most). In their annual movement from north to south, cranes travel from the homeland of Kimmerios to that of the Pygmies or from the top to the bottom of the vase.⁶⁶

In this way, the name and dress of the archer Kimmerios add an additional layer of meaning to the François vase as soon as they are related to a group of figures lying outside of the register within which the archer is depicted. The geographical associations of Kimmerians and Pygmies—like but opposite—invite the viewer to read the vase against the grain, so to speak, in violation of its own pictorial borders. The metaphorical correspondence between the two widely separated pictorial elements recalls Beazley’s identification of the significance of the repeat appearances of the pair of Dionysos and Hephaistos within two different narratives on the vase. Like the invisible bonds of the throne of Hera, the links between Pygmies and Kimmerios, or the pairing of Dionysos and Hephaistos, are resourceful semantic threads running between and across the obvious organization of pictorial content into frames. But the Pygmies and Kimmerios, taken together, do more than that. They invite one to see the François vase as more than a collection of venerable stories, more even than a thematically unified, multi-episodic reflection on the story of one hero (Achilles), or one institution (marriage). They invite one to see the vase as the world itself.

In earlier Greek poetry and art, there is one obvious parallel for the idea of the work of art as microcosm. That is the shield of Achilles as described in the extraordinary ekphrasis within Book Eighteen of the *Iliad*, discussed already in [chapters three](#) and [four](#). The description begins with the heavenly bodies, and includes two busy cities, agricultural land, and a dance floor. The edge of the shield is adorned with the earth-encircling river Okeanos, which transforms

the round shield into a depiction of the world, just like the placements of the Pygmies and Kimmerios on the François vase. If this were the only point of similarity between the Shield of Achilles and the François vase, one might reasonably hypothesize that a poet and a painter arrived at the idea independently. But there is more. The battle of Pygmies and cranes at the bottom of the vase stands in a metaphorically meaningful relationship with the archer Kimmerios at the top. The link is embodied in part in the *geranoi* or “cranes” who annually fly up and down between the lands of the Kimmerians and Pygmies. Turn the vase around: there is also a link between the *geranoi* and the picture in the topmost register on the reverse (plate XIV, figure 32). As noted long ago, a dance of boys and girls holding hands, led by Theseus on his lyre, connected with Ariadne and Daidalos’ creative activity at Knossos, stands in some relation to a historical dance called the *geranos* or “crane.” A dance of boys and girls holding hands, compared to one fashioned for Ariadne by Daidalos at Knossos, is the culminating vignette in the Shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18.593–602).

THE “CRANE” DANCE ON THE VASE AND IN THE SHIELD

Precisely how the dance depicted on the vase relates to the dance known as the *geranos* is not a simple question, due both to the reticence of the written sources and to the narrative ingenuity of the picture. Hellenistic and later writers localize the *geranos* on Delos. They claim that the first persons to perform it were Theseus and the fourteen Athenian boys and girls offered to the Minotaur as tribute. Theseus and the children performed the dance in celebration of their triumph over the Minotaur and escape from the Labyrinth. The dance is said to have imitated the windings and turnings of the maze.⁶⁷ The picture situates the dance differently. A preponderance of visual indications suggests that the dance depicted on the François vase is occurring on Crete upon the initial arrival of the Athenians. Those indications include the folded sail of the ship, the relaxed demeanor of its crew, the joining up of the dance just now, the movement of the dancers from the ship, the greeting of the dancers by Ariadne’s nurse, and the offer to Theseus of the object that he must have *before* he enters the Labyrinth, the ball of thread. A performance of the *geranos* before the encounter with the Minotaur or Labyrinth is illogical, it is often pointed out, if the dance is to be understood as an imitation of the path through the maze, and celebrated as a triumph after the victory over the monster. The dance depicted on the François vase must be some other dance, or no dance at all.⁶⁸

The pictorial displacement of the *geranos* in time and space from its traditional associations, however, results in a significant increase in narrative intelligibility. As everybody knows, Theseus prevailed in the Labyrinth thanks to the

assistance of the local princess Ariadne, who decided to elope with him—and consequently gave him the ball of thread, the key to escaping the Labyrinth. A critical question is, what made Theseus attractive enough to Ariadne to warrant abandoning her home and family? By depicting Theseus as the leader of a mixed dance of adolescent boys and girls of marriageable age, the picture provides an answer to that question. By evoking the image of the triumphant arrival of a seducer via ship, the pictorial narrative perhaps also calls to mind the ritual arrival of Dionysos at Athens via the ship-car during the Anthesteria. In a mysterious ritual most likely occurring during this festival, the god joined in a sacred marriage with the wife of the Archon Basileus. The significance of an allusion to the arrival of Dionysos for the ritual marriage would be this: Ariadne helped Theseus survive the Labyrinth and eloped with him for Athens, but in the end became the wife of Dionysos. Theseus deferred to the god, just as the political successor to Theseus, the Archon Basileus, gives up his wife to Dionysos. The wife of the Archon is an avatar of Ariadne within the ritual.⁶⁹ In short, the aberrant temporal and spatial setting of the dance contributes positively, discursively, to the narrative intelligibility of the picture. Kleitias had good incentives to depict the dance as occurring on Crete, before the encounter with the Minotaur, even if he knew full well that the dance was widely believed to have been held on Delos after the triumph over the monster.

The earliest explicit attestation of the name of the dance is much later than the François vase. What evidence is there that the dance was already known as the *geranos* in the early Archaic period? What evidence, in other words, that a picture of cranes on the François vase might have connoted dance for its original beholders? As Leonard Muellner argued in a brilliant analysis, the evidence is contained in Book Three of the *Iliad*. The earliest detailed reference to *geranoi* or “cranes” occurs within the extraordinary simile that opens Book Three:

Now with the squadrons marshaled, captains leading each, the Trojans came with cries and the din of war like wildfowl when the long hoarse cries of cranes sweep on against the sky and the great formations flee from winter's grim ungodly storms, flying in force, shrieking south to the Ocean's gulfs, speeding bloody death to the Pygmy warriors, launching at daybreak savage battle down upon their heads. (3.1–6)

The simile belongs to a traditional, conventional network of comparisons of the mustering of armies to the movements of social birds.⁷⁰ The simile that opens Book Three is unconventional in one particularly important respect: in it, the cranes are predators, whereas in other similes, cranes and related social birds function as passive victims of predation. In this comparison, uniquely, the traditional epic associations of cranes has been inverted.

The simile of the cranes and the Pygmies describes the entry into battle of the Trojan army, but in Book Three, the sole Trojan to engage in fighting is

Paris. If the opening lines of this book forecast its theme, the simile suggests that Paris is like the cranes when they uncharacteristically go to war. The aptness of that comparison is borne out by the narrative: Paris runs out in front of the army and challenges the best of the Achaians to fight him *mano a mano*; Menelaos gladly accepts the challenge, and Paris withdraws in panic. Hektor exhorts Paris to man up; Paris agrees to try (3.15–94). In the duel, Menelaos gets the better of Paris, and is on the point of dragging him off to death, when Aphrodite spirits him from the battlefield to his bedroom (3.340–382). Aphrodite describes Paris to Helen: “There he is in the bedroom, the bed with inlaid rings—he’s glistening in all his beauty and his robes! You’d never dream he’s come from fighting a man, you’d think he’s off to”—here is the important point—*ἀλλὰ χορόνδ’ ἔρχεσθ’, ἢ ἐ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν*, “a dance or slipped away from the dancing, stretched out at ease” (3.390–394). At heart, Paris is a dancer who, in Book Three, vainly attempts to be a warrior. That interpretation of Paris is confirmed by his father Priam, who bitterly remarks, after the death of Hektor, that the only sons remaining to him are “disgraces—liars, dancers, heroes only at beating the dancing-ring” (24.260–261). In Book Three, the temporary role change is highlighted by the near homonymy between two key words, *χωρος*, *chōros*, “defined space,” used twice to refer the area marked out for the duel between Paris and Menelaos (3.315, 3.344), and *χορός*, *choros*, “dance” or “dancing place.”⁷¹

The uncharacteristic role of warrior attempted by Paris in Book Three is signaled by its opening simile, in which the *geranoi* or cranes are uncharacteristically cast as warrior birds. Are the cranes also an apt image of Paris in being associated with dance? The use of the name *geranos* for the dance performed on Delos and invented by Theseus is powerful circumstantial evidence suggesting that they did.

[T]here is in fact no explicit attestation of the word *γέρανος* in epic as an appellative for dance. I am arguing that the association of *γέρανος* with the dance exists in the epic tradition even so . . . Given [the] evidence and the immediate contextual appropriateness of the association we are suggesting, between cranes as dancing birds engaged in battle and Paris as dancer trying to do battle, I conclude that this is an instance in which we are lacking explicit evidence for an association although the implicit evidence for it is abundant.⁷²

Muellner noted that the François vase includes pictorial representations of both the battle of cranes and Pygmies as well as the dance of youths and maidens: “the parallel in symbolic terms to the analysis . . . of *Iliad* Book 3 is exact . . . The structure of metaphors and meaning informing the narrative of Book 3 apparently survived the chronological and artistic limits of epic to resurface in Attic Black-Figure vase-painting.”⁷³

Let us return to the relationship between the François vase and the shield of Achilles. The culminating vignette depicted by Hephaistos on the shield is a mixed dance of boys and girls holding hands: “here young boys and girls, beauties courted with costly gifts of oxen, danced and danced, linking their arms, gripping each other’s wrists . . . And now they would run in rings on their skilled feet, nimbly . . . and now they would run in rows, in rows crisscrossing rows—rapturous dancing” (18.593–602). It has often been noted that there are significant similarities in diction between this Homeric passage and later descriptions of the *geranos*.⁷⁴ If Plutarch had been asked, what is the name of the mixed dance in the shield of Achilles, he would have answered, “the *geranos*.” One important feature of the description of the shield of Achilles suggests that the identification might have been made already by the time of the composition of the *Iliad*. In the ekphrasis, the mixed dance (or dancing place) of boys and girls is compared in a simile to a famous model: οἶόν ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσῶ εὐρείῃ Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ, “like one that Daidalos made for Ariadne at one time on Crete” (18.591–592, my translation).⁷⁵ This is more or less exactly what we see on the François vase (figure 32), a mixed dance of boys and girls, holding hands, made for Ariadne.

KLEITIAS EVOKES HOMER WHERE HOMER EVOKES HEPHAISTOS

To recapitulate, the François vase is transformed by the polar opposition of Pygmies and Kimmerios into a microcosmic representation of the world. It also includes an image of a dance of boys and girls, holding hands, associated with Ariadne. The dance is ingeniously associated with the cranes at the opposite end of the vase through the name by which it was most likely called in the Archaic period, the *geranos*. In the Shield of Achilles, the description of the dance is immediately followed by the information that the river Okeanos was depicted around the very rim of the artifact. This suggests not only that the shield of Achilles is round but also that the dancing girls and boys encircled the shield as its outermost frieze. The position of the dance at the extremity of the work of art, around the rim, is the same on both the vase and the shield. The river Okeanos is explicitly represented on the François vase, running around its widest point (figure 27). But its presence is even more suggestively effected by the pair of gorgons on each inner handle plate. When the vase is filled with wine, it will appear as if the gorgons are flying around the “wine-dark” sea. The round shape of the surface of the liquid recalls the circular path of the river Okeanos as it defines the border of the disc of the earth. The picture of gorgons, flying around the edge of the world, corresponds to the mythological idea that they dwelled on a far-off island in the stream of Okeanos. I believe that all these points of similarity between the Homeric Shield of Achilles and the François vase are enough to rule out coincidence or

accident as an explanation for their presence in the two works. As a working hypothesis, let us suppose that the creators of the François vase had the Shield of Achilles in mind as they worked. Two questions need to be addressed before we can go further.

First, is there any independent evidence to suggest that the Homeric account of the shield of Achilles was familiar at Athens around 570 BC? In [chapter two](#) were briefly presented the arguments in favor of the idea that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* achieved roughly the form that they now have sometime in the seventh century BC. What evidence is there that the poems were familiar at Athens in the sixth century? Several testimonia refer to regular re-performances of the poems of Homer at the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia at Athens. The Platonic text known as the *Hipparchos* claims that this member of the family of Peisistratos was the first to organize or arrange the extant verses of Homer at Athens, and to arrange rhapsodes to recite them in sequence at the Panathenaia (*Hipparchos* 228b). Public performances of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would have made it possible for potters and patrons alike to achieve a common base of understanding of the poems. How far back in time before the second half of the sixth century occurred the public performances of Homeric poetry at Athens? There is some slight evidence to suggest that rhapsodic performances were added to the festival as part of the reorganization of the Panathenaia in 566 BC.⁷⁶ One indirect indication of the circulation of the Homeric Shield of Achilles is familiarity with the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*. Many scholars understand the *Shield of Herakles* as an imitation of the Shield of Achilles.⁷⁷ The Hesiodic poem is often dated to the period 590–570 BC. Alan Shapiro demonstrated that it was familiar to Athenian vase-painters by around 565–560 BC, only shortly after the date of the François vase. Moreover, Rudolf Wachter demonstrated that five of the names of the centaurs on the François vase are identical or very similar to the names of the centaurs in the *Shield of Herakles*, and even similar in order of presentation.⁷⁸ If the *Shield of Herakles* were performed and familiar at Athens around the time of the François vase, and if it presupposes familiarity with the model it imitates or rivals, then it will be some indirect indication of familiarity with the Shield of Achilles.

The second point is this: there are two fundamentally different ways in which a work of art may stand in relation to earlier art. One is exemplified by the close relationship between the François vase and two vase-paintings signed by the slightly earlier artist Sophilos (e.g., [figure 28](#)). On all three vases, the list of guests at the wedding of Peleus and the order in which they appear in the receiving line are very similar. Kleitias may have modelled his pictorial narrative after personal inspection of the vases of Sophilos, one of which was perhaps available to be seen on the Acropolis where it was left as a dedication. Or Kleitias and Sophilos worked directly from a common model. But in either

case, the important point is the same: to appreciate fully Kleitias' representation of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, it is not necessary to be familiar with Sophilean vase-painting. The earlier works of art are not part of the *representational content* of Kleitias' picture, even if they were a resource for him. In contrast, consider a red-figure vase-painting of around 510 BC discussed in [chapter one](#) ([figure 14](#)). On the obverse, it is proudly signed "Euthymides son of Pollias painted [this]." On the reverse, there is a representation of drinkers dancing and the famous inscription "as never Euphronios." The precise activity to which the negative statement refers remains tantalizingly uncertain thanks to the omission of a verb. As I argued earlier, I personally believe that Euthymides had in mind some vase-painting of Euphronios like one in Paris ([plate XI](#)). On this vase, a wildly gyrating dancer has been slyly named "Euphron." But however one understands the statement—as "Euphronios never painted as well as this," or "Euphronios never painted himself partying as wildly as that"—the point is the same: the vase-painting of Euphronios is an intentional part of the representational content of Euthymides' picture. To grasp the principal proposition of the picture and its inscription, you need to know who Euphronios is and/or how he paints. Concerning the François vase, the question is, for the conception of the vase as microcosm, for the prominent places of the dance of boys and girls offered to Ariadne, is the Shield of Achilles merely a possible resource, like a student paper plagiarized off the internet? Or is the poetic description of the shield part of the representational content of the François vase? To appreciate fully the vase as a complex pictorial proposition, should we have the poetic work of art in mind?

There are fundamental differences between the shield of Achilles and François vase in terms of mode of representation or form of discourse. The differences stand in the way of any simple account of a relationship between the two. On the one hand, there is an extraordinary number of common types of imagery: on the shield as well as the vase, there are representations of towns, weddings, dispute resolution, warriors waiting in ambush at a watering place, rescue teams, animal predation, dogs attacking beasts, brides and bridal chambers, wedding music, a city siege, goddesses and gods spurring warriors to battle, even elders seated on stone blocks. But the figural decoration of the shield of Achilles is generic in the sense that the figures are not named—they could be anybody—whereas the figure scenes on the François vase are narrative, representing unique stories, and the figures are virtually all identified by name.⁷⁹ There are very few proper names within the description of the shield of the Achilles: a few constellations, Athena and Ares, two personifications, and the earth-encircling river Okeanos. Just two legendary figures, and one legendary place, are mentioned by name in the ekphrasis (two of which, Ariadne and Knossos, perhaps significantly, are represented or implied on the

François vase). The shield of Achilles is arguably characterized generically in order to serve a particular purpose within the *Iliad*, to

lift our eyes from their concentration upon the battlefield to the contemplation of other scenes which reminds us of the fullness and variety of life; it is a breathing-space in the battle, in which we have time to look around us and remember that this is only an incident in the busy world of human activities, that though Troy may fall and Achilles' life be wrecked, the world goes on as before . . .⁸⁰

With a different selection of scenes, the François vase might have achieved a similar effect, but the fact is that the subject matter of the vase is narrative mythology through and through.

If it appears that we have arrived at roughly the limit of meaningful comparison between the François vase and the Shield of Achilles, that is so because we are trying to compare one figure-decorated material object to another. The shield of Achilles, however, is a narrative episode inextricably intertwined in a larger narrative that accounts for why the shield is created in the first place.

Even the most densely descriptive portions of the text are repeatedly punctuated by verbs of creation: “on it Hephaistos fashioned,” “on it he wrought,” “on it he made.” The text unfolds its description simultaneously as Hephaistos brings the pictorial decoration into being. The repeated verbal reminders of the presence and agency of Hephaistos are no meaningless flourish but part of a larger narrative that frames the ekphrasis and describes the entire arc of relations entailed in creating such an object. Thetis beseeches Hephaistos to manufacture a new set of armor for her doomed child; Hephaistos recounts why he is obligated to the goddess. In this exchange, we receive a glimpse of a powerful social hierarchy within which the sea goddess and the artist god struggle to succeed, and in which material creation is embedded. We hear that Thetis was forced to marry a mere mortal, Peleus, in spite of her status as a goddess; that their child Achilles has lost his dear friend Patroklos, the only person who really mattered to him; and that his own death is imminent. We learn that Hephaistos has difficulty walking on his spindly legs, that he was cast out of Olympian society bodily by his mother because of his physical imperfection, that he acquired artistic experience as a result of exile—and that he is capable of creating a work of representational art so fine that even the narrator of the *Iliad* seems envious.

For the comparison of the François vase and Shield of Achilles, the narrative surrounding and punctuating the poetic ekphrasis changes the game. It is not adequate to say that the shield is generic in its imagery whereas the vase is mythological in its subject matter. The shield is part of a narrative of three specific mythological figures. And those three figures correspond to three of the most important protagonists within the figural decoration of the François

vase. The two appearances of Thetis on the vase reprise the laments voiced by the goddess in the poem: her involuntary union with Peleus is the main subject of the vase, and her heartbreaking concern for her son is exemplified in the picture of the ambush of Troilos. The person for whom all the efforts in the poetic account are being made, Achilles, is the principal protagonist in three scenes on the vase. Those scenes touch on points underscored in the poem: the loss of Patroklos and the hero's untimely death. Directly and indirectly, the François vase gives pictorial form to ideas about Hephaistos that also occur in the poetic narrative: the weakness, deformity, and social exclusion of Hephaistos; the triumphal reassertion of his social equality; the celebration of his artistry, and his paradigmatic relationship to all artists, even potters. The François vase touches on all the issues entailed in the narrative surrounding the creation of the shield of Achilles, but does so in a manner that underscores its own independent invention.

The second way in which the shield of Achilles exceeds a simple definition of description of a (imaginary) pictorial representation is in the mobility of the theoretically inert metal figures, a feature considered already in [chapter three](#). “He forged a fallow field . . . and across it crews of plowmen wheeled their teams . . . [a]nd the earth churned black behind them, like earth churning, solid gold as it was” (18.541–549). The animation of the ostensibly inert images pushes the description of a figure-decorated material object beyond what could really be seen. Through the use of words, the poet-narrator explores the limitations of the medium of pictorial representation. The text appears to be as interested in its own resources as it is in simply describing what can be seen.

The most extraordinary instance of “linguistic excess” in the Shield of Achilles occurs in the final piece of decoration, the very subject reappearing on the François vase, the dance of youths and maidens holding hands. Here the creative work of the artist god is compared in two extraordinary similes to the creative work of other artists. First, the dance is compared to one invented by Daidalos for Ariadne (18.591–592). Second, the movement of the boys and girls is compared to the movement of a potter's wheel as the potter turns it left and right (18.600–601). That simile seems like an open invitation specifically to a vase-painter. First of all, it is an invitation to turn the table on the poet and create a pictorial representation on a circular vase of a dance of boys and girls holding hands that is comparable to poetic art. Second, it is an invitation to the potter more generally to compare himself, in his own pottery and vase-painting, to Hephaistos. One way to understand parts of the decoration of the François vase is as an acceptance of those invitations.

A simile, being a purely verbal phenomenon, would seem to be, by definition, beyond the scope of pictorial representation. Yet the François vase seems to offer a response of sorts even to this challenge. Consider again the representation of *geranoi* or “cranes.” At the heart of the relationship

between the frieze running around the rim of the vase, and the frieze running around the foot, is a *word*.⁸¹ Yet the word is not actually *written* anywhere on this vase. The perceptive viewer will recognize that the scenes are linked through the same verbal artifact, but the verbal artifact is made palpably present through nonverbal means. This reticence is extraordinary given how quick Kleitias was, elsewhere on the vase, to label anyone and anything. In successfully picturing a word without ever writing it down, the creators of this vase are engaging in a *paragone* similar to the insertion of similes into the ostensibly nonverbal shield of Achilles. Indeed, the *geranoi* operate like similes in two ways on the François vase. First, comparison to them is implicit in the ancient name and, perhaps, choreography of Theseus' dance at Knossos. Second, in suggesting that the foot of the vase is "like" the winter home of the cranes, the imagery suggests that the vase is like the world. Indeed, sensitivity to the relative communicative capacities of word and image, evident in the evocation of the word "*geranos*," is one way to account for a much discussed feature of the François vases, namely, the verbal identification of seemingly self-evident inanimate objects such as the stone seat labelled "*thakos*." Rather than see the phenomenon as "anchoring" an inherently multivalent visual image through the use of a specific word, one might think of the concrete visual form as explicating the abstract term "*thakos*."⁸² As it happens, a polished stone *thakos* is one of the features shared by the François vase and shield of Achilles.

CODA: THE HUMOR OF THE PYGMIES

"All subsequent interpretations have emphasized the humor of the lowest frieze as a counterpoint to the rest of the vase, culminating in Beazley's brilliant caricature of the scene as a kind of field-hockey match gone awry." Thus Alan Shapiro summarized 175 years of interpretation of the picture of the Pygmies and cranes (plates XIV, XV, figure 30) decorating the foot of the François vase.⁸³ It is relatively easy to define the basis of the humor of the scene. In the small size of the human figures compared to the birds, it is an inversion of reality; and in the sorts of weapons and transportation employed, it is an inversion of norms exemplified elsewhere on the vase, as in the Kalydonian boar hunt and the memorial chariot race for Patroklos. Alexandre Mitchell called it "mock-heroism."⁸⁴ It is more difficult to identify a parallel or example of humor used in this way in earlier Greek art. And the Pygmies are not the only possible source of humor on the vase. The return of Hephaistos is regularly described as a comedy.⁸⁵ Even in this aspect of the decoration, I suggest, the François vase is rearticulating the paradigm of the artist exemplified in epic.

Consider again a passage of Book One of the *Iliad* (531–600) discussed in chapter four. Hephaistos intervenes in a quarrel between Hera and Zeus that

threatens to spoil a feast of the gods. To reconcile his mother to the reality of her situation, Hephaistos recounts a previous occasion when he tried to defend her physically. He was hurled off of Mount Olympos. The self-revelation of his physical weakness is effective—it causes Hera to smile. Perhaps the story causes her to smile because, as noted earlier, she realizes, it tactfully avoids reference to her own role in throwing her son off Olympos. The point is, his use of self-mockery is rhetorically motivated to ease the tension. Then Hephaistos serves wine to the assembled Olympian gods. They are overcome by laughter as they watch Hephaistos hustling around the room. As many readers of this passage have noticed, beginning with Euripides, in huffing and puffing around the room, Hephaistos is attempting—and failing—to play the role of a youthful, lithe, attractive cup-bearer, to play Ganymede or Hebe.⁸⁶ The image is laughable because Hephaistos is neither a servant nor a hottie. The passage exemplifies a rhetorical strategy that entails using humor not only to foster good feeling among people in a convivial setting, but also to elicit admiration for one's own self-deprecating comic inventiveness.

The Pygmies depicted on the foot of the François vase are humorous not only in their inversions of nature and culture, but also because they are the children of Hephaistos. They are stand-ins for the artist. In suggesting that Kleitias and Ergotimos are like the Pygmies (that is to say, like their father Hephaistos), the design of the François vase employs a touch of self-mockery, like Hephaistos in Book One of the *Iliad*. We laugh at the idea that artists are small or weak not because the idea *per se* is humorous, but because the idea is articulated in such a clever and indirect way. In recognizing the reason why the idea is funny, we recognize that we have fallen into the artists' trap.

CHAPTER SIX

FRONTALITY, SELF-REFERENCE, AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY: THREE ARCHAIC VASE-PAINTINGS

Many aspects of shape, decoration, and subject matter on the François vase recur in subsequent vase-painting. It is not entirely impertinent to call it “the mother of all Athenian vases.” Three features of the François vase in particular warrant further investigation. They include the eye contact afforded the viewer by Dionysos, the incorporation of painted vases within a vase-painting, and the thematization of the relationship between Thetis and Hephaistos as a model for the relationship between the artisan and patron. Those features are of interest because they operate in part at least subjectively: that is to say, they evoke or conjure the artist behind the vase-painting. In this chapter, I examine the development of those features on three extraordinary vases.

THE SOLIPSISTIC SPECTATOR IN THE PICTURE ON AN ARYBALLOS BY NEARCHOS

On the François vase, the figure of Dionysos acquires much of its semantic value from the direction of its gaze (plate XV, figure 26). By turning away from the unsympathetic figures in his immediate vicinity, and making eye contact with a sympathetic friend occupying the position of the spectator of the vase, he arguably conjures the presence of his associate, the artisan Hephaistos, in our midst. We are on the side of the artist. This is not the only vase-painting of a figure making eye contact with the spectator, inviting him

or her to see him- or herself in a personal relationship to the represented figure despite differences in identity. On an aryballos by Nearchos of around 560 BC (figure 34), three carefully painted silens are depicted as team masturbators. The care with which the little image is constructed extends to the inscribed names of the figures, chosen as commentary on the depicted activity: *Τερπεκελος, Δοφιος, Φσολας*, *Terpekēlos, Dophios, Phsōlas*: “shaft-pleaser,” “wanker,” and “hard-on.” The composition is dominated by the central figure of a silen, squatting and gripping his massive member with both hands, shown fully frontally with respect to the spectator’s point of view. To either side of the central figure, two identical silens are depicted in profile view, facing each other. The silens to right and left are mirror images of each other, so to speak. The symmetry between them suggests that a similar arrangement exists between the central, frontally oriented silen, and whoever he makes eye contact with. Who does the silen see as he stares precisely at the location taken by the spectator but, like his brother to the left or right, another solipsistic silen?¹

How this imaginative engagement with a viewer works in detail was lucidly explicated by Richard Wollheim. There is a fundamental distinction, he posited, between a spectator of a picture and a spectator “in” a picture. The spectator of the picture (or external spectator) occupies the space where the work of art is to be seen, such as an ancient symposium or modern museum. By internal spectator, Wollheim means an imaginary figure whose presence and identity or character is implied by the action(s) and gaze(s) of the painted figure(s). The internal spectator shares the virtual space inhabited by the other figures within the representation—but happens not to be visible to us within the “slice” of the virtual space given to us by the picture.² A powerful example is provided by Velázquez’ *Las Meninas* (plate II) with which this book began: the Infanta Margarita, Velázquez, and several other figures in the painting have paused to acknowledge visually the presence of the king and queen of Spain. The king and queen are not depicted within the painting, but it is clear from the actions of the figures within the painting that the royal couple occupies a position more or less identical with that of any viewer of the picture. In trying to figure out



FIGURE 34: New York 26.49, black-figure aryballos, *ABV* 83,4, attributed to Nearchos, *BAPD* 300770. Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY.

what the *en face* figure within a painting might be looking for in the vicinity of the external spectator, one relies on inference. One builds a hypothesis out of the information contained within the image about the character of the represented figure and the situation in which the figure is found—supplemented perhaps by information about the character or type of figure derived from other paintings, literature, and common knowledge.³ In the case of *Las Meninas*, one infers from the deference paid to the unseen protagonists, even by a princess, that they can only be the king and queen of Spain.

Wollheim was interested not in just any unrepresented, internal spectator, but only those who occupied the same point of view as that taken by the external spectator. His interest lay not merely in how formally a painting may imply the presence of an unrepresented figure. It lay rather in how such a figure might afford the external spectator “a distinctive access to the content of the picture.”

This access is achieved in the following way: First, the external spectator looks at the picture and sees what there is to be seen in it; then, adopting the internal spectator as his protagonist, he starts to imagine in that person’s perspective the person or event that the painting represents; that is to say, he imagines from the inside the internal spectator seeing, thinking about, responding to, acting upon, what is before him; then the condition in which this leaves him modifies how he sees the picture . . . In a licensed way he supplements his perception of the picture with the proceeds of imagination and does so as to advance understanding.⁴

Formally, the little vase-painting on the aryballos in New York (figure 34) encourages the viewer to see him- or herself in the indiscreet, indecent silen. But strictly speaking, the identification is impossible ontologically, physiologically, and, some might feel, ethically. The only possible responses are offense or amusement. The important point is that the responses potentially concern two different aspects of the image. One is the proposition itself: looking at the solipsistic silen, does one fantasize about a life free of shame and devoted to self-pleasure? Or does one fear relinquishing self-control as a slippery slope with a heap of masturbators at the bottom? In other words, how does the viewer respond to the ethical proposition that he or she is no different from a silen? The other aspect of the image in which the viewer may find either offense or amusement concerns its creation. If a viewer is deeply offended or highly amused by the proposition that he or she is nothing but a shameless silen, he or she may well ask, indignantly or admiringly, “who is responsible for putting me in the position of identifying with such a scurrilous fellow?” The question draws attention away from the three silens and invites speculation about who made the image.

Interestingly enough, on the aryballos, the vase-painter provided an answer to the question in the very location where it is most likely to be desired. Immediately beneath the scene of masturbating silens, in a prominent patch of black glaze, is incised the signature Νέαρχος ἐποίησέν με, *Nearchos epoïesen me*, “Nearchos made me.”⁵ The use of the personal pronoun, *me*, to refer to the vase is attested already in the earliest signatures on Athenian vases, those of Nearchos’ immediate predecessor Sophilos. But its presence here in the emphatic final position, immediately below the silen directly addressing the viewer, encourages one to wonder if *me* refers also to the fictional creature. The writing elsewhere on this aryballos seems particularly self-aware, for some of the inscriptions are not Greek and perhaps meant to be understood as the sounds or foreign speech of the little Pygmies and cranes depicted around the rim. But the writer is far from illiterate, for other inscriptions, such as the all-too-evocative names of the silens or the signature, are very good Greek.⁶ Just as one makes eye contact with the emphatically frontal silen and realizes that the silen sees someone just like himself in the viewer, one is also invited by the writing to think about how the viewing experience was created, and who was responsible. Word and image together stack the *en face* silen, the beholder, and the artist one on top of the other. Might one even feel a momentary kinship with the artist, when one realizes that Nearchos, at the moment he was incising his name on the newly fired vase, was occupying exactly the same position as the viewer who looks at the image and reads the signature? Nearchos was not only the creator of this vase but also its first viewer.⁷ This small vase, with its representation of little Pygmies, packs a big subjective punch.

THE EYE CUP PSIAX

An even more radical attempt to employ the frontal face for the evocation of the artist in our midst occurs on two Athenian bilingual “eye cups.” This type of decorated cup, popular in the last third of the sixth century BC, features a pair eyes, eyebrows, and, sometimes, a nose and/or ears on each exterior surface. On a cup in Munich and a cup in New York, above the nose between the eyes on one exterior surface, there is the inscribed name Φσιαχς, *Psiachs*, “Psiax” (e.g., [figure 35](#)). The name is familiar from the artist’s signature, *Psiach egraphsen* (or *egrache*), that occurs on two contemporary Athenian alabastra. What is the significance of the inscribed name on the two cups? The cups are related in style of painting to the vases signed by or attributed to the innovative vase-painter Psiax. But the name of the artist is not accompanied on these cups by a verb claiming credit for the painting of them.⁸ Because it is not clarified by a verb of making or painting, the inscribed name “Psiax” is open to other interpretations. The most familiar function of the inscribed name in



FIGURE 35: New York 14.146.2, red-figure eye cup, *ARV*² 9,1, perhaps Psiax, BAPD 200038. Rogers Fund, 1914. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY.

vase-painting is a label identifying a represented figure. Typically, the inscribed name begins at the head of a figure, who is represented in his/her entirety on the body of a vase (e.g., plates I, III, and many others in this book). In the case of the two cups bearing the name “Psiax,” however, there is no represented figure of the usual type—that is, “within” the figural world of the vase-painting—in the vicinity of the inscription. There is just the pair of eyes and nose of the face of the eye cup itself. In this case, the name “Psiax” begins not adjacent to the head of the represented figure, but within the space of the head itself.

For many years, the eyes on an eye cup were understood to be apotropaic in function. The difficulty with that interpretation is that it is unclear what is being magically protected by the pair of eyes: the cups themselves, the wine contained in the cups, or the users of the cups? More importantly, the theory did not explain the decoration of the eye cup in its entirety. The earliest eye cups almost invariably include a nose in addition to the eyes; some include ears as well. The primary objective of this scheme of decoration is the transformation of the round exterior surface of the cup into a face.⁹ J. D. Beazley recognized that the eyes on the cup sometimes belonged to the gorgon Medusa (the link being the small dots occasionally appearing between the eyes on the cup as well as on *gorgoneia*). This marked a significant advance in the understanding of the pictorial phenomenon, because it acknowledged the possibility that the face of the eye cup might represent the face of a particular individual. Subsequently, it was recognized that the eye cup often represents the face of a silen or a nymph and sometimes perhaps even depicts the face of Dionysos.¹⁰ The pair of eye cups bearing the label “Psiax” between

the eyes was created and circulated amid two expectations: one is that the eye cup sometimes represented the face of a specific individual; the other is that a name written on a vase, unaccompanied by a verb or adjective, identified a figure represented on the vase. In such a milieu, it is a small interpretative step to suggest that the writing on the two cups transforms the generic face of the eye cup into the specific face of Psiax. And any viewer familiar with the occupation of Psiax is presented with the proposition that he or she is looking at the face of the very artist who created the cups.

The eye-scheme of decoration incorporates elements of the very shape of the cup into the representation of a face. John Boardman nicely captured the way in which the eye cup in its entirety is transformed into a face when the cup is used for drinking: “consider one raised to the lips of a drinker: the eyes cover his eyes, the handles his ears, the gaping underfoot his mouth.”¹¹ Labelling the face of the cup “Psiax” sets up a relationship of the closest possible intimacy between the artist’s name and the cup, both potting and painting. Psiax is not just a figure *within* the decoration of the cup; his face is coextensive with the very cup itself. These are among the most sophisticated “self-portraits” of an artist that I know. It is as if an easel-painter had figured out how fill with himself not just an entire canvas but also its frame. The cups may be compared to the poetry of Hipponax. The cups effect a grotesque “portrait” of a specific artist, by employing an existing scheme of pictorial decoration with links to the imagery of the gorgon Medusa. Like the (self-) portraits of Hipponax, the representations (or self-representations) of Psiax identify the vase-painter with the power of his particular medium. If someone asked, “what does Psiax look like?”—the eye cups answer, “he looks like one of his own cups.”

LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND IN EUPHRONIOS

Let us consider one additional possible example of pictorial allusion to a painter via the motif of the frontal face. On the krater in Munich (plates III, V), the disengagement of Thōdēmos from his friends, visually, in terms of eye contact suggests that he is no longer aware of them. One explanation of his alienation is suggested by the lifting of his cup to his lips; perhaps he is too drunk to recognize his friends. Two aspects of the figure of Thōdēmos, however, suggest that the frontal face is not exclusively suggestive of disengagement from the garrulous (unrewarding?) company of the symposiast-manqué, the vase-painter Smikros and his associates. First of all, the action that Thōdēmos is performing, lifting a drinking cup to his lips, is the action that the ancient beholder of the vase may well have simultaneously been performing, or that a student of vase-painting can imagine him- or herself performing while looking at the vase in the Antikensammlungen. The figure of Thōdēmos can be seen

understood to be a kind of mirror image of the symposiast looking at the krater. The potential reflexivity inherent in the image contributes to the sense that Thōdēmos is not merely turning away from his own company, but also directly addressing the viewer.

At the same time, holding a cup before one's eyes is something that a vase-painter does, as he examines the cup he is decorating. That reading of the image is encouraged by a feature of the right hand of Thōdēmos: although it is attached to the right arm, it is not a right but a left hand. Richard Neer nicely explained why this might be so: "faced with the problem of how to draw such a hand, Euphronios did the most natural thing in the world: he held his own left hand before himself at the appropriate angle, and with his right hand drew what he saw."¹² In [chapter one](#), it was noted that left hands are attached to right arms, or vice versa, in several vase-paintings attributed to Euphronios or signed *Smikros egraphsen* ([plate I](#), [plate XI](#)). In those vase-paintings, it is difficult to see what semantic contribution might be made by the reversal. In those cases, perhaps the reversals were not noticed by the artist. In the history of art, however, features hitherto unnoticed by an artist can become a conscious part of future work. This is what Richard Wollheim called "thematization:" "the process by which the agent [or artist] abstracts some hitherto unconsidered, hence unintentional, aspect of what he is doing or working on, and makes the thought of this feature contribute to guiding his future activity."¹³ Let us suppose that, prior to the painting of the krater in Munich, Euphronios (or someone else) noticed that he sometimes attached a left hand to the right arm, and so, when he painted the krater, Euphronios *chose* to paint a left hand on the right arm of Thōdēmos, in the manner described by Neer. Is there any independent evidence to suggest that this procedure might have been understood meaningfully? In the history of art, mirror reversal crops up occasionally in self-portraiture. In those paintings, artists known or suspected to be right handed appear as painting with their left hands. As Zirka Filipczak perceptively noted, while most self-portraits correct the mirror reversal, so that the artists portray themselves as they would appear to a studio visitor, the relatively rare uncorrected mirror-reversed portraits are special. "This identifies the implied viewer with the artist."¹⁴ That is one possible reason why an artist as careful as Euphronios might have deliberately depicted a right hand as the left hand on a figure making eye contact with a viewer—a viewer who, like Thōdēmos, is holding a drinking cup. For the beholder who notices the reversed hand, it is an invitation to hold out his cup in his own left hand and imagine himself in the place of Euphronios, drawing the vase-painting that he is looking at. In this way, Euphronios, like Kleitias, Nearchos, and perhaps Psiax, has made his presence felt pictorially.

One further instance of wrong-handedness occurs the vase-painting signed by Euphronios. In the tondo of a small cup in Munich ([figure 36](#)), an armed



FIGURE 36: Munich, Antikensammlungen 8953, red-figure cup, signed by Euphronios, BAPD 6203. Photo: Christa Koppermann. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

warrior runs to the right, looking back over her shoulder, at an (unseen) pursuer. It is a female warrior, to judge from the absence of beard and presence of long wavy locks of hair. Around the inside of the tondo is the signature $\text{Εὐ(φ)ρόνιος ἔγραψε}$, “Euphronios painted [this].”¹⁵ With respect to handedness, what is striking about the image is that the Amazon carries her sword in her left hand and her shield in the right. That is an anomaly, for “there exist no heroes in Greek art who are southpaws,” as Takashi Seki memorably remarked. He took the picture to be the result of an unintentional error in drawing.¹⁶ The picture of the left-handed Amazon, however, is not unique. A cup in Bochum attributed by Beazley to a follower of Euphronios, the Hermaios Painter, also depicts an Amazon running to the right, looking back, torso seen from the front, sword in the left hand, shield in the right. In her publication of the cup in Munich, Martha Ohly-Dumm argued that it was the model for the cup in Bochum.¹⁷

Is the Amazon warrior on the cup in Munich intended faithfully to represent a left-handed warrior, or is the representation “in error”? The picture supplies a clue: the warrior is not always left handed, because she wears her scabbard so that she can reach the hilt of a sword with her right hand. The two

customs depicted on the cup—wearing the scabbard so that it opens on the left, and carrying the sword in the left hand—contradict each other. The presence of a scabbard worn “correctly”—in the sense that it conforms to the manner in which scabbards and swords are used elsewhere in Euphronian vase-painting (even among Amazons, e.g., the krater in Arezzo [figure 13])—indicates that Euphronios had not forgotten his ordinary practice. And the painting of shield and sword must have taken a certain amount of time and deliberation. Nevertheless the drawing was completed and the cup was fired, as if what we see is what Euphronios intended. In this picture, then, handedness seems deliberately manipulated in order to create an image that will provide an enjoyable puzzle to the viewer and provoke questions about the relative competence of painters and Amazons. And the deliberate manipulation of handedness within this vase-painting signed by Euphronios encourages credibility in the hypothesis that the painter deliberately depicted a left hand as the right hand of Thōdēmos (plates III, V).

HEPHAISTOS, “FICTIVE” VASE-PAINTING, AND ARTISTIC SELF-REFERENCE ON A KRATER IN NEW YORK

The second vase-painting to employ a form of subjective expression or self-reference familiar from the François vase is an extraordinary representation of the return of Hephaistos. The considerable variety in well-known vase-paintings of this lively subject is unmatched by several innovative features



FIGURE 37: New York 1997.388a-eee, 56, and 493, fragmentary black-figure krater, BAPD 46026. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a-eee). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.463). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY.

of a very large, recently published black-figure column krater, painted around 560–550 BC, of which many fragments were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1997 (plate XVI, figures 37–39).¹⁸ Like the François vase, the fragmentary krater exhibits interest both in the dissolute lifestyles of silens and nymphs, and in the manufacture of fine vases. The fragmentary krater articulates a world that is simultaneously disordered and exquisitely refined. Those are rough outlines of the Archaic persona of the artist or poet.

On the central fragment (plate XVI), there are traces of three figures, all of whom push against the boundary of respectful behavior. Although virtually nothing remains of a nymph but for traces of hair tied up with a fillet, her name $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma[\iota\alpha]$, “love of drinking,” is arresting. This is perhaps the earliest extant Athenian vase to contain individual names for silens and nymphs (see chapter seven). The word *philoposia* and its cognates are attested in literature from the fifth century BC onward, but this is by far the earliest surviving occurrence. In the directory of nymph-names, it is unique. It is probably also countercultural. There were opportunities for women in antiquity to partake in wine-drinking. But Ailian claims that it is “odd” for a woman to be *philopotis*, “fond of drinking,” and even odder for a woman to be *polupotis*, a “heavy drinker.” A woman who loved to drink was a male chauvinist fantasy of Old Comedy more than (it seems) a social reality.¹⁹ So the name is perfectly suited to the inverted world of the return of Hephaistos. Adjacent to *Philoposia*, a silen playing the aulos is harmoniously named Μολπαῖος , “the tuneful one.” What is significant about *Molpaaios* is not his name so much as his locomotion. He sits on the back of the mule that carries the god Hephaistos. He is crowding the rider, showing little respect for the god’s higher status or greater physical limitation, and paying no attention to him as he makes music for his friends. The dissolution of divine social hierarchy initiated by the making of the chair for Hera is evident in the silen. Did he even ask Hephaistos if he could have a ride?

A much greater image of impertinence is the silen on the ground between the legs of the mule. Reclining on a wineskin, balancing a stemmed drinking



FIGURE 38: New York 1997.388a-eee, 56, and 493, fragmentary black-figure krater, BAPD 46026. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a-eee). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.463). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY. Detail of volute krater under handle.



FIGURE 39: New York 1997.388a-eee, 56, and 493, fragmentary black-figure krater, BAPD 46026. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a-eee). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.463). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy Art Resource, NY. Detail of column (?) krater under handle.

cup on the palm of his hand, his very body language is at odds with the narrative imperative to return Hephaistos to Olympus. He seems to be in no hurry to leave. The cup in his hand suggests that he himself is enjoying a drink. If the rest of the silen and nymphs follow this example, Hephaistos will never return. The silen on the ground does not pay attention to either Hephaistos or Dionysos, but directs his attention in the direction of the spectator. Visually, he declines to subordinate himself to the gods. Compositionally, he occupies the center of the principal picture on the vase, immediately beneath Hephaistos. His visual engagement with the viewer threatens to steal the viewer's attention away from the god. And his visual interest in the spectator suggests perhaps that, in our place, he hopes to see another reprobate like himself.

In addition to the drinking cup, the silen holds, surprisingly, the shorn hoof of a deer or goat. The picture calls to mind the familiar imagery of the female followers of

Dionysos in religious frenzy, dismembering animals. On an Early Classical red-figure vase, for example, a chorus member in a dramatic performance, dressed as maenad, dances with a sword in one hand and the torn hindquarter of a deer in the other.²⁰ The best-known example of that sort of tragedy is the story of the arrival of Dionysos at Thebes as related in Euripides' *Bakchai*. The practice of *sparagmos*, "dismemberment," as it is called in Greek, is perhaps alluded to on two mid-sixth-century Athenian black-figure vases, one being a beautiful black-figure neck amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter, on which two female devotees of Dionysos carelessly manhandle a hare and a fawn.²¹ But the fragmentary krater in New York (plate XVI) appears to be the earliest extant explicit instance of *sparagmos* in Greek art. The fragmentary krater is also the earliest instance by far of a silen participating in *sparagmos*. In literature, the practice is associated exclusively with the female followers of Dionysos. Silens appear in a handful of vase-paintings in the fifth century in which female figures or the god Dionysos have engaged in *sparagmos*; but the silen themselves do not handle the torn flesh.²² In fact, on a cup in Fort Worth attributed to Douris, where the Theban women dance with the dismembered parts of the young king

Pentheus, a silen directs his attention away, toward the spectator, pantomiming mock horror.²³

The image of the silen reclining on the fragmentary krater in New York is extraordinary because it appears to subvert the Dionysiac myth of *sparagmos*, treating the shorn hoof as if it were a cocktail hors d'oeuvre, and does so at a much earlier date than the cup by Douris. It is possible (though not necessary) to imagine the satire on the Douran cup as informed, directly or indirectly, by the antics of silens in the fifth-century Athenian dramatic genre of satyr-play. But it is not possible to interpret the imagery on the New York krater in the same way, because satyr-play of the parodic or satire sort familiar from literary remains is not attested much before 500 BC.²⁴ The scenario envisioned on the earlier vase appears to be an original visual invention on the part of the artist.

As if to confirm the visual impression of irreverence made by the pose and possessions of this silen is his name, which is written on the vase. It is "I don't care" (Οὐκαλέγῶν, from οὐκ ἀλέγω). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Oukalegōn is not attested in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. It does occur once in Greek poetry, as the name of one of King Priam's elderly associates, who sit on the wall of Troy, watching the battle below, chattering like cicadas (Homer, *Iliad* 3.148). Virgil remembered the name when he identified the owners of houses of Troy set on fire by the Greeks (*Aeneid* 2.312).²⁵ But no figure bearing the personal name "I don't care" is more appropriately so called than the silen on the fragmentary New York krater, who relaxes on a cushion, blithely drinking his wine, enjoying the exotic raw flesh that he stole from the maenads, oblivious to the resolution of the Olympian conflict occurring around him. Moore suggested that the fragmentary krater depicts a different moment in the story of the return of Hephaistos than the François vase. It is the moment before the drinking party has ended, when Hephaistos has just now been placed on the mule, and the procession to Olympos begins to form up.²⁶ Perhaps. But Oukalegōn suggests that the pictorial emphasis is not chronological but thematic: it is in the nature of the return of Hephaistos as a story to disrupt the best-laid plans.

Where is the pictorial emphasis on artistry related to potting and vase-painting? It lies in the substantial pictorial interest in the pottery used by the represented figures. Fragmentary though it is, the krater in New York contains no fewer than seven representations of vases. They stand apart from many other depictions of vases for their meticulously rendered detail. On the basis of numerous comparisons between the represented detail and extant early sixth-century painted vases, it was possible for Werner Oenbrück to demonstrate that the depicted vessels are *ceramic* vases.²⁷ To a certain extent, the fragmentary krater is a vase-painting about vase-painting.

In roughly the center of the principal image on the vase (plate XVI), in the hand of the visually arresting silen named "I don't care," is a stemmed drinking

cup drawn with impeccable care. Its lip is carefully offset from the contour of the body, the stem is set off from the bowl by a pair of incised lines, and a band of ornament around the top of the bowl is indicated by a pair of incised lines within which there is a series of short incisions. From a distance, the band of ornament suggests figural decoration or inscription. All of those features unambiguously call to mind a Little Master cup of the band-cup variety. As the band cup first appears around the time when the fragmentary New York krater was decorated, the cup held by the silen named Oukalegōn is the latest in ceramic fashion.

Under one handle of the vase, a silen and nymph attend to an enormous volute krater (figure 38). Under the opposite handle (figure 39), a silen and another figure (a nymph?) are busy at a second monumental krater (perhaps another volute krater, but possibly a column krater, like the fragmentary vase itself). The silens and nymphs are refilling the krater, mixing water with the wine, and decanting. Even the utilitarian vases used for those operations are (depicted as) decorated. The two kraters depicted on the New York vase are the earliest known instances of figure-decorated vases represented on a vase. They are also the most magnificent pictures of vases in all of Athenian vase-painting. The handles of the volute krater are decorated with incised vines of ivy. Its black rim is ornamented with rosettes. Each flower has a white dot in the center, and alternating petals painted red. The neck of the volute krater is carefully delineated from the offset rim above, and the shoulder below, by incised lines bounding a broad red band. On the shoulder and body of the volute krater is an ambitious figure scene, a representation of a (vase-painting of a) four-horse chariot. The manes of the horses, the reins, and the wheels of the chariot are meticulously detailed in incision, and the broad collars of the horses are picked out in added red color. The figure scene is bounded below by an incised band of pattern, then red lines, a wide black band, incised lines, a second band of rosettes, more incised lines, and, finally, base rays. All of this detail occurs in a vase-painting of a vase-painting. The other krater depicted on this vase, either a volute or a column krater, is decorated in a comparably lavish manner.

The prominence given to the kraters in the fragmentary vase-painting emphasizes the importance of wine within the underlying story of the return of Hephaistos (as Mary Moore rightly noted). But the extent of the attention paid to vases within the vase-painting transcends narrative significance. The extensive detail lavished on the two depictions of kraters serves to identify the depicted vases as painted pottery very like the large krater that bears their depictions. The preserved height of the fragmentary krater of 71.8 centimeters means that it must have been nearly waist high when it was whole. This is roughly the height of the monumental kraters depicted on the vase, to judge from the silens and nymphs around them. The actual fragmentary krater is

ornamented in a manner that is similar to the decorative schemes of the two “fictive” kraters: a large figure scene around the upper part of the body, a pattern band around the rim, broad band of plain glaze around the neck, tongues around the shoulder, a broad band of glaze around the lower body, and base rays. The different zones of decoration are separated from each other by pairs of lines. Some of the motifs decorating the fictive kraters differ from those on the real krater (chiefly, bands of rosettes in place of lotus and palmette chains), but the motifs on the depicted vases can be found on other more or less contemporary vases. The color schemes are not always the same, but that is presumably because the vase-painter would have had to employ the reserve technique in order to suggest the unpainted areas of a real clay vase, and the reserve technique was very rarely used in vase-painting of this period. The important points are that the vase-painter has attempted to indicate unmistakably, first of all, that the vases depicted on the fragmentary krater in New York are clay vases of the very same style as the real krater itself and, secondly, that the depicted vases are as lavish, ambitious, and impressive as the vase on which they are painted.²⁸

SILENS AND NYMPHS WATCHING THEMSELVES ON VASES

The early examples of the rare pictorial motif of painted vases on painted vases are associated, thematically, with Dionysos. One occurs on a tantalizingly fragmentary amphora on Samos attributed to the Amasis Painter and dating around 540 BC (figure 40).²⁹ Of the main picture, one surviving sherd shows a pair of silens and nymphs walking amorously arm in arm. Unusually, the nymphs are drawn in outline technique so as to appear nude but for earrings and ivy crowns. The silens seem not unaware of the attractions of their partners; one is exhibiting self-control but massively erect, while the other has partially given in to his desire, has picked up the nymph, and kisses her. On the fragment on Samos, there is also a representation of a magnificent figure-decorated column krater. The representation suggests that it is a very large vase, for it comes up in height to the elbows of the silens and nymphs. It is carefully incised so as to appear to be a figure-decorated black-figure krater.



FIGURE 40: Samos K898, black-figure amphora fragment, *ABV* 151,18, Amasis Painter, BAPD 310445. Photo Hermann Wagner, DAI Athens, Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Samos 1187. All rights reserved.

Around the vertical surface of the mouth is an incised pattern representing a band of tongues, a familiar form of painted ornament. Represented on the body of the vase is, it seems, a picture of a silen sexually accosting a sleeping nymph.³⁰ The same basic theme is unfolding in the vase-painting and in the vase-painting depicted in the vase-painting. The carefully decorated krater is not the only feature of the vase-painting to invite attention to the theme of vase-painting itself. The technique used to depict the nymphs on the body of the amphora (outline technique) stands in contrast to the techniques used to represent nymphs on the shoulder of the amphora (black-figure technique; not visible in the photo) as well as the nymph depicted on the depicted krater (incision). Because the represented figures are the same type of being in every case (nymphs), what stands out as worthy of notice is the difference in the techniques of painting of them.³¹

The fragment on Samos, incomplete as it is, has big implications. One is that silens and nymphs enjoy looking at vase-paintings of themselves. They see themselves the way we see them, as celebrated subjects of art. The fragment conveys the sly idea that Athenian vase-painters or their dealers managed to penetrate the mythical world of Dionysos and his followers, an infinitely lucrative if unfortunately imaginary market.³² What is odd about this is the general impression that silens and nymphs, in their lack of clothes and possession of rustic paraphernalia like branches and wineskins, represent a way of life predating all technology. Do silens and nymphs have the know-how, facilities, and patience to make and decorate fine vases? Taking the image on the fragmentary Samian amphora at face value means that someone within the mythical world of Dionysos and his followers painted vases. Who could that be if not the mythical craftsman Hephaistos? Indeed, one might even wonder if the amphora from which this fragment comes did not depict a return of Hephaistos. Several features of the fragment support this possibility. The two pairs of silen and nymph are moving from left to right, as if in procession. The leftmost pair recalls the silen carrying the nymph in arms in the return of Hephaistos on the François vase (figure 25). And the large, figure-decorated krater recurs in the representation of the return of Hephaistos on the earlier fragmentary krater in New York (figures 38–39).

Several early examples of vase-paintings of painted vases are representations of figured kantharoi held by the god Dionysos himself. The earliest and most magnificent example occurs on a black-figure hydria (figure 41) related stylistically to Lydos and nearly as early as the fragmentary krater in New York.³³ Poseidon stands opposite a female figure. She unveils herself before him as if before her husband. The gesture suggests that she is Amphitrite. To one side stands Dionysos, a witness to the marriage of the sea god and his consort. The witness makes sense, for the union occurred, according to one late literary source, on the island of Naxos, where Dionysos spent considerable time.³⁴ In this image, Dionysos holds a kantharos of enormous size, in Starbuck's

terminology, a “vente.” On the body of the depicted kantharos, carefully bounded by pairs of incised horizontal lines, is an incised design of a horse and rider. Where would Dionysos have acquired a vase of such splendor? The parallel story of the origins of the golden amphora-urn of Achilles—originally a gift from its creator Hephaistos to the god Dionysos in thanks for hospitality on Naxos—points to Hephaistos as the source of the magnificent kantharos of Dionysos. But the figural decoration of horse and rider is among the most popular motifs in contemporary Athenian black-figure vase-painting. The figural decoration collapses the distinction between Hephaistos’ divine creations and contemporary, artisanal pottery and vase-painting.³⁵



FIGURE 41: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 86.AE.113, black-figure hydria, wider circle of Lydos, ca. 550 BC. BAPD 79. Photo courtesy the J. Paul Getty Museum.

PRIMITIVE CONNOTATIONS OF THE KANTHAROS AND THE ART OF HEPHAISTOS

One additional argument links Hephaistos to the kantharos of Dionysos. The carinated shape of the kantharos held by Dionysos on the hydria in Malibu (figure 41) may have called to mind Etruscan pottery; and Hephaistos had associations with “primitive” ethnic groups like the Etruscans. In Athenian pottery, the carinated kantharos (technically known as Type A1) is not attested much before the second quarter of the sixth century BC. In Etruscan bucchero pottery, closely comparable forms occur already in the seventh century and were well known in Greece as exports in the sixth century. A good case has been made that the Athenian shape derives from the Etruscan.³⁶ At the same time, the carinated kantharos was closely associated with Dionysos from its first appearance in Athenian pottery. Several of the earliest representations of the carinated kantharos within Athenian vase-painting depict the vessel in the hand of the god.³⁷ Within Athenian vase-painting, the kantharos is not exclusively used by Dionysos: it occurs in several early sixth-century representations of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (figures 26, 28) or *komoî*; it is used by Herakles in vase-painting of the later Archaic and Early Classical periods. But the visual association between the kantharos and Dionysos is strong.³⁸

Axel Seeberg once suggested that there was a link between the association of the kantharos with Dionysos, on the one hand, and its associations with Etruria, on the other. Noting the existence of the shape in Etruscan bucchero

pottery, and remembering the mythical encounter between Dionysos and the Etruscan (or Tyrrhenian) pirates, the kantharos, he wrote, “calls to mind the god at the Anthesteria fresh from his adventures with the Tyrrhenian pirates. It seems worth asking if such associations, rather than marketing policy or exotic taste, may not account for Attic potters’ adoption of a few Etruscan shapes.”³⁹ It seems unnecessary to speak of the explanation of the phenomena as an either-or proposition. Ceramics were an important component of an elaborate mechanism of exchange between Greece and Etruria in the Archaic period. It would hardly be surprising if Athenian potters developed a capability of manufacturing shapes that, they believed, had an Etruscan flavor. Interpreting the development of the shape and iconography of the kantharos in Athenian vase-painting as a mere reflection of trade patterns, however, is, as Seeberg implied, reductive. For the trade patterns are one raw material out of which myth can be created by Athenian ceramic artisans.

If the kantharos, associated with Etruria as a pottery shape, on the one hand, and with Dionysos iconographically, on the other, constitutes a link between Dionysos and Etruria, a link expressed in mythological discourse through the story of the god’s entanglement with the Tyrrhenian pirates, what might be the nature or meaning of the link? One possibility is suggested by the type of drinking vessel regularly held by Dionysos in Athenian vase-painting prior to, and then alongside, the god’s use of the kantharos. In many early representations of Dionysos, the god holds a drinking horn or *keras*. Originally manufactured out of a cow horn, the *keras* was the most primitive form of drinking vessel depicted in vase-painting. “It is said that the earliest humans drank from the horns of cattle. This is why Dionysos is represented growing horns” (Athenaios 476a). The association between the drinking horn and primitive life is analogical, for the shape calls to mind a time before humans worked in clay or metal, a time when people relied on found objects like the horns of animals for their drinking vessels. “In pictures, drinking-horns like kantharoi belong more to mythology; in life, they may have savoured of the rustic and the barbarian, as poetic allusions and the provenance of precious-metal facsimiles certainly suggest.” So Seeberg.⁴⁰

If the drinking horn called to mind primitive life through its natural origins, how might the obviously artificial, elaborately wrought kantharos have done so? Its Etruscan associations may have evoked the idea of primitive life, because the so-called barbarian cultures were thought to preserve ways of life that the Greeks had long since left behind. The principle was articulated by Thucydides:

[A]ll the Hellenes used to carry arms because the places where they dwelt were unprotected, and intercourse with each other was unsafe; and in their everyday life they regularly went armed just as the Barbarians did. And the fact that [certain] districts of Hellas still retain this custom is an

evidence that at one time similar modes of life prevailed everywhere. But the Athenians were among the very first to lay aside their arms and, adopting an easier mode of life, to change to more luxurious ways . . . [T]he Lacedaemonians were the first to bare their bodies and, after stripping openly, to anoint themselves with oil when they engaged in athletic exercise; for in early times, even in the Olympic games, the athletes wore girdles about their loins in the contests, and it is not many years since the practice has ceased. Indeed, even now among some of the Barbarians, especially those of Asia, where prizes for wrestling and boxing are offered, the contestants wear loin-cloths. And one could show that the early Hellenes had many other customs similar to those of the Barbarians of the present day. (Thuc. 1.6.1–6, trans. Smith)⁴¹

Where does Hephaistos fit in the equation between the Etruscan origins of the kantharos, and Dionysiac mythology and ritual? Within mythological “social history” or speculation about primitive life, Hephaistos, like Dionysos, interacted with primitive populations. The indigenous people of Lemnos are called Sintians in Homeric epic, but elsewhere the Sintians are identified with the Pelasgians, the aboriginal population of Greece, and the Tyrrhenians (i.e., Etruscans), the ethnic group with which Dionysos is associated in the pirates myth.⁴² The association appears to be documented by a fascinating Athenian black-figure krater fragment attributed to Lydos and dating to 560 BC or perhaps even earlier (figure 42).⁴³ The fragment depicts Hephaistos riding a

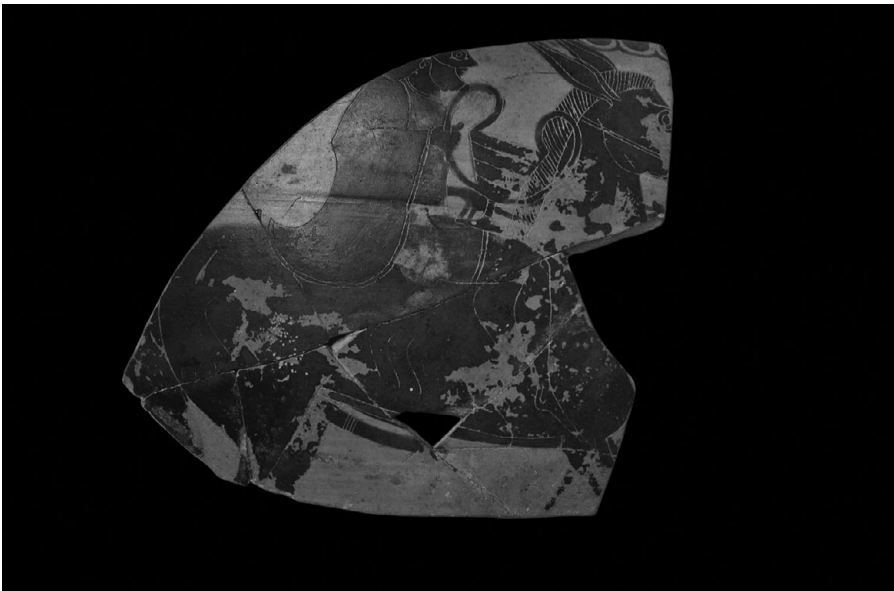


FIGURE 42: Rome, Museo del Foro 515366, black-figure krater fragment, attributed to Lydos, BAPD 9022287. Courtesy Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo–Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l’Area archeologica di Roma.

sexually aroused donkey. The rider is identifiable as a god through the animal's arousal, and as Hephaistos through his combination of short beard and short chiton. No god other than Dionysos or Hephaistos rides a donkey (aroused or not), and Dionysos does not wear a short chiton or (usually) have a short beard. The fragment presumably derives from a vase-painting of the return of Hephaistos, perhaps the earliest extant example in Athenian vase-painting after the François vase.

Two things about the fragment are relevant to the idea that Hephaistos was associated with Etruscan craftsmanship. One is that it depicts Hephaistos holding a beautiful and enormous carinated kantharos. This is the earliest known Athenian representation of the kantharos in a Dionysiac mythological context, and one of the earliest of all depictions of the kantharos. The image invites the question, did Hephaistos receive this magnificent kantharos from Dionysos when the wine god intoxicated the smith god and thus engineered his return to Olympos? Or did Dionysos receive *his* signature drinking vessel from the master craftsman Hephaistos in thanks for securing permanent recognition by the Olympians? In this pictorial narrative, the oversized, eye-catching kantharos, both drinking vessel and art work, is the perfect symbol of symbiosis between the powers or spheres represented by the two marginal gods, intoxication and artistry. It is a kind of visual metonymy for the krater on which the image was depicted, for the krater too unites the social practice of wine drinking and the labor of the potter and vase-painter. The second striking thing about the fragment is its findspot: it was discovered under the so-called *lapis niger* in the Comitium of Rome, in the Vulcanal or sanctuary of Vulcan. As many scholars have noted, the findspot cannot be a coincidence. It shows that the Etruscans and Romans had already equated the local fire- and metal-working god Vulcan with the Greek god of art and technology, Hephaistos.⁴⁴

To return to the fragmentary krater in New York (figures 37–39), the narrative deployment of mid-sixth-century Athenian-style kraters *within* a representation of the return of Hephaistos makes an equation between the kind and quality of symposium-ware used in the circle of the legendary artisan god Hephaistos, and the sort of krater made and decorated by the contemporary ceramic artist(s) responsible for the fragmentary krater itself. The god of all artistry, famous in poetry for his metal vessels, seems to be at home with, if not personally responsible for, fine clay vases of a distinctly Athenian style. Like the S-O-S amphora on the François vase (figure 26), the depicted vases on the fragmentary krater in New York visually advance a claim that the contemporary vase-painter and potter are comparable to Hephaistos. The same claim appears to be advanced by the association of the kantharos with Dionysos via Hephaistos. And the association of the kantharos with “primitive” Etruscan culture is another means of characterizing the artisan and wine gods as socially marginal.

HEPHAISTOS, ROLE MODEL FOR SCULPTORS,
ON THE NAME-VASE OF THE FOUNDRY PAINTER

In the fragmentary remains of ancient Athenian art, there is one further work, like the François vase (plates XIV–XV) or fragmentary krater in New York (figures 37–39), that develops comparisons between the mythical deeds of the artisan god and contemporary artisanal production. Represented in the bowl of the late Archaic name-vase of the Foundry Painter (plate XVII) is a metal-worker. He is seated in his workshop, finishing a helmet with a small hammer; waiting patiently is his customer, who already holds a spear and a fine shield decorated with stars. A pair of greaves, another hammer, and an anvil are included in the image.⁴⁵ The female gender of the customer strongly suggests that she is Thetis, waiting to receive from Hephaistos a new set of armor for her short-lived son, after the first set was taken by Hektor. The story is the narrative frame for the famous description of the shield of Achilles in Book Eighteen of the *Iliad*, discussed in earlier chapters.⁴⁶

On the exterior of the cup (figures 43–44), there is another representation of an artisans' workshop, a bronze-sculpture foundry. In this case, however, the artisans appear to be contemporary, not mythical. Several steps in the creation of large-scale bronze statues are represented, from the melting of metal in a kiln, and the piecing together of a statue of an athlete, to the final polishing of



FIGURE 43: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2294, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 400,1, Foundry Painter, BAPD 204340. Photo: Ingrid Geske. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Ingrid Geske/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



FIGURE 44: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2294, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 400,1, Foundry Painter, BAPD 204340. Photo: Ingrid Geske. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Ingrid Geske/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

an over-life-size statue of a warrior. The vase is among the most detailed of any representation of artisans in Greek art.⁴⁷

Among the eight human figures represented in this image, there is a clear distinction in terms of hair, dress, and demeanor between six men who actually work with the tools and two men who watch. The hair of the figures engaged directly in the work is short; on the youngest member of the shop, it is cropped. The beards of the workmen are also trimmed. If they wear anything in their hair, it is a *pilos* or cap of the sort often seen, in late Archaic and Classical art, on the head of Hephaistos. The workmen are nude or, in two cases, wearing a short tunic or *exōmis* rolled up at the waist. Three of the men squat, low to the ground, on short stools, perhaps uncomfortably. The figure squatting behind the furnace directs his gaze in the direction of the viewer, perhaps giving up hope of sympathy from his coworkers and looking for it elsewhere.

The two men flanking the over-life-size statue of a warrior (figure 44), watching the workmen polish the bronze, are quite different. They wear fillets in their hair, and appear to have longer beards; they are draped in long mantles or *himatia*; they wear neatly tied shoes; there is a strigil and aryballos hanging next to each of the bystanders, whereas no other figure in the representation is outfitted with a kit for working out in a gymnasium. Most notably, they lean on their walking sticks in an ostentatiously leisurely manner. As if to emphasize a categorical difference between the bystanders and the workmen, the latter

are drawn to a different scale from the former. The polishers are approximately half the height of the striding warrior. The differentiation in height allows the vase-painting to indicate that the bronze statue being polished is monumental, almost twice life size. But it also allows the vase-painter to differentiate the workmen from the mantled men leaning on sticks. For the latter are nearly as tall as the warrior. The differentiation in size is neither necessary compositionally nor unnoticeable. It signifies something. It is unlikely that the men leaning on sticks are meant to be taken as representations of statues simply because they are of the same height as the warrior. It is more likely that the differences in scale are a further means of differentiating systematically between the workmen and the watchers.

The connotations of the sort of attire, attributes, and attitudes possessed by the pair of spectators are relatively well understood.

The first is leisure, proclaimed by the unpinned *himation* just as it had been by the luxurious chiton. Warriors, like aristocrats, looked down on having to work for a living . . . [this] is the ideal reflected by the clothes. No-one could work in the big Athenian *himation*, any more than in the long chiton . . . The clothes enforce and proclaim leisure. In Veblen's words, they communicate it conspicuously.⁴⁸

The aryballos and strigil are associated with participation in athletics and the gymnasium. Those areas of Athenian cultural life had strong elite connotations. Although gymnasia were open to all citizens by the Classical period, slaves were prohibited. Lack of exercise is one of the critiques of artisanal work advanced by Xenophon: "the illiberal arts [*banausikai*], as they are called, are spoken against, and are, naturally enough, held in utter disdain in our states. For they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the foremen, forcing them to sit still and live indoors, and in some cases to spend the day at the fire."⁴⁹

Leaning on a stick appears to have denoted, first of all, attentive observation of some spectacle. The earliest occurrences of the pose in Greek art, in mid-sixth-century black-figure vase-painting, are representations of spectators watching wrestling.⁵⁰ The pose is also employed in narrative art for a figure who is waiting for something to happen. On the exterior of Onesimos' late Archaic cup in the Villa Giulia, Briseis is being removed from the tent of Achilles and escorted to Agamemnon.⁵¹ In the middle of the image, a girl is followed by two heralds—presumably Briseis, Talthybios, and Eurybates. To her right, a young man has leapt up in anger from a stool and pulls the sword from its scabbard. He must be Achilles, because a woman standing in front of him, trying to stop him, is labelled Thetis. Briseis is being led by a warrior labelled Patroklos. In front of Patroklos is a bearded man whose arms are extended to receive the girl, and who perhaps is Menelaos. Behind the bearded man, a smug, powerful, relaxed man leans on a stick. In pose, he seems

especially well suited to be Agamemnon.⁵² The narrative background to the image assures us that Agamemnon is waiting for the girl to be delivered to him, and the image of a man leaning on his stick, like that of a figure leaning against a wall on a street corner in a film, corresponds visually to the idea of waiting. The figure of Agamemnon exemplifies, however, another connotation that the image of a man leaning on a stick seems sometimes to entail—power or authority.⁵³

The relaxed air of the men leaning on sticks, whiling away the day watching other men work, is highlighted by the squatting position of some of the workmen. The position is motivated, in part at least, by their tasks. But the image of a figure squatting on the ground, particularly when the figure is shown frontally, so that the genitalia are visible, also appears to have connotations of social inferiority. The idea is suggested, for example, by the juxtaposition of two scenes of a potter's workshop on a lip cup in Karlsruhe dating to the third quarter of the sixth century (figures 45–46).⁵⁴ On one side of the cup, a potter shapes a cylinder of clay into a vase on a potter's wheel. The wheel is turned by a boy, buck naked like the potter. The boy sits on a low block, his body oriented frontally toward the viewer, his legs spread, genitalia prominent. This exact pose is not necessitated by the depicted action, for the wheel-turner could have been shown in profile view. On the other side of the cup, the manufacture of the kylix is complete; it is a Little Master cup, in shape similar



FIGURE 45: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 67.90, black-figure cup, BAPD 355, manner of the Centaur Painter. Photo courtesy of the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. Obverse.



FIGURE 46: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 67.90, black-figure cup, BAPD 355, manner of the Centaur Painter. Photo courtesy of the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. Reverse.

to the vase on which its picture is painted. The potter, who is seated on a stool before the wheel, is perhaps applying glaze to the foot of the cup. Once again, the potter is nude. Standing before him, in the place where the boy sat and turned the wheel, is a heavily draped male figure, with one hand extended. He is the one figure in either image on the cup who is not directly involved in the production of the vase, yet his attention suggests that he is interested in it. Perhaps he is contemplating making a purchase of the depicted cup for use at his next symposium. Turn the cup around and around: the visible contrast in posture and dress between the pot-purchaser and the wheel-turner seems deliberate and pointed. Presumably, the differences are rooted in the socioeconomic differences between working in a pottery shop and participating in sympotic culture.⁵⁵

THE WELL-HEELED ARTISAN AND THE ANTIPHON PAINTER

The differences among the male figures on the exterior of the name-vase of the Foundry Painter (figures 43–44) have been interpreted in essentially two ways, and the implications of the rival interpretations are significant for the understanding of the self-representation of the artist in Greek art. The pair of figures leaning on sticks, watching the work, are sometimes identified as the owners of the workshop—master sculptors or bronze-casters. If they are artisans,

their dress, pose, and accessories suggest that they are financially successful men. They have the wherewithal to employ assistants, who allow them the leisure to work up a sweat at the gymnasium. That interpretation of the vase-painting, in turn, has been advanced in support of the theory that wealth accumulated through work allowed men to participate in all the activities traditionally associated with the social elite. This line of argumentation sometimes leads to the conclusion that the vase-painter Smikros really lived like he depicted himself (plate I).

In support of the identification of the relaxed, mantled, gym-going men as financially successful artisans, Burkhart Fehr compared a roughly contemporary cup in Boston (plate XVIII). The cup is attributed to the Antiphon Painter, or an artist working in his manner, and depicts a young vase-painter at work. In a sense, this is a self-portrait. The vase-painter is applying glaze with a fine brush to a kylix similar in shape to the vase that bears his image.⁵⁶ Of particular significance are the young artist's accouterments. He sits on a well-made wooden chair. He is dressed in a long himation, which is allowed to gather around his waist. Beside him is a walking stick, strigil, and aryballos. He may be engaged in skilled labor, but his accouterments suggest that he has adequate leisure time to work out in the gymnasium or stroll around town in a *komos*.

Fehr took the representation on the cup by the Antiphon Painter to be a primary document. Implicitly, the vase-painting is as probative as the testimony of Xenophon, that skilled labor is incompatible with the cultivation of a healthy masculine physique, because it requires artisans to spend long hours seated indoors and it leaves them no time for the gymnasium. The pictorial representation demonstrates, he argued, that craftsmen possessed walking sticks and gym kits, and thus that the mantled men on the name-vase of the Foundry Painter (figure 44) are as likely to be sculptors as anybody else.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the vase-painters did not intend to indicate any striking difference in social rank between the workshop visitors leaning on their sticks and the men working, as has sometimes been suggested . . . If we attempt to verbalize what is narrated in these scenes, it may be expressed in the following way: after his work is finished, the craftsman can clean and anoint his body, . . . put on his citizen's *himation*, go where he likes . . . watch whatever he is interested in as he leans on his stick, such as other men working or athletic activities.⁵⁷

The argument would be persuasive if it were certain that the vase-paintings by the Antiphon or Foundry Painters represented the material and social realities of the lives of craftsmen in a one-to-one manner, so that every pictorial element had its counterpart in the real lives of artisans. In the history of art, some drawings undoubtedly represent visible reality in just such an exacting way—anatomical drawings, for example. Not every drawing of the

human body, however, is a reliable guide to a surgeon. The history of artistic representation of mythical creatures shows that there are extraordinarily plausible images of the bodies of nonexistent beings. How to determine whether a drawing of the body is trustworthy, in the absence of prior direct visual experience of the body or part in question, depends less on the internal coherence or plausibility of the image than on its genre—on the conventions that govern the creation and inspection of the drawing. “If any image of the Renaissance could illustrate any text whatsoever, if a beautiful woman holding a child could not be presumed to represent the Virgin and the Christ child, but might illustrate any novel or story in which a child is born, or indeed any textbook about child-rearing, pictures could never be interpreted.”⁵⁸

For the identification of the expectations that attended the creation and reception of the cup in Boston (plate XVIII), there are two sources of information. One is other vase-paintings. Thanks to happy accidents of survival, it is possible to compare the imagery on the cup in Boston to other vase-paintings, similar in composition or subject, by the same artist or circle of painters. The comparison shows that the Antiphon Painter is capable of creating scenes of “daily life” that are contrary to fact. A contemporary cup in the Ashmolean Museum also attributed to the Antiphon Painter depicts a craftsman in a related field, a metalworker (figure 47).⁵⁹ In contrast to the vase-painter depicted on



FIGURE 47: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G267 (V518), red-figure cup, *ARV*² 336,22, Antiphon Painter, BAPD 203459. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.



FIGURE 48: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 62.613, gift in memory of Arthur Fairbanks, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 1701,19bis, Antiphon Painter (or manner of), ca. 475 BC. BAPD 275647. Photo ©2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the cup in Boston, the metalworker sits on an uncomfortably low, utilitarian stool. He wears no clothing at all. His accouterments—a furnace, cauldron, anvil, and metal files—belong exclusively to the manufacturing district of the city. By comparison with the depicted metalworker, the fictive vase-painter appears to have a place in two social worlds, that of skilled labor and the world of leisure. A third cup by the Antiphon Painter or in his manner depicts yet another craftsman (figure 48).⁶⁰ This cup depicts a sculptor or stone-cutter, carving the flutes into a column. He sits on a low stool. Like the two other craftsmen, the stone-cutter is outfitted with an accessory that contributes to his characterization. This craftsman's attribute is a skin filled with wine, because this craftsman, as revealed by his ear,

is a silen. The cup is important because it assures us that craftsmen depicted by the Antiphon Painter (or artists working in his manner) do not always or necessarily have exact counterparts in the real world. The comparison of the three cups is instructive, because it suggests that vase-paintings themselves, in comparison with each other, provide a point of view or commentary on their own visual propositions. It is unsafe to assume that they all may be taken at face value.

The second source of information on the expectations surrounding the vase-painting and its reception is the function of the cup (plate XVIII). The shape of this vase, a drinking cup, suggests that it was intended for use in symposia. In a sympotic context, this depiction of a vase-painter seems capable of eliciting a complex reaction. On the one hand, in the young vase-painter's accessories, the symposiast-beholder may very well recognize the sort of athletic or leisure gear that he himself possessed. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the occupation of the depicted figure—vase-painting—is not an occupation closely associated with participation in sympotic life. When Plato describes an impossible society, what he imagines is similar to what is depicted on this cup—potters reclining on couches, drinking toasts and feasting, with their potting wheels nearby (Plato, *Republic* 420e–421a). The vase-painting presents a puzzle to be worked out, a contradiction between those aspects of the appearance and behavior of a cup-painter that accord with experience, and those that contradict it. The vase-painting would invite this sort of interpretation even if it were the case historically that, from time to time, a vase-painter might have been seen with a stick and gym kit.

The picture invites the kind of inquiry we are engaged in now, because the image dovetails with stereotypes that go all the way back to the characterization of the ur-artisan Hephaistos in epic poetry. The cup-painting compactly articulates in non-narrative form the question posed on the François vase through the juxtaposition of images of Hephaistos in the wedding of Thetis and the return of Hephaistos (figures 25, 27). Is he or is he not a member of the elite? Like Hephaistos, the Antiphon Painter (whoever he is) did not passively allow his elite society to answer this question for him, but utilized the means available to him as an artist in the Odyssean tradition to address the issue—indirection and fiction. He may not have been able to secure an invitation to the party at which his cup was utilized, but through the creation of the puzzling pictorial proposition of the vase-painter who hangs with well-heeled men, the Antiphon Painter made his presence felt.

SCULPTORS EMULATING HEPHAISTOS ON THE FOUNDRY CUP

To return to the name-vase of the Foundry Painter (plate XVII, figures 43–44), the alternative interpretation of the mantled men leaning on sticks—that they represent elite customers or potential customers—is not only well supported by the iconography of the mantled stick-man, but also strongly suggested by the compositional structure of the cup itself. The two men, leaning on sticks, observing the completion of work on the statue, are the counterparts, within the world of the bronze foundry, of the female figure of Thetis in Hephaistos' workshop in the tondo of the cup. Compositionally, Thetis places weight on a stick-like spear and un-weights one foot, in a pose suggestive of leisurely or patiently waiting, just like the men on the exterior of the cup. Semantically, the pictorial function of Thetis is established by the narrative association between the scene unfolding in the tondo and the story of the creation of the armor of Achilles. She is the customer, waiting in the workshop of the divine metalworker for the completion of her order. The pictorial narrative unfolding in the tondo suggests that the male figures, observing the completion of the statue on the exterior of the cup, are also customers.⁶¹

This pot was painted at a time when the three surfaces of a kylix were sometimes painted with representations related in theme.⁶² Homer Thompson argued that the links between the interior and exterior pictures on the name-vase of the Foundry Painter went beyond the common theme of bronze-workers in their workshops, to embrace the story of Achilles. The over-life-size statue of a young, long-haired, formidable warrior he identified as a statue of Achilles in battle; the bronze statue of a runner being pieced together on the other side of the cup Thompson identified as a statue of swift-footed Achilles. “In the floor medallion the divine smith

Hephaistos honors Achilles with his craftsmanship. On the outside of the cup mortal artists prepare monuments to the glory of the same hero.”⁶³ Although the identification of the partly assembled bronze athletic statue as Achilles would be unparalleled, the identification of the martial statue as Achilles is supported by several contemporary works of art.⁶⁴ The twice-life-size scale of the bronze, and the long, uncut locks of hair, suggest that the bronze figure represents a hero or a god. On this cleverly designed cup, there is a subtle play between the shield, helmet, and spear manufactured by the god Hephaistos for the hero Achilles, and the shield, helmet, and spear manufactured by the bronze sculptors for their monumental representation of the hero. The presence of the hero is evoked in the tondo through pictorial narrative and made palpably real in the bronze statue on the exterior, but the hero himself is nowhere to be seen apart from those works of art. That is a powerful statement about the indispensable mediating role played by art—and the artisan—in the perpetuation of the *kleos* or fame of the hero.

The name-vase of the Foundry Painter, like the François vase, though more directly and explicitly, invites comparison between the technical work entailed in contemporary craftsmanship and the legendary skill of the god Hephaistos. It also maintains and arguably highlights the distinctions in social status or way of life between the makers and consumers of artisanal products. At the same time, it expresses, pictorially, the subtle means by which Hephaistos confronts social hierarchy. The most striking feature about the reverse of the cup (figure 44), compositionally, is the disparity in scale between the clients and the sculptors. On one level, the disparity articulates or corresponds to the differentiation or distinction in terms of wealth, occupation, and social milieu, between bigwig patrons and insignificant craftsmen. But the disparity in scale also means that the clients are drawn nearly to the same scale as the bronze statue of the hero. On one level, again, the disparity in size between the hero and sculptors serves to establish that it is not a real person like the polishers but a (twice-life-size) statue. At the same time, the similarities in scale, and perhaps also the similarities in pose, invite comparison between the *clients* and the bronze statue. The clients do not come off so well in the comparison: they are slightly shorter, no longer in the prime of youth, afraid perhaps to go into action in the nude, with tender feet. The clients need to go to the gym every day to maintain their physique, whereas the magnificent image of the hero, once it is polished, will never lose its muscle tone or military vigor. The clients may come across as more fortunate in their possessions and way of life than the artisans who are laboring to complete the statues in this vase-painting, but the artisans turn the tables on the clients, because the product of their labor is finer and more fortunate than the clients could ever hope to be. Like Hephaistos, the greatness of the artisans lies not in themselves but in the products of their ingenuity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WRITING AND INVENTION IN THE VASE-PAINTING OF EUPHRONIOS AND HIS CIRCLE

This study began with a pictorial representation of a party-goer in Brussels (plate I) that was lifted out of the ordinary by a pair of written inscriptions. The one identified the symposiast Smikros; the other claimed that this very man was responsible for painting this representation of himself. Taken at face value, the written claims would constitute the earliest extant instance of self-portraiture in Greek art.¹ But in chapter one I argued that these written claims are of much greater significance, anticipating by two thousand years experiments in pictorial subjectivity, or artists' manipulations of their self-images, such as Marcel Duchamp's pictorial and epigraphical alter ego, Rose Sélavy (figure 49).² For if Euphronios was responsible for the painting and writing on the vase in Brussels, then its artist's signature, *Smikros egraphsen*, is a fictitious claim. It does not actually refer to a historical artist distinct from Euphronios himself, and the written name of the party-goer, *Smikros*, denotes no real person. The collapse of the referential reliability of the writing focuses attention on the artist who so cleverly flouts expectation.

“HISTORICAL” NAMES IN VASE-PAINTING: THE THEORY OF IMMERWAHR

The argument that the labels and signatures of Smikros correspond to no real person is at odds with the general approach to such names adopted by the greatest student of Athenian vase-inscriptions. In 1971, Henry Immerwahr



FIGURE 49: Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 57-49-1, *Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy*, photograph by Man Ray, ca. 1920-1921. The Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White Collection, 1957. © Man Ray Trust/Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY/ADAGP, Paris 2015. Photo courtesy The Philadelphia Museum of Art/Art Resource.

offered a prospectus of a project to catalog all Attic vase-inscriptions. The project culminated in the *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions*, which is accessible via the Beazley Archive (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/inscriptions.htm). In the prospectus, he presented a typology of vase-inscriptions. The painted figures labelled “Smikros” fall into the fourth group: “names of humans, historical or fictitious (among them many Athenian names).” This category is described in detail in a footnote:

The most certain historical names are those of potters and painters and the *kalos*-names. Names without *kalos* which appear on several vases in contexts of daily life should be historical too; they are especially common in the late sixth century. Such repeated names (and some *kalos*-names too) indicate that the figures named are “portraits.” Names that occur only once in scenes of daily life are also potentially historical names, but the matter is complicated by the occurrence of telling

names, i.e. names that suit the context of a particular scene, such as Komarchos for the leader of a *komos* on a RF amphora by Euthymides in Munich (*ARV*² 26/1 [figure 14]). Telling names, however, seem to be possible Athenian names too, and some of them may be historical.³

Provision has been made for the possibility that a vase-painter might invent a name to suit a particular image (e.g., Komarchos, figure 14), but not much provision. Notice how the importance or frequency of that possibility is down-played. There is a clear preference for the working hypothesis that human names on Attic vases are more likely to be historical than imaginary. This preference is reiterated elsewhere in Immerwahr’s work: “[f]ictitious names, which are mostly puns, should be included [in a study of aristocratic names on Attic vases], since they bear a relation to actual names or even persons Invented names seem to remain within the boundaries of the Attic onomasticon, and puns have reference to existing names.”⁴

Consider Immerwahr’s specific example of Komarchos (figure 14, which happens to be attested in Attica as a personal name, though none of the extant occurrences are as early as the amphora in Munich). The name may have been invented on the basis of the word “*kōmos*” to suit the content of the

vase-painting, which in fact depicts a lively *kōmos*. It may have been borrowed from a common stock of personal names in use within Attica, because its root-word corresponds to the subject matter of the picture, without the intention of referring to any particular person named Komarchos. Or it may have been used in this picture in order to refer specifically to a particular Athenian man. All of those possibilities are well attested outside of vase-painting. Aristotle explores just such distinctions in a passage discussed in [chapter two](#): “[i]n comedy, this point has by now become obvious: the poets construct the plot on the basis of probability, and only then supply arbitrary names; they do not, like iambic poets, write about a particular person” (1451 b 11–14). There is a compelling argument (see [chapter two](#)) that even iambic poetry, notwithstanding Aristotle’s assertion, is in fact little different from comedy in the ways in which it employs names. In the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax, the names of real people as well as made-up names appear side by side in circumstances that often invite skepticism about their historicity. Why does this possibility not receive more attention from Immerwahr?

THE NAMES OF SILENS AND NYMPHS AND VASE-PAINTERS’ LITERARY CREATIVITY

The difference between the analysis of names offered by Aristotle and the one presented by Immerwahr is that the former relates the various possibilities to the function or intention of the discourse to which they belong, whereas the latter does not touch on intention. The difficulty with avoiding intention can be seen in Immerwahr’s articulation of another category of vase-inscriptions. Group three is defined, broadly and simply, as “names of mythical figures.” Presumably, that means names of silens and nymphs no less than Odysseus and Achilles. All of those figures belong to the imaginary world of myth, as opposed to the real world of the here and now (Immerwahr’s fourth group of vase-inscriptions). Merging all mythical figures into one category, however, obscures a vital distinction within Athenian vase-inscriptions. Odysseus may be mythical in the sense that no living person can remember having seen him in person (or ever did so), but his *name and story* preexist any pictorial representation of him within Athenian vase-painting. He is a star in a well-known narrative tradition. His name is not an ad hoc invention of a particular vase-painter, formulated to fit a pictorial image. The names of silens and nymphs are different.

In the return of Hephaistos on the François vase ([figure 25](#)), the three silens and four nymphs are identified by two collective names, ΣΙΛἘΝΟΙ, *Silenoí*, “Silens,” and ΝΥ(ν)ΦΑΙ, *Numphai*, “Nymphs.” Kleitias does not tell us what the silens and nymphs called each other individually when there were at home. That is unusual, for the François vase otherwise contains very few generic or

collective names (exceptions: *Throphos*, “Nurse,” *Horai*, “Seasons,” *Moirai*, “Fates”). The absence of individual names for the silens is particularly noticeable on the François vase, because, in a picture on the same side of the vase (plate XIV), each centaur bears a unique, personal name. Centaurs and silens are physically similar supernatural horse-human hybrids who go around much of the time in packs. Yet they are treated differently on the François vase with respect to prosopography.

One reason why the centaurs may have personal names in the picture is that they are individually enumerated in epic poetry. The names of the centaurs on the François vase correspond closely to those of the centaurs in the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* (185–187).⁵ Centaurs regularly interact with heroes and therefore figure within heroic narrative traditions. In order to tell the stories, the centaurs, like the heroes who interact with them, must have names. The earliest literary reference to the silens refers to them, and their counterparts, the mountain nymphs, by collective, not personal, names—*numphai* and *seilēnoi* (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 256–263). The earliest occurrence of the related name, *saturoi*, “satyrs,” refers to them and the *oureioi numphai*, “mountain nymphs,” by generic group names (Hesiod, *Catalogue frag.* 10a MW=10 Most, lines 17–18). Perhaps the earliest known personal name of a silen is very simply the singular form of the collective name, Silenos. This name occurs on a cup signed by Ergotimos as potter and therefore dates to roughly around the time of the François vase. The cup depicts the capture of Silenos. It represents a traditional tale, reported by Herodotos (8.138) and other authors, about a solitary silen living in northern Greece who was captured by the legendary king Midas.⁶ The point is, there is no evidence that silens or nymphs possessed individual personal names within early Greek poetry, and this is not entirely an argument from silence. There *are* references to silens and nymphs in early Greek poetry, and they occur in traditions in which identifying individuals by name, as on the François vase, was the norm (e.g., the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*). Within those texts, however, silens and nymphs are referred to by collective names, as on the vase. If there were a pre-sixth-century tradition of referring to those creatures by name, it is very likely that traces of it would have survived. So where did the names of silens and nymphs come from?

Shortly after the François vase, silens and nymphs begin to appear in vase-painting bearing personal, and often colorful, names. Among the earliest extant examples is the fragmentary krater in New York (plate XVI, figure 37). On the surviving pieces are inscriptions identifying the nymph Philoposia and the silens Molpaios and Oukalegōn.⁷ The names on the fragmentary krater are perfectly suited to the narrative context: “love to drink,” “the tuneful one,” and “I don’t care.” Dating not much later than the fragmentary krater is the aryballos signed by Nearchos (figure 34). The three pleasure-seeking silens are given names (Terpekēlos, Dophios, Phsōlas—“shaft-pleaser,”

“wanker,” and “hard-on”) that amusingly correspond in meaning to the single-minded activities of the silens. They are, not surprisingly, otherwise unattested as names in Greek. On the somewhat later amphora in Berlin signed *Smikros egraphsen* (plate VII, figure 9), the silen playing the aulos is fittingly named Terpaulos, “Aulos-lover,” and the sexually aroused silen dancing the pyrrhic, perhaps Stysippos, “Stiffy-horse.”⁸ On the krater attributed to Euphronios (figure 10), one of the silens bears the name Peon, “Penis,” and another Nanbos or Ianbos, perhaps “iambos.” The transparent semantic relationship between the names and the activities of these silens and nymphs is reminiscent of the nomenclature of centaurs on the François vase, such as Petraios, which aptly describes his habitat as “living among rocks.” The difference is that meaningful centaur names such as this can be found in epic and later poetry, whereas the names of the silens and nymphs have no existence outside of the vases on which they occur.⁹ In short, all of the evidence suggests that the practice of assigning individual personal names to silens and nymphs was an innovation within vase-painting. The names do not acquire their meaning in reference to some external authority, some poetic or non-poetic narrative, but are a product of writing as commentary on vase-painting.¹⁰

To appreciate the significance of this point, consider an abstruse but consequential claim in Nelson Goodman’s *Languages of Art*. “What,” he asks, “do pictures of Pickwick or a unicorn represent? They do not represent anything; they are representations with null denotation.” That is to say, there exists nothing in the world outside the image that the representation can denote. Such pictures highlight one problem with any resemblance theory of pictorial representation, for there is nothing to which they can stand in a relationship of resemblance. But they also present a dilemma for an account of representation that is predicated on denotation. On the one hand, “since there is no Pickwick and no unicorn, what a picture of Pickwick and a picture of a unicorn represent is the same. Yet surely to be a picture of Pickwick and to be a picture of a unicorn are not at all the same.”¹¹ The solution to the dilemma lies in the recognition that pictures can be identified, categorized, or sorted, as pictures of Pickwick or unicorns (or centaurs or Pegasos, to employ other examples cited by Goodman), *without reference to anything outside of the pictures.*

What tends to mislead us is that such locutions as “picture of” and “represents” have the appearance of mannerly two-place predicates and can sometimes be so interpreted. But “picture of Pickwick” and “represents a unicorn” are better considered unbreakable one-place predicates . . . From the fact that *P* is a picture of or represents a unicorn we cannot infer there is something that *P* is a picture of or represents . . . Obviously a picture cannot, barring equivocation, both represent Pickwick and represent nothing. But a picture may be of a certain kind—be a Pickwick-picture or a man-picture—without representing anything.¹²

Richard Wollheim offered a helpful elaboration of Goodman's position: "in treating of fictive representations, [Goodman] argues not that, say, Pickwick-representations denote nothing and are therefore fictive: but rather that they denote nothing because what they purportedly denote is fictive ([Goodman] 25/6, 66/7). In other words, null denotation in such cases is explained by reference not to kind of picture plus facts of the world, e.g., that there is no such thing as Pickwick, but kind of picture plus intention, e.g., that 'Pickwick' is not intended to denote."¹³

Esoteric as it may be, Goodman's explication of Pickwick-, unicorn-, and centaur-pictures leads fairly directly to an easily grasped and highly significant conclusion. "If representation is a matter of classifying objects rather than of imitating them, of characterizing rather than copying, it is not a matter of passive reporting. The object does not sit as a docile model with its attributes neatly separated and thrust out for us to admire and portray . . . The making of a picture commonly participates in making what is to be pictured."¹⁴ The importance of *Languages of Art* for understanding pictorial representation is that it advanced a rigorous and compelling case for the cognitive function of art. "[A] representation or description, by virtue of how it classifies and is classified, may make or mark connections, analyze objects, and organize the world . . . [E]ffective representation and description require invention. They are creative. They inform each other; and they form, relate, and distinguish objects. That nature imitates art is too timid a dictum. Nature is a product of art and discourse."¹⁵

Silens vividly exemplify Goodman's point. All the component parts that make up the figures labelled *Silanoi* on the François vase (figure 25) had (and have) counterparts in the visible world. But the composite creature formed out of the horse's hindquarter, wild man's head, and super-sized phallus had no actual counterpart. Men may have dressed up and performed as *silanoi* on certain ritual occasions, and the spectacle may have piqued the interest of some vase-painters, but the spectacle was no less an invention than the visual image. Silens are quintessentially representational creations, and the personal names that accompany so many of them, in their appropriateness to the depicted actions yet inherent implausibility, are integral parts of the constructed, invented character of these creatures. Immerwahr's typology takes no notice of names of mythical figures such as these, which have no correspondence outside of vase-painting. The absence of this distinction feeds an impression that the significance of labels on vases lies in their referential capacity, in the connections they make between representations and persons (historical or mythological) outside of the pictures. Relatively less attention or interest or importance is accorded to the inventiveness of nomenclature, to the contributions of names to the making of pictorial meaning.

HISTORICAL AND MYTHICAL PERSONS ON THE PRONOMOS VASE

Consider a specific example of the importance of the manipulation of names to the overall meaning of a vase-painting. On the monumental late fifth-century volute krater known as the Pronomos vase (figure 50), the writer, musicians, actors, and chorus of a satyr-play are depicted at a moment just before, or just



FIGURE 50: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 3240, red-figure volute krater, *ARV*² 1336,1, Pronomos Painter, BAPD 217500. Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource.

after, the performance of the play. The names of virtually all of the figures are written on the vase. Immerwahr began his discussion of the prosopography of this vase by singling out the names that are positively identifiable within the historical record (notably, the aulos-player Pronomos). He acknowledged that two of the chorus members lack names entirely, and that at least one earlier scholar had speculated that the names may have been chosen for their semantic suitability. The conclusion that he drew concerning the status of the names of the chorus members, however, is consistent with the views expressed in his prospectus: "I see no reason against regarding them as the names of the actual players . . ." ¹⁶ The significance of the names on this vase was recently re-examined by Robin Osborne. He noted that six of the names of the chorus members are very popular around Athens (over one hundred examples of each name in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names for Attica*), while the other three were extremely rare. Wondering if a random sample of Athenian names from around 400 BC would exhibit a similar pattern of many very common and several quite uncommon names, he examined two roughly contemporary lists of male Athenian names (war dead, victorious tragic actors). He concluded that "both the nature of the names against the figures in the satyr chorus on the Pronomos Vase, and the pattern of popularity of those names in Athens, suggests that the names are neither the names of the actual players, nor names invented to give the effect that we are looking at the names of actual actors." One possibility is that the names were chosen to create the impression of being somehow anomalous. ¹⁷

Importantly, the strength of Osborne's argument rests not so much on the comparative prosopographical analysis as on the conviction, many times articulated by many different scholars, that the figural scenes of the Pronomos vase as a whole "raise questions of identity and different levels of reality. The pot is a meditation on theatrical ontology." In the middle of the picture, Dionysos and Ariadne recline on a couch and attend to each other. The god's name is written on the vase. He was presumably real enough, in a religious sense, to the aulos-player Pronomos, his historical contemporaries, and the painter of this vase. But he and his consort cannot have been present, visibly, physically, bodily, in the immediate vicinity of a dozen citizen chorus-men. Seated at the foot end of the couch is another female figure. She holds the dramatic mask of a female character. As a historical person, this figure would present two problems. There were no actresses in classical antiquity, so she cannot represent, literally, the person who played the role of the female character in the play. In addition, is it possible that a figure depicted as sitting together on a couch with a mythical heroine and a veritable god could represent a contemporary historical figure? In a further departure from one-to-one correspondence with historical realities, the "actor" who wears the costume and carries a dramatic mask representing Herakles has the wavy, curly

hair and beard that typically define the hero in art. It is as if the actor who played the role of Herakles in the play was the mythical hero himself. As if to confirm this interpretation, the inscription beside the figure is not a recognizable or plausible historical name but rather “Herakles.”¹⁸ It is telling that those pictorial and inscriptional anomalies, while surely familiar to Immerwahr, did not enter into his discussion of the historicity of the names of the chorus members depicted in the same picture. The Pronomos vase exemplifies the principle that the meaning of the individual elements of a work of art, including its writing, depend on its overall proposition.

THE PROBLEM OF GENRE IN THE NAMES ON EUPHRONIOS’ MUNICH KRATER

Immerwahr’s definition of the fourth group of vase-inscriptions, “historical or fictitious,” begins with the idea that “[t]he most certain historical names are those of potters and painters.” Implicit is the idea that the reality of the potters and painters grounds the reality of other labelled figures (someone really did have to make and paint the vases). The logic can be sensed in *Attic Script*: “[j]ust as the vase-painters represented themselves on their vases, so they frequently refer to other actual persons.”¹⁹ The phrase “represented themselves” is key: it reveals that Immerwahr has in mind the very vases with which this study began, the stamnos in Brussels with the “self-portrait” of Smikros (plate I, figure 5) and the krater in Munich with the “portrait” of the same man (plate III, figure 6). Consider how the names on the krater in Munich were addressed in the initial publication of Emily Vermeule. The figure of the young symposiast labelled Smikros was immediately identified as the vase-painter who placed his signature and self-portrait on the vase in Brussels. The vase-painting creates the impression, for anyone familiar with either the vase in Brussels or any other vase signed by Smikros, that at least one of the represented figures denoted a man personally, intimately, familiar to Euphronios. That impression arguably encouraged similar identifications of the other figures. The bearded singer on the far right, for example, is identified by inscription as Ἐκφαντίδης, “Ekphantidēs.” The drinker who makes eye-contact with a figure in the viewer’s space is labelled Θόδῆμος, “Thōdēmos.” The name Ekphantidēs occurs only two other times at Athens (and five other times within Attica), according to the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Besides the figure on Euphronios’ vase, there is a mid-fifth-century Athenian comic poet.²⁰ Thōdēmos is even more uncommon, attested in a single Attic dedicatory inscription on an early sixth-century, Middle Corinthian-style aryballos. The inscription reads “Thōdēmos gives this to you.”²¹ Yet in spite of the paucity of corroborating evidence in the historical record, Thōdēmos and Ekphantidēs were identified as historical contemporaries of the vase-painter.

“The elder Thodemos is chronologically well placed to be the grandfather of Euphronios’ Thodemos ... Ekphantides the singer ... may well be the grandfather of the only other recognized Athenian with the name, the Ekphantides of the middle fifth century who was regarded as the oldest of the comic poets.”²² Vermeule’s identifications are plausible. But they are also completely hypothetical. We have no way of knowing if the Classical playwright was not the first member of the family to bear the name Ekphantidēs, or whether the “elder” Thōdēmos had children, or if the elder Thōdēmos (as opposed to the writer of the inscription) was even Athenian.²³ The point is, the certainty with which the painted figure named Smikros could be identified with a flesh-and-blood Athenian arguably served to indicate that the *genre* of the vase-painting as a whole is the portrayal of real contemporaries. Vermeule’s confidence remained unshaken even though there were obvious differences between the two contemporary representations of Smikros. She observed that the light-colored hair and eye of Smikros on the krater in Munich differs from the hair and eye of Smikros on the stamnos in Brussels, which are dark. “The disparate views confirm the suspicion that an archaic Greek felt his simple presence and name to be ample identification, that differentiation of individuals through portrait techniques did not strike him as important.” Perhaps (though one would like to be a fly on the wall when the two vase-paintings were discussed side by side by contemporary Athenians or Etruscans; would they have not even *noticed* the differences?). What is important for the moment is the certainty with which she assumes that the variously rendered figures denote the same historical person: “[t]his is certainly Smikros the vase-painter, Euphronios’ younger colleague.”²⁴

In fact, one other name on the very same krater in Munich (figure 6) invites a different interpretation. The name of the flute-girl, Συκό, “Sukō,” is not attested in any other Athenian source. It is transparent in its literal meaning, “Fig,” and well attested in poetry as a euphemism for female pudenda. For example, the narrator of fragment 124W of Hipponax, who says μηδὲ μοι μύλλειν Λεβεδίην ἰσχάδ’, “and not to suck on a Lebedian dried fig...” seems to have something other than dried fruit in mind.²⁵ One feature of Sukō’s physiognomy, her carefully articulated double chin, recalls descriptions of promiscuous and spent women in poetry. Fragment 188W of Archilochos, for example, begins “no longer does your skin have the soft bloom that it once had” and attributes the loss of loveliness to promiscuity.²⁶ The Cologne epode of Archilochos (frag. 196aW.24–38) asserts that Neoboule’s “girlhood flower” has lost its bloom because, it appears, she has taken many lovers. The sexual connotations of the name “Fig” accord with the role played by this woman in the vase-painting, for flute-girl was often synonymous with prostitute in a sympotic setting.²⁷ It is conceivable that a real prostitute went by the nickname “Fig.” But the prosopography by itself does not support a historical

interpretation of the name, or discourage the hypothesis that she is an artistic invention along the lines of conventions familiar from the sort of poetry that circulated in part at least in symposia. Whether she represents a historical individual or a fictional one can only be inferred on the basis of the vase-painting as a whole, and an identification of its genre or intentions. If the findings of [chapter one](#) of this book are correct, the young man represented on the vases, labelled Smikros, does not ground the depicted scene within the real contemporary society of the vase-painter Euphronios. On the contrary, they suggest that Smikros is an artistic invention along the lines perhaps of a poetic fiction, like the sculptor Boupalos. Both Smikros and Sukō suggest that the genre of the vase-painting in Munich is not the quasi-documentary representation of contemporary Athenian society and social life, but rather something more akin to pictorial satire.

PROSOPOGRAPHY AND WEBSTER'S THEORY OF "SPECIAL COMMISSIONS"

From almost exactly the same starting point as the one identified by Immerwahr—the presence of potters and painters on vases in the form of *kalos*-names, portraits, and “self-portraits”—T. B. L. Webster constructed an ambitious but highly problematic interpretation of Athenian vase-painting. “[S]ome of the best Attic pottery was commissioned for a single symposion and then reached Etruria by the second-hand market.”²⁸ Characteristic of such “special commissions,” he argued, are two features. One, “the scene depicted is unique or very rare,” may well suggest that a vase-painting was made for a special purpose (e.g., the Pronomos vase as commemorating a particular dramatic performance [[figure 50](#)]). The other, “names attached to the participants in a stock scene make it an individual occasion,” is hardly conclusive. Webster offered two proofs that the uniqueness of the imagery or presence of personal names tells us something about the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of a painted vase. A small number of vases and plaques, dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis by potters and painters, bear signatures and, occasionally, dedications or imagery appropriate to the cult: those objects, Webster reasonably suggested, were most likely specially made for the purpose. To those, however, he added several vases made, he claimed, for other special purposes of the artisan. The first is the stamnos in Brussels depicting Smikros at a gathering and signed *Smikros egraphsen* ([plate I, figure 1](#)): “this was clearly painted for a special party.” The second is the krater in Munich attributed to Euphronios, which includes depiction of a symposiast identified as Smikros at a party ([plate III, figure 4](#)). “Over the mixing-bowl is [written] Leagros *kalos*, which rather suggests that he ordered the vase.”²⁹ The argument underscores the centrality of these two Euphronian vases to the larger interpretative

framework on which is built the understanding of hundreds of late sixth-century vase-paintings of named human figures.

Webster's "special commissions" theory is reminiscent of the idea that Archaic lyric and iambic poetry was produced primarily for special occasions. "Who determined [the vases'] decoration?" he asked.

[W]e can assume that the lead was given by the large consumers who ordered a new set of pots for each of their symposia. Those large consumers in the second half of the sixth century and first half of the fifth were the leading men of Athens and their sons; they were the patrons, with whom the great potters and painters seem to have associated on more or less equal terms.

Compare Thomas Cole's definition of "occasional poetry": "produced in a particular situation with particular addressees and particular practical ends in mind."³⁰ When Glaukos son of Leptines is addressed in a poem of Archilochos, the "occasional theory" runs, the poem was intended for performance at a gathering attended by Glaukos. The limitation to this interpretation of Archaic poetry is that it fails to account for a fundamental feature of its transmission, namely, re-performance. The fact is that Greek poetry was regularly performed for audiences other than any originally intended gathering, long after its author and initial audience had passed away. And this is no *ex post facto* practice, post-dating the creation of the poetry. Listen, again, to Theognis: "I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sound of pipes will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices" (237–243, trans. Gerber). The poem self-consciously expresses an awareness that it may, with luck, transcend an original context and be performed in circumstances and for individuals unimagined by the poet. The "occasional theory" also does not account for poetry that is written on objects, as Ruth Scodel has noted. One example is the epitaph, where the writing persists over time because it is written in stone, the speaker is absent, and the reader is anybody who passes by.³¹ This category of poetry is far from irrelevant to the understanding of Athenian vase-inscriptions. Vases are more comparable to epitaphs, in the permanence of their verbal discourse and continued circulation, than to occasional poetry in a pure and transient sense. One proof of that is the continued interest in Athenian vases in Etruria, long after their use at the hypothetical parties for which they were allegedly made.

In fact, Webster's theory of "special commissions" runs into trouble precisely because it is unable to adequately account for their "afterlife." The vast majority of the vases considered by him to be such special commissions were found far from the place where they were created and, according to the

theory, first used. They were found not in Athens but in Etruria. The Etruscan provenance of the vases necessitated the theorization of a second-hand market for Athenian vases, where Athenian hosts took their “special commissions” after the party was over and sold them to merchants, who sold the vases, in turn, to Etruscan connoisseurs. The flaw in the theory is easy to spot. If the vases were no longer of interest to the original Athenian purchasers, because the imagery was meaningful to them only in relation to a unique social occasion, then on what ground may we assume that Etruscans would have purchased them? If the Etruscans were interested in vases, even though *they* had not been invited to the original parties for which the vases were allegedly made, why, on what basis, should we assume that Athenians would *only* have been interested in vases that were specially made for and experienced in particular parties? In short, it is entirely possible, even probable, that some Athenian vases were specially commissioned (some dedications in sanctuaries, for example). But the afterlife of most Athenian vases is not consistent with the theory that large numbers of them were specially made for particular parties, with the names of the guests inscribed, like place cards at a modern dinner party. It would have been more consistent with the theory if the vases had been found, shattered, at the bottom of Athenian wells.

In the end, both the ambitious theory of “special commissions” of Webster, and the more nuanced tendency of Immerwahr to privilege the historical rather than fictional reading of a personal name, rest on the same narrow foundation. They rest on a small body of vase-paintings that create the impression that vase-painters named and depicted each other as well as themselves. Chief among those vase-paintings are the vases in Brussels and Munich bearing name tags and signature of Smikros (plates I, III). If the vases signed *Smikros egraphsen* had been actually painted by Euphronios, and the figure named Smikros is fictional, then the stamnos in Brussels was commissioned by an imaginary person and is hardly “the most certain historical name” in vase-painting. And those are not the only vases to call into question the truth value or transparency of the written names of ceramic artisans.

OTHER FICTIONAL ARTISANS WORKING IN THE KERAMEIKOS

The practice whereby vases that appear to shaped or painted by the same hand are signed under more than one artist’s name was occasionally acknowledged by Beazley. The difference between his interpretation and mine is that he seems to have understood the significance of the practice to be irrelevant to the meaning of the pot or vase-painting, whereas I believe that the practice is often central to an artistic proposition that subjectively insinuates the artist into the work in an indirect or clever manner. Beazley noted (*ARV*² 102) that a late sixth- or early fifth-century alabastron signed *Paidikos epoiēsen* can hardly be

distinguished in shape from contemporary alabastra signed *Pasiades epoiēsen*. There are links between the styles of painting of the vases as well. “It must be considered whether Pasiades and Paidikos are not the same man: ‘Paidikos,’ being a nickname accepted, with satisfaction, by Pasiades.” By nickname, Beazley seems to have in mind the transparency of the name “Paidikos,” which means “boyish” (or “boy toy”?). Since he wrote, more vases bearing the name of Paidikos have appeared. One red-figure cup in Baltimore bears the painter’s signature, *Paidikos egraphsen*. Several others bear the name “Paidikos” without an accompanying verb. In some cases, it is tempting to connect a figure in the vase-painting with the inscribed name. Two cups, for example, are decorated only inside the bowl. Both depict a single silen. In each case, the adjacent inscription, *Paidikos*, can be understood as the name of the silen.³² The easy transferability of the name, even to a creature who cannot possibly correspond to a potter-painter in any literal sense, argues in favor of the name’s made-up status. It is possible that Pasiades himself is the subject of the drawing of a symposiast on a beautiful if damaged red-figure and white-ground cup in Gotha. Beside a man reclining on a cushion, flicking the dregs from his kylix, is the inscription ΠΑΣΙΑΔΕΣ. Stylistically, the Gotha cup is very close to Euphronios. It may have been signed by him as potter ([Εὐφρό]νι[ος ἐποί]ε[σεν]), and Ohly-Dumm suggested that Pasiades was painted by the same artist as the similarly posed symposiast named Melas on Euphronios’ krater in Munich (figure 6).³³ What Beazley seems to have in mind, however, is different from the interpretation of Smikros presented in chapter one. He seems to have envisioned “Paidikos” as a nickname that anyone familiar with the artisans of the Kerameikos would readily associate with Pasiades. Smikros was crafted by Euphronios as true puzzle.

Another compelling case for one artist self-consciously signing with two names was recently made by Seth Pevnick. Five fifth-century Athenian vases bear the signature *Pistoxenos epoiēsen*.³⁴ One vase bears the inscription *Syriskos epoiēsen*.³⁵ But two vases in Mulgrave Castle bear the intriguing double signature *Pistoxenos Syriskos epoiēsen*.³⁶ Subsequent to the appearance of the pieces in Mulgrave Castle, a hitherto unknown vase entered the collection of the Getty Museum. The decoration of this vase was persuasively attributed to the painter long known as the Copenhagen Painter. Significantly, the vase bears a signature that supplies the ancient name of the Copenhagen Painter: *Syriskos egraphsen*.³⁷

The signatures suggest that there was a late Archaic potter-painter who called himself *Syriskos*, that the same artist occasionally signed *epoiēsen* as *Pistoxenos*, and that he at least twice signed, intriguingly, using *both* names. There are striking stylistic affinities between the *painting* of many of the vases bearing those signatures: the two cups with the double signature *Pistoxenos-Syriskos* were thought by Beazley to be perhaps exceptionally precise work by

the painter who decorated the astragalos signed Syriskos *epoiēsen*. Two of the cups signed by Pisto Xenos as potter were attributed by Beazley to the same painter, whom he called the Syriskos Painter. At the same time, Beazley noted that the painting of the two cups with the double signature resembles that of the Copenhagen Painter, whom he called the “brother” of the Syriskos Painter, “who are sometimes difficult to tell apart.” And we now know that the name of the Copenhagen Painter is Syriskos. There is a real case to be made, as Robertson noted, for the idea that there was but one artist responsible for the potting and painting of many of the vases under discussion.³⁸ The most plausible interpretation of the signatures is Seth Pevnick’s proposal that one artist used the two different names, Syriskos and Pisto Xenos, intentionally for effect.³⁹ He noted that the two names are transparent and related to each other in their meanings, “the little Syrian” and “trustworthy foreigner.” He also noted that the painter’s signature of “the little Syrian” occurs on a vase-painting bearing imagery that is arguably “Syrian.” I would add that the double signatures on the two skyphoi in Mulgrave Castle function like riddles: how can the person who made those vases have *two* names? The answer is that at least one, and perhaps both, are made up.

Smikros, Syriskos, and Pisto Xenos are similar in being not only parts of artists’ signatures but also transparent in ways that suit the meaning of the pictures they (claim to have) painted, or the pictorial propositions advanced by the artists. There are other artists’ names that appear to function in this way. Six vases, for example, are known to bear the signature *Priapos epoiēsen*.⁴⁰ Well known in classical antiquity as the name of the prodigiously endowed god of the fertile fields, “Priapos” is completely unattested as a historical personal name. In the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, there is a single occurrence—this potter. There is a *prima facie* case that the god’s name was appropriated by the ceramic artist, for effect.⁴¹ Two of the signed vases are of particular interest. One is noteworthy for the rhetorical flourish of its signature: Πρίαπος ἐποίησεν καλός (or καλῶς?), “Priapos made this very well” (or “beautiful Priapos made this”).⁴² This is one of a handful of examples of signatures of Athenian ceramic artists in which the texts comment self-reflectively on either the quality of the work or the good looks of the workman. We will return to this. The second is an aryballos in Boston in the form of male genitalia (figure 51). Around the reserved lip of the vase is written *Priapos ep[oi]ēsen*, “Priapos made [it].”⁴³ This is an unusual form of vase, among the earliest known examples of a plastic, or sculpturally, modelled vase in Athenian art. Surprisingly, Beazley tried to deny that there was any relationship between the shape of the vase and the connotations of the artist’s name: “[a]ttempts to trace a connection between the shape and the inscription show a misconception of the nature and physique of the god, and are disproved by the ideal forms of the vase. What the potter is thinking of is not the garden-god,



FIGURE 51: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.105, gift of Edward Perry Warren, black-figure molded vase (male genitalia), *ABV* 170,1, signed by Priapos, ca. 540 BC. BAPD 301082. Photo ©2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

but a young man, *prōton hupēnētēs* [“with the first trace of beard”].⁴⁴ In support of his claim, it is noted that the sculptural vase contains a small representation of homosexual courtship of just such a young, modestly, un-Priapically, endowed boy.

Beazley did not consider the possibility that the significance of the juxtaposition of shape and name lies precisely, humorously, in the contrast between the two. Consider another Athenian aryballos in the shape of male genitalia, somewhat later in date. Opposite the penis, on the back of the little vase, is modelled the head of a long-horned bull.⁴⁵ The familiar connotations of a bull in terms of physique and lack of restraint in sexual matters (compare the name and activities of Hipponax’ antagonist “Boupalos,” or “Bull-Dick”) seem at odds with the ideals of trimness and self-control associated with the object of homoerotic desire. Yet in this case, the appar-

ent contradiction cannot be written off by the supposition that one is reading too much into the personal name of a potter—as if the name of the potter were thoughtlessly assigned to him by his mother, or the choice to make a vase in the shape of the male sexual organ was dictated by a patron.⁴⁶ The claim of prodigious Priapos to have potted the petite private parts of the vase in Boston (figure 51) is reminiscent of the subtle self-mockery performed by Hephaistos in Book One of the *Iliad*, in which the ugly old god attempted to play the role of a lithe young cup-boy. He cannot pass as such a boy, but he warrants our approbation because, knowing full well his own inadequacy to play the part, he undertakes it anyway.

EUPHRONIOS AND THE MYSTERIOUS HEGESIBOULOS

Let us consider in greater detail two additional case-studies. One (Hegesiboulos) affords an opportunity to revisit the question of range and degree of self-consciousness in the style of the vase-painting of Euphronios, the other (Skythes and Epilykos), an opportunity to consider further the social status of the fictive artist. The unusual name Hegesiboulos is part of a potter’s signature on two extraordinary vases. One is a lovely, delicate, stemless cup, with coral-red ground and a white-ground tondo, depicting a girl with a toy, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁷ This cup is of exactly the same fine shape,

with the same wishbone handles, as the stemmed cups signed by the most celebrated of Early Classical potters—Sotades. It is part of a set of nine vases found in a tomb at Athens. Four of the cups from this tomb group bear the signature of the potter Sotades. All nine of the vases are related through the high quality of their workmanship and the combinations of glosses and techniques used for their decoration. They appear to have been made as a set for this particular burial.⁴⁸ But the Brussels cup bears the signature of Hegesiboulos: Εγεσιβολος εποιεσεν. Martin Robertson argued that “without the inscriptions we should certainly have assigned them all to one workshop, almost certainly to one potter.” He argued that the signatures of Sotades *epoiēsen* (or *epoiētē*) in particular, when they occur on the bases of modelled figural vases, like the inscriptions of sculptors on statue bases, ought to refer to the man who actually shaped the vases with his own hands. The question is what to make of the signature, *Hegesiboulos epoiēsen*, occurring on a cup fashioned, most likely, by the potter who otherwise signs as Sotades. Robertson concluded that all the vases in the Sotades tomb were made by one potter—Sotades. The cup with the signature of Hegesiboulos indicates, he suggested, that Sotades was operating within a workshop owned by Hegesiboulos.⁴⁹

There is a second, even better-known vase bearing a potter’s signature containing the unusual name “Hegesiboulos.”⁵⁰ It is the extraordinary cup in New York, dating forty years earlier, to around 510 BC, containing the memorable representation of an elderly, un-idealizing man walking a dog, discussed in [chapter three \(plate XIII\)](#).⁵¹ Like the later “Sotadean” cup with the signature of Hegesiboulos, the earlier cup has coral-red ground. It is a marvel of decorative design. Notice how the contrasting bands of coral-red and black-glaze are flip-flopped when the inside of the cup is compared to the outside. Long ago, Furtwängler, Beazley, and others recognized stylistic affinities, in terms of both potting and painting, between this cup and the cups associated with Skythes. Additional links have been made thanks to new discoveries. One is a lovely cup fragment from the Athenian Agora ([plate XIX](#)), with a bushy-tailed dog painted in black-figure on coral-red ground, a technical oddity (see below). The cup shares with the New York Hegesiboulos cup coral-red ground and similarly shaggy dogs.⁵²

More recently, Mary Moore and others have shown that there are significant affinities between the Hegesiboulos cup and the work of Euphronios. The links are revealed especially clearly by a relatively recently discovered cup in the Athenian Agora ([figure 52](#)). The points of comparison include small size, offset lip, and similarities in the placement of bands coral-red on the inside of the cups. Though simpler in design, the cup in Athens is nevertheless very similar to the one in New York in shape and decorative scheme. Moore suggested that the two cups were potted by the same person. The importance of the Agora cup is that its potting, scheme of decoration, and style of painting



FIGURE 52: Athens, Agora P32344, red-figure on coral red ground cup, BAPD 25976, attributed to Euphronios. Photo courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

all point to Euphronios and his collaborators.⁵³ On a cup in Munich, similarly designed with a red-figure tondo picture set in the middle of a coral-red background, there is the double signature of *Euphronios egraphsen* and *Kachrylion epoīesen*.⁵⁴ The cup in the Agora (figure 52) occupies an intermediate place between the signed cup in Munich and the Hegesiboulos cup: on the one hand, its style of painting has been attributed by several scholars to Euphronios; on the other hand, its potting is more closely linked to the Hegesiboulos cup than to any other. In the absence of the signature *Hegesiboulos epoīesen*, the potting and coral-red ground of the cup in New York would have been attributed to Kachrylion, if not Euphronios himself. In other words, just as the later Hegesiboulos signature occurs on a cup that appears in fact to have been shaped by a better-attested potter (Sotades), so too here, the earlier *Hegesiboulos epoīesen* inscription occurs on a cup closely comparable to a much better-known potter-painter duo (Kachrylion and Euphronios).

Two recently discovered mugs bear the signature of Hegesiboulos. Both have white ground on the outside. One, unpublished, is reported to have red

ground on the inside, a very rare combination. The other, which is published, is dated to around 500 BC and bears a figure scene in outline drawing very similar in style to the painting of the Hegesiboulos cup.⁵⁵ The mugs demonstrate that the artist who signed as Hegesiboulos was adept at working in not only coral-red ground but also white ground. In the Getty Museum, there is a stunning cup of around 500 BC bearing an outline drawing of Dionysos and a black-figure drawing of silen—against a white ground. The attribution of this cup is not certain, for it has been attributed to both Onesimos and Euphronios. But if Joan Mertens' persuasive argument in favor of Euphronios is correct, then he, like "Hegesiboulos," was proficient in working with both white and coral-red ground.⁵⁶

Turning from shape and scheme of decoration to style of painting, there are numerous affinities here too between the Hegesiboulos cup and the work of Euphronios. In the drawing of the old man (plate XIII), the eyelashes, light-colored eye, hair rendered as individual strands or locks, basic lines of the pectoral, and lines of the ankle all have good parallels within the signed painting of Euphronios (e.g., plate VIII). The little crosses on the himation occur on a coral-red-ground fragment in Russia attributable to Euphronios on the basis of the ankle and toes.⁵⁷ The bristles on the dog are reminiscent, Moore noted, of the bristles on the pig-shield device on Euphronios' signed cup in Munich. The recently discovered coral-red-ground cup in the Agora (figure 52) provides further links in style of painting: the ankle of the seated man is drawn exactly as on vases painted by Euphronios, but the overly long toes recall the old man on the Hegesiboulos cup.⁵⁸ The drawing of the pictures on the outside of the Hegesiboulos cup (plate XX) is less careful, but the pose of the man on the couch, and the design of the boy running for more wine, are comparable to figures on Euphronios' krater in Munich (plate III, figure 4). The drawing of musculature recalls the anatomical drawing of Euphronios in both the amount of detail and certain systems of tissues (the lines for the legs for example). But the heavy use of relief line for muscular definition, rather than dilute glaze, is comparable, in the signed work of Euphronios, only to the very early Sarpedon cup.⁵⁹ One technical detail also suggests a relationship between the painting of the Hegesiboulos cup and the painting of Euphronios: in both, there are objects that appear to have been gilded, an unusual technique at this time.⁶⁰

One cup in particular links the painting of the old man in the tondo of the Hegesiboulos cup (plate XIII) and the painting of Euphronios. This cup, which was found in Athens, was not known to Beazley (figure 23).⁶¹ Like the Hegesiboulos cup, it is small in size, with offset lip, and red-figure tondo-picture surrounded by coral-red ground. The two cups are strikingly alike in the basic type or genre of picture decorating the tondo. Both depict a man wearing a long mantle, carrying a stick, walking his Maltese dog.

The differences between the two pictures were discussed in [chapter three](#): the man on the cup in Athens is the opposite of the man on the Hegesiboulos cup in terms of physiognomy—young and beardless, with neat hair, smooth brow, elegant nose, and a firm chin and neck. In style of painting, the young man is very reminiscent of the work of Euphronios.⁶²

How are the similarities between the painting of the Hegesiboulos cup and the vase-painting of Euphronios to be accounted for? Beth Cohen observed that there are affinities between the figures on the outside of the cup ([plate XX](#)) and the figures around the neck of the volute krater attributed to Euphronios ([plate IV, figures 13, 19–20](#)). She wondered if some of the latter were painted by the artist responsible for the former.⁶³ The volute krater in Arezzo poses fundamental methodological questions concerning the attribution of vase-painting to particular hands, as observed in [chapter one](#). There is a long-standing tendency to try to distinguish between the painting of the main scenes on the krater, which is both grand in conception and meticulous in execution, and the painting of the little figures around the neck, which is more or less impoverished in invention and slapdash. In opposition to the hypothesis that more than one artist worked on the krater are the facts that all the figures occur on the same vase, the differences did not raise the suspicions of Beazley, Furtwängler, and others, and there is no unambiguous evidence of Euphronios collaborating as a painter with another painter. About the little figures on this vase, Ernst Pfuhl plausibly wrote, “the small subsidiary frieze shows us by its contrast the wide range of the master’s art. Side by side with the main picture—grandly formal and felt, and most surely and severely drawn—easy naturalistic sketches of rushing revellers.”⁶⁴ One of the claims made in [chapter one](#) is that the vase-painting of Euphronios is surprisingly varied in style of line, care of execution, and amount of detail.

The problem is exemplified by the two cups just considered, the Hegesiboulos cup ([plate XIII](#)) and the Euphronian cup in Athens ([figure 52](#)). The differences between the two vase-paintings might be accounted for by the hypothesis that the pictures were painted by two stylistically distinct artists. But they might also be explained in terms of their modes of representation: the cup in Athens is decorated with a “straight” depiction of a man walking his Maltese dog, whereas the Hegesiboulos cup bears a pictorial parody of the “straight” image. The visible differences one customarily attributes to the distinct habits that, one imagines, govern (often unconsciously) the manner in which painters put lines onto clay may be accounted for in a more self-conscious way. When a painter sets out to invert a familiar image type, the inversion affects all aspects of the picture, even the qualities of the lines.

Several details of the pictures on the outside of the Hegesiboulos cup can be similarly understood as vase-painting playing with existing image types.

In one picture (plate XX), a mature man reclines on a couch, a youth plays music, another youth runs for more wine, and a third, even younger, boy rushes toward the couch and places both hands on the man's head. The image of a mature man on a couch, turning round, with a young boy or girl holding his head with both hands is a familiar image—of a drunken symposiast vomiting.⁶⁵ In this picture, however, in a surprising reversal and conflation of existing iconographic types, the man takes advantage of the proximity of an attractive young boy to grope him! The image of a man fondling the private parts of a young boy is also a familiar type of vase-image (e.g., plate XII, figure 18), but the man is regularly standing. The image on the Hegesiboulos cup has been taken to document a social reality at Athens in which cup-boys were the target of on-the-job sexual harassment, or, more productively, to visualize anxiety about the risks of young boys becoming victims of sexual predation.⁶⁶ I suggest that, in its brilliant conflation of two familiar image-types in contemporary vase-painting, it is also humorous.⁶⁷ Kathryn Topper called attention to another unusual feature of the picture—the presence of women sitting primly in fine chairs. The well-dressed woman seated on a proper chair is familiar from a different type of vase-painting, the image of a woman engaged in wool-working or personal adornment. Gloria Ferrari has persuasively shown that the image of a woman working wool serves to underscore her positive qualities as a productive and therefore virtuous and desirable member of the household.⁶⁸ On the Hegesiboulos cup, the master of the house may be feeling up the help in the presence of upstanding female members of his own family! One further point. As noted earlier, it appears that two features of the picture of the symposium were gilded. Gilding is rare but not unprecedented at this date. One of the gilded items, the lyre held by the mature man, is perhaps not surprising, because it appears that a lyre on a slightly earlier cup attributed to Psiax was also gilded.⁶⁹ The other gilded item, the hair of the boy rushing to refill the oinochoe, is surprising. Gilded forelocks are attested in contemporary Euphronian vase-painting—on *goddesses*. By comparison, gilding the entire head of hair of a cute cup-boy seems humorously in keeping with other signs of parody on this cup.⁷⁰

In short, the possibility that the scene of the old man walking his pet (plate XIII) is a carefully crafted (self-)parody of existing vase-paintings such as the Euphronian cup-painting in Athens (figure 23) raises questions of connoisseurship. The potting and decorative scheme of the Hegesiboulos cup have all the hallmarks of the work of Kachrylion and Euphronios. Perhaps the painting of the cup, stylistically unusual as it is, is also a product of Euphronios, working in a self-conscious mode. And perhaps the parodic quality of the cup is signaled by the choice of the lofty name with which to sign the work as potter, Hegesiboulos, “Leader of the Senate.”

EPILYKOS, A FICTIONAL VASE-PAINTER AND POTTER CREATED
BY SKYTHES

What did Beazley see in the Hegesiboulos cup that reminded him of Skythes? “The spirit of the drawing is the *comical spirit* of Skythes . . .”⁷¹ What he meant by “comical spirit” is explained a page earlier, in one of the most memorable critical assessments ever written by Beazley. The point of departure for the remarks is a cup in Rome signed *Skythes egraphsen* (figure 53).⁷²

One cannot help feeling indulgent to the uncouth antics of the Ambrosios painter, because they show a real desire to figure fresh aspects of life and movement. The same desire can be seen in the cup signed by the painter Skythes . . . It is not by chance, is it, that the Theseus of Skythes looks so like Little Tich? Nor can you think that Skythes tried to paint a handsome Theseus but failed. Skythes is a merry-andrew: the Pauson of his time, who purposely paints men worse than they are . . . In the contest between strength and grace, Skythes ranges himself on neither side, but sits aloof in the seat of the scornful. The part he plays is the part of Bomolochos or Tertius Gaudens.”⁷³

What is significant about Beazley’s florid assessment of Skythes is idea that the style of the vase-painter embraces both qualities of drawing as well as point of view, and the clear implication that the distinctive features of the painter’s work are fully conscious and intentional. They are deliberate choices. That way of thinking about artistic style really does embrace many aspects of the Hegesiboulos cup.

In a detailed response to Beazley’s important insight, Martin Schulz argued that the vase-painting of Skythes is characterized by an unusually intense interest in giving visible, external form to the inner thoughts or emotions of the figures. Not even Herakles and Antaios, on the powerful krater in Paris signed by Euphronios (plate VIII), he argued, reveal the level of strain or pain represented on the cup in Rome signed by Skythes (figure 53). Contrast the placid Euphronian frontal faces of Thōdēmos or Palaistō (plate V, figure 54) with the wild and joyous expression, captured in the broad grin and furrowed forehead, of the frontal face of a silen attributed to Skythes (figure 55).⁷⁴ Schulz was reluctant, however, to acknowledge humorous intention within the vase-painting of Skythes. In contrast, say, to the hypercephalic, emaciated men in a few red-figure vase-paintings (e.g., figure 22), he argued, nothing in the vase-painting of Skythes is obviously intended to make fun of either the represented figures or the viewer.⁷⁵

The limitation of this analysis is in the restriction of the definition of visual humor to making fun of either the subjects or the spectators of a picture. Missing is the possibility of making fun of oneself (compare Hephasistos) or other vase-painting. Compare, again, the three figures with frontal faces in the



FIGURE 53: Rome, Villa Giulia 20760, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 83,14, signed by Skythes, BAPD 200674 (obverse). Photo Sansani, Neg. 57.677 D-DAI-ROM. Courtesy the Deutsches archäologisches Institut–Rom, neg. no. 57.677.



FIGURE 54: St. Peterburg, Hermitage, 644 (B1650, ST1670), red-figure psykter, *ARV*² 16,15, signed by Euphronios as painter, BAPD 200078. Rollout drawing after Adolf Furtwängler, and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1900–1925), volume 2 (1905–1909); reproduced with permission.

vase-painting of Euphronios and Skythes (plate V, figures 54, 55). All three vase-paintings place a wine vessel immediately in front of the face of a figure who makes eye contact with someone in the spectator’s space. In Euphronios, it is a dainty drinking cup, from which the *en face* figure serenely sips.



FIGURE 55: Sydney, University, Nicholson Museum inv. NM97.6, red-figure cup fragment, *ARV*² 84,18ter, Skythes, BAPD 200680. Photo courtesy the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney.

In *Skythes*, it is a very large vat in which the silen not only imbibes but bathes. The picture prefigures the popular Kendrick Lamar lyric, “First you get a swimming pool full of liquor, then you dive in it.” The drinker examining this cup-painting may smile, as Schulz suggested, seeing his own enthusiasm for wine mirrored in the exaggerated expression of the silen. But the frontal face of the silen need not be understood solely as a mirror image of the spectator. It can also be understood to express the idea that the silen is willing to jump into a vat full of wine, even though he knows that someone is watching him embarrass himself in this way. The image is also amusing if one recognizes how the familiar Euphronian figure, sipping from a cup and staring out of the picture plane, has been transformed into an image of a figure with a frontal face splashing inside a vat. In other words, existing images such as the ones painted by Euphronios are arguably part of the representational content of the picture by *Skythes*, which relates to them in a playful way.

In [chapter one](#), I argued that one specific form in which Euphronios’ self-fashioning as an artist is manifest is the development of the fictional alter ego Smikros. *Skythes* appears to have played the same game. Five late sixth-

century red-figure cups bear the signature Σκύθῆς ἔγραψεν, *Skythes egraphsen*, “[the] Scythian painted [this]” (e.g., [plate XXI](#)).⁷⁶ One cup also bears the signature *Skythes epoïesen*, “Skythes made or potted [this].”⁷⁷ On the basis of the signed vases, it has been possible for Beazley and others to identify dozens of vases (mostly cups) as the work of the painter who signed as Skythes. It appears that Skythes was an innovative and versatile artist. To him is attributed the decoration of one bilingual eye cup that may have been potted by Amasis.⁷⁸ Several cups assigned to him employ bilingual (i.e., both red-figure and black-figure) decoration on coral-red ground, a rare technique.⁷⁹ Several black-figure plaques, dedications from the Athenian Acropolis, bear the signature *Skythes* (or *ho Skythes*, “THE Scythian”) *egrapsen* and are plausibly understood to be the work of the painter who signed red-figure cups as Skythes.⁸⁰ He appears to have potted his own cups. On the basis of close similarities in shape, it appears that he was familiar with the work of Kachrylion, the potter who supplied several cups to Euphronios for painting.⁸¹ The close relationship between Skythes and Euphronios is revealed most clearly in their work in coral-red ground. The distinctive feature of the cups with coral-red ground attributed to Skythes is that they reverse the typical decorative pattern of bilingual cups. A bilingual cup usually exhibits black-figure decoration within the tondo and red-figure decoration on the exterior. The cups assigned to Skythes exhibit the red-figure technique against a black ground within the tondo of the cup, with coral-red ground surrounded the tondo. This decorative scheme occurs on both the cup in New York signed by Hegesiboulos as potter ([plate XIII](#)) and on the cup in Munich signed by Euphronios as painter and Kachrylion as potter. Where the coral-red-ground cups of Skythes stand apart technically is in the use of black-figure decoration on a coral-red ground on the outside.⁸² This combination calls to mind the fragment of a cup with coral-red ground and fine black-figure representation of a Maltese dog ([plate XIX](#)): the scheme of decoration recalls Skythes, while the style of painting of the dog is similar to the dogs on the Euphronian and Hegesiboulos cups ([plate XIII](#), [figure 23](#)).

Two red-figure cups attributed to Skythes as painter bear unusual and revealing signatures. On a cup in Paris is written Ἐπῖλυκο[σ εγραφο]σεν καλος, “Epilykos painted [this] well” or “Epilykos the beautiful painted [this]” ([figure 56](#)).⁸³ A second, even more fragmentary, cup, closely related stylistically to the one in Paris, and mostly in the Villa Giulia, appears to have possessed a similar signature: –]ς καλος εγ[ραφο]σεν.⁸⁴ The two signatures together have encouraged one to read *egrapsen*, rather than *epoïesen*, on the cup in Paris and restore Epilykos as the name of the artist on the cup in the Villa Giulia: *Epilykos kalos egraphsen*. The name “Epilykos” occurs frequently in the vase-painting signed by or attributed to Skythes, but usually as the name of a man described as *kalos*, “good looking.”⁸⁵ In earlier scholarship, the cups in Paris



FIGURE 56: Paris, Musée du Louvre, G10, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 83,3, attributed to Skythes, BAPD 200665. Photo: Stéphane Marechalle. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.

(figure 56) and Rome bearing the unusual signatures were thought to be the work of a vase-painter named Epilykos. Additional attributions were made to him. Two vase-painters, Skythes and Epilykos, were envisioned as working side by side, with Skythes praising his coworker Epilykos in *kalos*-inscriptions.⁸⁶ The attempt to single out a group of vase-paintings as the work of a real artist named Epilykos failed, however, because all of the vases in question were ultimately persuasively attributed to Skythes. The inscription *Epilykos egraphsen kalos* was explained away as an erroneous attempt to write the customary *Epilykos kalos*, a “senior moment” on the part of Skythes. Epilykos was understood to be nothing more than good looking.⁸⁷

In 2008, however, Alexandra Zampitē and Vivē Vasilopoulou published a late sixth-century red-figure cup dedicated to a nymph from a cave in Boiotia (figure 57).⁸⁸ In the tondo of the cup, there is a painted signature: Ἐπίλυκο[ς] ἐποίησεν, *Epilyko[s] epo[iēsen]*, “Epilykos made [it].” In this signature, which is clearly visible in the published photograph, there is no trace of, or room for, the word *kalos*, and no ambiguity about the verb. The unambiguous inscription *Epilykos epo[iēsen* on the cup from the cave of the nymph necessitates a

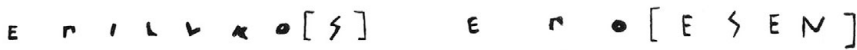


FIGURE 57: Ephorate of Paleoanthropology and Speleology, red-figure cup attributed to Skythes (Zampitē), BAPD 9026229. Drawing of signature by and courtesy of Alexandra Zampitē.

reassessment of the inscriptions on the cup in Paris (figure 56) and, if correctly restored, the cup in Rome: *Epilykos egraphsen kalos*. The new cup establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the signatures *Epilykos egraphsen* or *Epilykos epoiēsen* are intentional and not the result of error. All three cups, however, the one in Paris and (according to the excavators) the new cup, appear to have been painted by the artist who regularly signs other cups as Skythes; and with the exception of a few very early pieces, Skythes appears to have painted cups potted by no one other than himself.

The body of work associated with Skythes appears to manifest the same relationship as that of Euphronios to Smikros. Many of the vases are signed by Skythes as painter, but a few bear signatures containing the name Epilykos. Neither are those few vases persuasively attributable to a different hand, nor are the signatures explicable as errors. Rather, the function of the anomalous signatures is the creation of propositions that are amusingly contrary to fact. The factitiousness is amusing in part because the vase-painters are commandeering for themselves a model of creativity associated with literary characters such as Odysseus, and in part because it is not completely undetectable but subtly hinted at.

FUN WITH KALOS-NAMES

The inscriptions on the cups in Paris (figure 56) and Rome contain one hint that Epilykos is not the artist he claims to be. That hint is the word *kalos*. In the signatures, the word is ambiguous: it functions either as the adverb *kalōs*, “Epilykos painted [this] very well,” or as the adjective *kalos* modifying the personal name, “cute Epilykos painted [this].” The presence of the word *kalos* is suggestive not only due to its grammatical ambiguity. Boastful language is not unattested in Athenian vase-painting, but it is arresting. Perhaps the most beautiful example is the two-part inscription that plays across the one side and the other of a Little Master cup: *καλόν εἰμι ποτ[έ]ριον*, and *Εὐχ[έ]ρος ἐποίησεν ἐμέ*, “I am a beautiful cup, Eucheiros made me!”⁸⁹ More important for my purposes, however, are two other signatures. Perhaps the closest parallel in date is a contemporary cup in Florence, by a potter with whom Skythes worked. It reads *Χαχρύλιον ἐποίησεν καλῶς*, “Kachrylion potted this very well!” The other dates one

or two generations earlier. It occurs on a fragment from the Athenian Acropolis mentioned earlier: *Priapos epoiēsen kalōs*, “Priapos made this very well.”⁹⁰ Those two signatures are important because they demonstrate that precisely the form of signature occurring on Skythes’ cups in Paris and (perhaps) Rome was employed by other ceramic artists. It cannot be written off as a mistake. But boastful language is not typical of ceramic artists’ signatures, and therefore the self-congratulatory signatures of Epilykos ought to have raised an eyebrow. The presence of the word *kalos* within the signatures of Epilykos might have also attracted attention of coworkers within the Kerameikos and discriminating viewers of vase-painting, because the *kalos*-inscription *Epilykos kalos* occurs so frequently, and almost exclusively, on vases attributable to Skythes. *Epilykos kalos* was a veritable trademark of the painting of Skythes. What, the signatures seem to prompt, is the name Epilykos, and its usual modifier, *kalos*, doing as part of an artist’s signature on a cup one knows or suspects as being the work of “the Scythian”?⁹¹

Suspicion is also prompted by the difference in social status that one usually posits between persons identified in writing on vases as *kalos*, and persons who sign vases as their creators. On the one hand, a relatively large number of names of potters and painters correspond to the names of foreign regions or places. An early example is the artist who signs as painter *ho Lydos*, “The Lydian” (*ABV* 106). Others include Thrax (*ABV* 178), Brygos (*ARV²* 398–399), and Skythes himself.⁹² Strabo claims that it was an Athenian custom to name slaves after their place of origin, and the practice is confirmed by manumission inscriptions.⁹³ The names of potters and painters derived from foreign places have encouraged the hypothesis that they were (or formerly were) enslaved.⁹⁴ One can see this idea at work perhaps in an intriguing if difficult inscription on a late sixth-century black-figure Athenian vase in Rome: *Λυδὸς ἔγραψε δόλος ὄν, . . .* “Lydos painted [this] being a slave . . .”⁹⁵

The men identified as *kalos* in vase-inscriptions, on the other hand, are popularly thought to be wealthy. “[T]here is no doubt that many of the [*kalos*-] names on vases are those of the scions of high families, who sported about the potter’s quarter. Identifications, perfectly agreeable in point of time, have been made to this effect of many of the names.” That is how they were described by Robinson and Fluck, who provided a veritable social register of *kalos*-names. In the directory, they attempted to correlate the *kalos*-names written on vases with names occurring in other forms of documentation, such as lists of archons or strategoi in epigraphical and historical sources. On the assumption that homophonic or homonymic identity means historical identity (a big assumption), they compiled a list of occupations of the “*paides kaloi* of ceramic fame.” “From it will be noted the fact that many of these epebes grew up into positions of political and social importance, and hence that, even as

boy-favourites, they were drafted in most cases from the upper strata of Athenian society.”⁹⁶ Robinson and Fluck acknowledge that, occasionally, one vase-painter praises another potter or painter. But they discount the possibility that intra-artisan *kalos*-salutations differ in any significant way from the general mass of *kalos*-names. The general practice rests on a foundation of homoerotic and pederastic culture. When artisans praise artisans as *kalos*, the inscriptions express the “private feelings” of their besotted authors.⁹⁷

Epilykos oscillates between those two theoretically distinct social categories of wealthy elite and hardscrabble artisan. On the one hand, at Athens, the personal name is fairly well attested, the men who bore it were of some prominence, and the family was wealthy. The grandfather of Perikles’ daughter-in-law was named Epilykos, and a much earlier figure so-named was prominent in Athenian politics. One early figure bearing the name is said to have refurbished the office of the polemarch (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5).⁹⁸ On the other hand, the cup from the cave of the nymphs (figure 57), together with the cup in Paris (figure 56) and perhaps the cup in Rome, assures us that the name “Epilykos” was that of a potter and vase-painter. Is it possible that an attractive young man from a prominent Athenian family really moonlighted as a ceramic artisan? Or is this an invention, along the lines of fictions contained in the poetry of Archilochos or Hipponax, in which historical persons have been drafted into fictional occupations for the sake of humor? Or an invention like the cup-painting in Boston (plate XVIII), in which a young vase-painter is outfitted with gear out of *Travel and Leisure* magazine? Like the cup-painting and some poetry, the characterization of Epilykos as an artisan has a whiff of scandal about it, in casting a blue blood as a banausos. Yet the writing on the cups in Paris and Rome, like the cup-painting in Boston, is structured so as to elude definitive interpretation. If Ernst Buschor could dismiss them as erroneous attempts to write the expected *Epilykos kalos*, so could their first readers.

THE HOT SISTER OF EPILYKOS

Further insinuating that the potter-painter-scion Epilykos was a name toyed with by Skythes and contemporary vase-painters is his “twin sister,” Epilykē. A red-figure hydria in Berlin painted by Euphronios or in his manner (plate XXII) depicts two women, naked, bathing at a bird-bath-shaped louterion.⁹⁹ There are two inscriptions in the picture. One reads Ἐπιλύκῃ καλῆ. The writing of the feminine name runs parallel to the back of the girl on the left; the adjective, outward from her abdomen. The placement of the words suggests that the depicted figure is to be understood as the beautiful Epilykē. This woman is publicly praised for her female beauty and depicted buck naked. Modesty and anonymity were the qualities prized in proper

Athenian women. It therefore seems unlikely, to say the least, that this painted figure could have been understood as a straightforward representation of a reputable member of a prominent Athenian family, a family in which the name Epilykos and its feminine counterpart Epilykē were traditional monikers. One alternative is that the name refers to a woman for whom modesty might have been a professional disadvantage—say a prostitute. That is how Robinson and Fluck interpreted *all kalē*-names: “[O]nly thirty of the two hundred and twenty [*kalos*-]names which Klein counted are those of women, and these are always [sic] names of hetairai and coined to refer to the trade (as Pantoxena, Xenodoke, etc.). . . .”¹⁰⁰ The name “Epilykē,” however, has no such transparently sluttish connotation. On the contrary, its closest homonym is the name of upstanding Athenian men. There is no evidence in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* that Epilykē was actually used by any historical individual, of any social class or occupation. The existence of a real person named Epilykē, praised for her beauty and depicted without her clothes on and therefore a courtesan or prostitute, is impossible to rule out. But her name does not provide any special support for that interpretation. A better alternative is that the name “Epilykē” is the invention of the vase-painter. It is easy to point to the raw materials out of which it was created: it is a transposition of gender of the name of Epilykos, which was already “in play”—already extracted, so to speak, from the prosopography of the Athenian aristocracy, regularly described in vase-inscriptions as *kalos*, and transformed into a fictional potter and painter in the vase-painting of Skythes.

That account of the genesis of the beautiful Epilykē is supported by the other inscription on the hydria in Berlin (plate XXII). The second inscription refers to Euphronios’ imaginary friend: Σμῖκρος καλός. The writing of the name “Smikros” begins at the upper chest of a girl named Helikopa and runs diagonally down; the word *kalos* is written behind her back. It is plausible that “Smikros is good looking!” is intended to be understood as words uttered by Helikopa.

In its exposé of a fictitious female member of an aristocratic Athenian family, and proto-feminist expression of female desire for an imaginary working-class hero, the vase-painting in Berlin is unlikely to have been viewed as a snapshot of daily life. Within the vase-paintings of Euphronios and his circle, however, there good parallels. In both the presence of a pair of courtesans and the written compliment to a vase-painter, the vase-painting in Berlin is comparable in pictorial conception to a contemporary picture in Munich attributed to another Pioneer vase-painter, Phintias (plate XXIII). On the shoulder of this hydria, two female figures, nude from the waist up, reclining on cushions, prepare to play a game of kottabos. The one says to the other, (σ)οὶ τηνδὶ Ἐυθυμί(δ)ει, *soi tēndi Euthumidi*, “this (toss) is for you, Euthymides.”¹⁰¹ In the picture on the body of the vase, there is a young man playing the lyre, perhaps

a student. The young man is named Εὐθυμιδῆς. Spelled with a tao, “Eutymides” is neither attested in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, nor Greek. “Euthymides,” spelled with a theta, can be understood to mean “cheerful” and is both good Greek and well attested as an artist’s name at just the time when the hydria was painted. The name “Euthymides” is rare at Athens (just four entries in the *Lexicon*), and the earliest occurrence before the late Classical period is Phintias’ contemporary potter and painter, Euthymides, known from seven signatures (e.g., figure 14). In short, the girl on the shoulder of the hydria in Munich, like the girl bathing on the hydria in Berlin, is offering a compliment to a ceramic artist.¹⁰²

The vase-paintings in Berlin (plate XXII) and Munich (plate XXIII) are conceptually similar: they represent party-girls celebrating the good looks of vase-painters. But they are different inasmuch as there is no good reason to doubt the existence of a vase-painter who calls himself Euthymides, whereas there are good reasons to doubt the existence of a vase-painter named Smikros. The hydria in Berlin depicts a party-girl praising the looks of a vase-painter who existed only within the vase-painting of Euphronios, and that pictorial proposition gains in piquancy if it was in fact painted by Euphronios himself. The inscription “Epilykē kalē” can be read in a similar way: Epilykē had no actual, historical existence, but is a gender-inverted form of the name of the potter-painter Epilykos, who himself is a fictional artisan. The hydria in Berlin appears to have brought together in one picture *two* names that occur on other vases as part of fictional artists’ signatures.

SMIKROS’ SULTRY SISTER SMIKRA

The idea of transposing the name of a fictional ceramic worker into the feminine gender, and attaching it to a working girl, is attested in a vase-painting signed by Euphronios himself. On a psykter in the Hermitage signed *Euphronios egraphsen* (figures 15, 54), four female figures recline on mattresses and cushions.¹⁰³ They are nude but for scarves, floral crowns, or diadems in their hair. Three are sipping wine—lots of wine, unless it was customary for each drinker to hold two cups. One of them prepares to play a drinking game. The fourth plays the aulos. All four of the women have personal names, written on the vase. Let us focus for the moment on three of the names: they are transparently appropriate to the imagery and unusual as historical names. *Agapē*, “love,” is the earliest occurrence of a word that would play an important role much later in Christian writing. In the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, there are no attestations of this personal name prior to the Byzantine period. *Palaisō* means “wrestler.” It is unattested as a personal name, but the erotic connotations of wrestling are obvious.¹⁰⁴ The third party-girl is *Seklinē*, an amazing imaginary Greek word formed out of the word *klinē*, “couch,” and perhaps the

second-person pronoun, and meaning possibly “[I’ll] couch you.” The name is unattested outside of vase-painting, where it reoccurs on a contemporary hydria from the Pioneer Group as the name of a girl making love to a man.¹⁰⁵ The three names are easily understood as inventions. Not surprisingly, they have been understood as the made-up noms de guerre of historical Athenian courtesans.¹⁰⁶ That interpretation is based in part on later literary accounts, in which women engaged in the sex trade bear names that refer transparently to their line of work. How many of those literary accounts are complete fictions is difficult to say. Of course, the “historical” reading is an interpretation that is impossible to rule out. For anyone operating on the assumption that the names identifying human figures on Athenian vases were correlated with real persons at Athens, the psykter in the Hermitage is a valuable source of information on the prosopography of prostitution in late Archaic Athens.

There are several reasons, however, to question the reality of the depicted situation, including the written names. Like the hydria attributed to Phintias (plate XXIII), the psykter signed by Euphronios (figure 54) also depicts a woman preparing to flick the dregs from her cup and offering a toast to a man. τὴν τάνδε λατάσσῳ Λέαγρῃ, *tin tande latassō Leagre*, “I toss these dregs for you, Leagros,” she says. Presumably, she refers to the same Leagros who is praised as *kalos*, and depicted as such, and flirted with by the artist (plate XII), on so many other vases by Euphronios and his contemporary vase-painters. *Kottabos* toasts are rare in Athenian vase-painting. Two of the five known occurrences take the significant form of question and answer. The clearest example occurs on an early fifth-century stamnos in Paris. The vase depicts Dionysos, reclining at a party, preparing to flick the lees from his kylix. He asks *toi tēndi*, “for whom (should I toss) this?” The silen standing at the other end of the composition answers, *Lukoi*, “for Lykos,” another well-attested *kalos*-name.¹⁰⁷ On the basis of information from outside of vase-painting, Eric Csapo and Margaret Miller argued that the inscriptions are related to a practice in which *kottabos* was played for the sexual favors of a courtesan or slave. The vase-inscriptions taking the form of question and answer can be understood as a means of establishing the prize for a game of *kottabos*: “for whom (shall we play *kottabos*)?” “For Lykos!” The inscription on the hydria by Phintias (plate XXIII), τοῖ (=τῷ) τῆνδί Εὐθυμίδει, can be similarly read as “for whom (is) this one?” “For Euthymides!”—as a dialogue between the two women.¹⁰⁸ This understanding of the *kottabos*-inscriptions adds weight to the idea that the vase-paintings of Phintias and Euphronios are humorous inversions of real practices. The balance of power that normally holds in sympotic sexual situations—girls are hired to be the objects or receptacles of the sexual desire of men of means—is inverted. Csapo and Miller put it nicely: “the names in the vase inscriptions, Laches, Leagros, Lykos, and Euthymides, belong to free men, and in the case of the first three, probably young aristocrats,

whom one cannot literally hand over to the successful kottabos player or otherwise dispose of at will.”¹⁰⁹

In the picture on the shoulder of the hydria, there are, in addition to the inscription (*s*)oi [or *toi*] *tēndi Euthumidei*, the letters *καλοι*. It is unclear what they can represent if not the dative singular adjective modifying Euthymides—“handsome Euthymides.” The name that occurs on the psykter, Leagros, is not accompanied here by the adjective *kalos*, but it is, as noted earlier, the most popular *kalos*-name in the vase-painting signed by or attributed to Euphronios, occurring on at least half of his extant works.¹¹⁰ The inscriptions on both vase-paintings address, directly or indirectly, the practice of writing “so-and-so *kalos*” on a vase. The inscriptions are particularly valuable because they are spoken by identifiable figures within the pictures. It has long been asked, who is the “author” of the *kalos*-inscription? Is it the vase-painter? The owner of the pottery shop? The patron? The collective culture? It seems inherently unlikely that any one answer is applicable to every instance of the practice.¹¹¹ But there is general agreement that the practice of writing “so-and-so *kalos*” on an Athenian vase is rooted in pederastic culture in the sense that it refers to the attractiveness of a young boy to an older man. Consider a cup in Athens dating to around 500 BC. In the bowl of the cup is a depiction of a mature (bearded) symposiast singing. He sings the words *ο παιδον καλλιστε*, “oh most beautiful of boys.” The words of his song are familiar from the corpus of Theognis: *ὦ παιδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων*, “most handsome and desirable of all boys, stay where you are and listen to a few words from me” (1365–1366, trans. Gerber). The larger context of the Theognidean quotation ensures that the beauty the singer has in mind is no abstract thing but the sort of beauty to which one is attracted erotically.¹¹² In “real life,” women in antiquity presumably occasionally registered the physical attractiveness of particular men. But vase-painting is not (just) real life. It is life depicted according to a set of expectations and desires negotiated collectively between painters and patrons. In vase-painting, the expression, “so-and-so [is] *kalos*,” is rightly understood to be a *male* expression of desire. The vase-paintings of female agents offering toasts to men, using the traditional language of *kalos*-inscriptions, turn the pederastic associations of the *kalos*-name in vase-painting on its head. This is another reason to see the pictures as conceptual inversions of traditional pictorial conventions, rather than realistic representations of the true lives of courtesans.¹¹³

The final indication of fiction within the picture on Euphronios’ psykter in the Hermitage is the name of the fourth female figure in the group, the one who provocatively offers a *kottabos*-toast to Leagros: her name is *Σμικρα*. Unlike the names of Agapē, Palaistō, and Seklinē, the name of Smikra is not wholly unknown in Classical Athens. But it is exceedingly rare. Outside of Attica, it is completely unattested in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

In Attica, there are just two entries beside this vase. One is certainly the name of a person: a dedicatory inscription from Pikermi reads *Smikra anethēken*, “Smikra dedicated [this]” (*IG II² 4926*). But the fourth-century BC date of the inscription precludes the possibility that she is the woman depicted on the late sixth-century psykter. The other entry is not certainly the name of a person. On the handle of a merrythought cup, dated 500–480 BC, there is the inscription *σμικρὰ hierá* (*IG I³ 577*). It is uncertain whether the word *smikra* is a noun or an adjective. If it is a proper name, the woman would be a *hiera*, or “priestess.” Is it possible that a priestess moonlighted as the formidably unclothed woman who boldly toasts the talk of the town in Euphronios’ vase-painting? Again, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the depicted figure represents a real courtesan who left no other mark in the permanent record of antiquity. But characteristics of the vase-painting enumerated earlier invite a fictional reading. And that interpretation is encouraged by similarity in sound between the name “Smikra” and the name of the vase-painter with whom we began this study: Smikros. Like the naked bathing girl on the hydria in Berlin (plate XXII), who bears a gender-inverted form of the name of the fictitious, (pseudo-?)aristocratic potter-painter Epilykos, the fourth girl on the psykter in St. Petersburg bears a gender-inverted form of the name of the mysterious potter-painter Smikros. And like the figure named Euphronios on the psykter in Malibu (plate XII), Smikra, the “twin sister” of Euphronios’ alter ego, is making a pass at Leagros.

The three vase-paintings we have just considered, the hydria in Berlin (plate XXII), hydria in Munich (plate XXIII), and psykter in St. Petersburg (figure 54), have been variously understood as primary documents of the historical lives of courtesans, male soft-core fantasy, or (in the case of the psykter) a fictional representation of the lives of Spartan women.¹¹⁴ It is possible that the pictures were understood in all of those ways and others once they began to circulate at Athens and in Etruria. There is also, however, a substantial amount of internal evidence suggesting that the pictures were constructed in response to existing pictorial and prosopographical or onomastic resources. By this I mean not only that the painter (any painter) builds upon the technical, iconographical, and conceptual possibilities that were part of his or her formation as a practicing artist. I also mean that the vase-painter has deliberately manipulated existing pictorial resources in such a way as to attract attention to his own inventions. The painting of Palaistō lifting her cup to her lips as she makes eye contact with someone in the vicinity of the spectator (figure 54) is obviously related, formally and compositionally, to the depiction of Thōdēmos sipping from his cup as he stares out of his picture (plate V). Is Euphronios merely making due with the limited repertoire available to him, unable or unwilling to envision a woman in a convivial setting except as a male drinker? Or is he leveraging the expectations reflected in and reinforced

by an image like that of Thōdēmos—this is the sort of activity engaged in by *men!*—to enhance the shock effect of his pictorial inversion? Registering how plausibly drawn Palaistō is, accepting simultaneously that the picture of a girl drinking like a man is not something one will see in life, entails an acknowledgment of the pictorial imagination of Euphronios.

The inscribed names of the figures play a particularly important role in clarifying the purpose of the manipulations of existing pictorial resources. This is so because the choice of personal name is not subject to the kind of limitation that is often envisioned in relation to the construction of pictorial representations in the late Archaic period. Consider the masculine physique of the female figures on the hydria in Munich or psykter in St. Petersburg. A critic need not accept that the drawing is part of a pictorial strategy of deliberate inversion of masculinity, because the critic can claim that the drawing reflects the limitations of the existing pictorial repertoire (there was no vocabulary of feminine physiognomy).¹¹⁵ The writing of names is not limited to preexisting possibilities; if you can write one name, presumably, you can write any name. Euphronios made deliberate, positive choices in giving female figures names (Smikra, Epilykos) that correspond to the names of male vase-painters.

SMIK(R)A AND EPILYKOS GETTING IT ON IN BERLIN

The name “Smikra” is not unique to the psykter in Russia, but appears to identify a courtesan on an engrossing cup in Berlin (plate XXIV). The pictorial context in which she reoccurs substantially supports the hypothesis that self-conscious inversion of expectations informs the body of vase-painting we have been examining, and that nomenclature is an integral part of the artistic conception. In the tondo of the cup, two men and a woman, crammed onto a single couch, are engrossed in an orgy of intercourse, masturbation, and spanking.¹¹⁶ Lying beneath the couch is a woman who is completely self-absorbed. Her head is turned away from the other figures, her eyes are closed, and her left hand is on the top of her head. Perhaps she is asleep. But the position of her right hand, immediately before her pudenda, invites speculation that she is absorbed in masturbation. Female masturbation is unparalleled in Greek art.¹¹⁷ Who is this eye-catching orgiast? Her name was inscribed Σμικ[ρ]α or Σμικα.¹¹⁸

Curiously, the cup in Berlin also features the name of the other fictional artist of interest. On one exterior surface of the cup (figure 58), a bearded male figure, sexually aroused, flute-case hanging surprisingly from his erect penis, pursues with interest, it appears, the naked girl before him. Beginning at the tip of his penis is the recently restored inscription Ε[πιλυ]κος.¹¹⁹ The cup in Berlin dates to the same moment in time as the cups by Skythes bearing the



FIGURE 58: Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. 3251, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 113,7, Thalia Painter, ca. 510 BC., BAPD 200964. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.

frequent *kalos*-name and occasional artist's signature of Epilykos. On the Berlin cup, the figure labelled Epilykos is much advanced in age, judging from his full beard, from the time when he might be thought of as *kalos* in the sense of homoerotically desirable. He has been taken to represent another historical member of the same family, such as a depraved uncle.¹²⁰ There is much to said, however, in favor of the hypothesis that the imagery as well as the writing on this cup operates in a satiric or parodic mode, rather than a historical, documentary one. By parodic, I mean that the images presuppose a set of expectations familiar to patrons and vase-painters, which the images foil.¹²¹

To begin with the figure of Epilykos himself, the use of the erect penis as a means of transporting a flute-case is noteworthy not only for its inherent improbability (don't try this at home) but also for its precedents within Athenian vase-painting. In art, silens or satyrs, endowed with superhuman sexuality, omnipotent penises, and questionable judgment—not humans—transport flute-cases in this way.¹²² Anyone familiar with Athenian vase-painting would recognize that Epilykos' role models are silens, not real men. Consider also the boy in the tondo (plate XXIV). As he watches the older man screw the girl on his couch, the boy grips his own erect penis. In Athenian vase-painting, it is exceedingly rare to see mortal boys or men masturbating, but very common to see silens resorting to this practice (e.g., figure 34). Indeed, the very condition in which all the men on this cup run around, fully sexually aroused, is much more frequently seen in representations of silens (e.g., figure 25) than in representations of mortal men. When men are fully aroused in vase-painting of this period, they are usually engaged actively in the act of intercourse (as elsewhere on this cup). When men are carousing, as many of them are on the Berlin cup, they are not, as here, regularly shown to be all in a state of arousal (e.g., plate I).

The implied comparison between the men depicted on this cup, such as Epilykos, and the silens as pictured in contemporary vase-painting is significant. Silens epitomize the absence of self-control, modesty, and authority, which are integral to the Greek conception of masculinity. The frequency with which silens take hold of their sexual drive, literally, is partly an expression of the superhuman scope of their libido. It is equally, however, a consequence of their lack of authority to compel females to accommodate their sexual desire.¹²³ In vase-painting, the relative powerlessness of the silens to force themselves physically on the nymphs is epitomized in the image of one or more silens discovering a sleeping nymph (e.g., figure 40). The silens are depicted most often as mightily desirous of screwing the sleeping girl, but they are never shown as successfully consummating this desire. One fragmentary hydria in Malibu makes explicit the link between masturbation and powerlessness: a silen resorts to onanism as a nymph sleeps unmolested beside him.¹²⁴ In an intensification of the logic informing such contemporary vase-painting, the

boy in the tondo of the cup in Berlin (plate XXIV) masturbates while the girl, Smika, theoretically available to him as a sexual partner, chooses to satisfy herself instead.

In the pictorial program of the cup in Berlin, unprecedented sexual initiative, authority, and freedom are accorded to the girls, and more or less subordinate status is given to most of the men, in an inversion of expectation. In the tondo of the Berlin cup (plate XXIV), there is not only an unprecedented image of simultaneous male and female masturbation, but also a highly unusual image of female-on-male sadism. The girl on the couch may allow the man to penetrate her, but she is hardly a passive participant. Entwined with the man in a Kama-Sutric contortion, the girl has twisted her way on top of her partner, so that she can beat him on the buttocks with a shoe. Spanking with a sandal is not unknown in Greek art. Its earliest occurrences appear to be in scenes of the disciplining of children. The motif begins to appear in erotic situations around the time of this cup. The erotic interpretation of the practice first appears, perhaps, in the vase-painting of Euphronios. It is unprecedented, however, to see a woman threatening a man in this way.¹²⁵

On the outside of the cup (figure 58), a similar pattern of inversion of expectation is evident. The female figures seem relatively free of coercion. They initiate erotic intimacy with the male figures, or at least appear to be equal partners. One girl, for example, leads a man off by his erect penis, gripping it in her hand. Another girl balances on one leg, lifting the other, making her pudenda available visually to the spectator and physically to a young man. He rests on the ground, touches the girl's upper thigh with one hand, reaches for the pudenda with the other, and positions his face so close to the erogenous zone as to preclude any interpretation other than that he intends to stimulate the woman orally. This sexual practice is unparalleled in vase-painting. In the depicted action as well as the pictorial composition, the couple represents the submission of the male protagonist to the initiative or desire of the female.¹²⁶ In the one instance of sexual intercourse depicted on the exterior of the cup, both figures are standing, and the woman is taller than the man. By comparison with other contemporary pornographic vase-paintings, in which women are depicted down on all fours, accepting men from behind, this image is a picture of equability. Two of the male figures on the outside of the cup, it is true, portend physical domination. One carries a large knobby club, while the other holds, it appears, a shoe and grasps a woman by the arm. The implication of violent domination of the girl, however, is belied by the image within the tondo of the cup. Here, the shoe is on the other foot, so to speak: the sandal is in the hand of the woman, not the man, and it appears to be associated with stimulation rather than discipline. Even the physiognomy and dress of the male figures assimilate them visually to the female figures, setting up the latter, rather than the former, as the norm. All of the women depicted on the outside of the

cup wear their hair up in *sakkoi*. Many of the male figures on the exterior wear a similar form of headgear, which may correspond to what is called the *mitra*.¹²⁷ Like the female figures, the men are lithe and fit. It is possible to distinguish men from women solely through the presence or absence of breasts, erect penis, amulet, or ponytail.

The names inscribed beside several of the figures contribute to the impression that the decoration of the cup is conceived as an imaginary scene on the basis of earlier art or poetry. One girl is named $\Theta\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha$. The spelling is completely unattested as a historical personal name. Perhaps the painter meant to write “Thaleia”: this is a real if rare personal name. Its earliest surviving occurrence appears to be the name of a nymph within Athenian Dionysiac vase-painting.¹²⁸ But it is not necessary to assume that Thalia is a misspelling of Thaleia, for the former is a good Greek word meaning “abundance, good cheer, festivity” (related in part to the word *thaleia*). In [chapter two](#), it was noted that the word *thalia* was used in a number of early literary references, including a fragment of Archilochos (fragment 11W), to describe parties or festivities. The word was frequently coupled in early Greek poetry with a related term, *terpōlē*. The significance of *terpōlē* is that it is attested in connection with descriptions of parties as debauched as the one depicted on the Berlin cup. Compare “[i]n youth you are free to sleep all night with an age-mate and satisfy your craving for lovemaking; you may carouse and sing with a piper. No other pleasure compares with these for men and women. What are wealth and respect to me? Pleasure (*terpōlē*) combined with good cheer surpasses everything” (Theognis 1063–1068, quoted in [chapter two](#)). Another girl bears the name [ΑΦΡ]ΟΣ, historically unattested in Attica as a personal name, and transparently related to the name of the goddess presiding over the erotic escapades on this cup. The figure who carries the big club is named *Me[γ]as*. All that remains today are the first two letters. In a description of the vase written in 1838, the letters ΜΕΓΑΣ, *Megas*, are reported.¹²⁹ *Megas* is not otherwise attested as a personal name in Attica and is exceedingly rare elsewhere (though it is attested as the name of the father of a victor celebrated in Pindar’s *Eighth Nemean Ode* [16, 44]). Its meaning as an adjective, “big, giant,” seems ironically suited to the visual image of a mighty-club-wielding man who nevertheless seems unable to dominate a girl. It is nice to think of big, helpless *Megas* as the opposite of little, self-sufficient *Smika*. But it is important to note that gamma and lambda, as written on Athenian vases, are often very similar in form. If the personal name were *Melas*, not *Megas*, then the man with the club would bear the same name as the fellow-symposiast of *Smikros* on Euphronios’ krater in Munich ([plate III, figure 6](#)). In an important recent paper, Alan Shapiro even argued that the inscription running across the top of the tondo of the cup in Berlin, *Leagros kalos*, is a “tag-*kalos*” name identifying the young masturbator as Euphronios’ favorite *Leagros*.¹³⁰

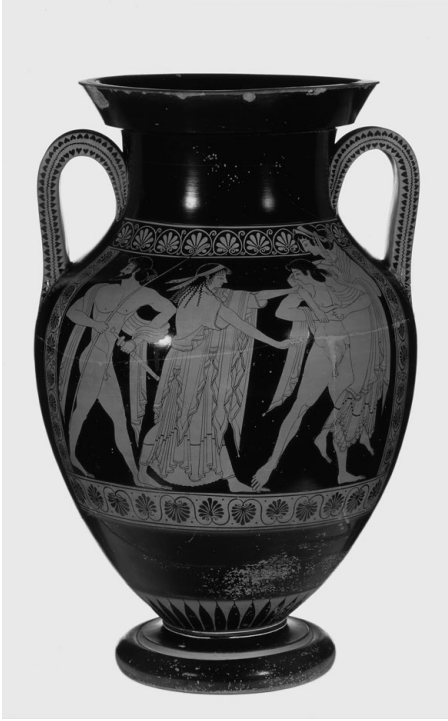


FIGURE 59: Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2309, red-figure amphora, ARV² 27,4, attributed to Euthymides, BAPD 200157. Photo: Renate Kühling. Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

The name of the girl pursued by Epilykos, Κορόνῃ, *Korōnē*, is the most interesting of all the names on the cup. It reappears in an ambitious pictorial joke on a red-figure amphora in Munich attributed to Euthymides, identical in date to the cup in Berlin. On the obverse (figure 59), Theseus carries off a girl identified by name as Κ(ο)ρόνῃ.¹³¹ In pursuit of the couple is a woman named Ηε(λ)ένῃ or Helen. On the reverse is a female figure named Ἀντιόπεια or Antiope. She is also in hot pursuit: εἶδον(θ)εμεν, *eidon the<o>men*, “I see them, let’s go!” she says. Both Helen and Antiope had the mythological distinction of being carried off by Theseus. The pictorial proposition is a humorous inversion of traditional mythology. The humor is based in part on the fact that the mythological heroines themselves seem to understand, in a kind of “meta-fictional” awareness of their own role within the tradition, that they are the ones Theseus should be carrying off. Luca Giuliani noted that the old man depicted on the reverse offers an incongruously friendly

greeting to the kidnapper: χαῖρε Θεῆσεύς, “greetings Theseus!” Jiří Frel nicely observed that there is another reversal of expectation at work here: Korōnē grasps the wrist of Theseus in the way that a groom is typically shown leading away a bride in Greek art. And she fingers Theseus’ hair with her other hand. Contrary to expectation, this girl *wants* to be carried off. This eagerness for erotic abduction can be correlated with another humorous reversal at work in this picture, namely, that the name “Korōnē” belongs not to heroic mythology, but rather to a literary tradition on prostitution.¹³²

In the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, there are six entries for Korōnē in Attica. Three of them derive from literature, and all of those refer to prostitutes. The *Chreiai* or *Remarks* of the Hellenistic writer Machon, for example, collects witty repartee among prostitutes, one of whom is named Korōnē (Athenaios 583a=Machon line 435 in Gow 1965, with p. 133). She also appeared in the learned study *Peri hetairōn*, “On Courtesans,” of the fourth-century writer Antiphanes of Thrace (Athenaios 587b). It is possible that a particular, memorable, historical person is behind the late Classical and Hellenistic literary references to a woman named Korōnē. But it

is intriguing to see that she also appeared in comedy, where the historicity of the name is less certain. For example, she is included in a list of courtesans in Menander's *Kolaki* or *Flatterers* (Athenaios 587e). She is alluded to perhaps in the even earlier Middle Comedy of Ephippos entitled *Homoioi* or *Obeliaphorai*.¹³³ It is even possible that the word *korōnē* was already associated with prostitution within the iambic poetry of Archilochos.¹³⁴ The only occurrence of the name *Korōnē* that unquestionably refers to a particular historical individual is the inscription on a stele of the fourth century BC (*IG II²* 11893).

The girl named *Korōnē* on the amphora by Euthymides (figure 59) has been understood to represent a historical courtesan at Athens in the late sixth century. Frel proposed that the vase-painter Euthymides was flattering the local courtesan, by suggesting that the hero Theseus would have preferred her to either of his traditional loves. Frel's argument rested in part on the occurrence of a *kalē*-inscription on an early fifth-century white-ground lekythos. The vase depicts a female figure mounting a chariot, Apollo, a fawn, and the inscription *Κορο(ν)ε καλε, φιλο*, "I love beautiful *Korōnē*." The inscription occurs in a zone under the picture and therefore may be unrelated to the image (it is worth recalling, however, that Apollo once loved a beautiful girl named *Korōnis*).¹³⁵ If the reading of the inscription on the lekythos is accurate, and if it is right to read the inscription without reference to the mythological image, and if it is correct to assume that a vase-painter would never write "I love the beautiful girl so-and-so" unless the girl in question were a real person and a prostitute, then the *kalē*-inscription provides some support for the belief that there was a courtesan at Athens around 500 BC who went by the name of *Korōnē*. But there is also indisputable evidence that the name occurred repeatedly within ancient literature, ranging from the early fourth century BC until well into the third, as the name of a courtesan. The name appears to have been part of a literary tradition about prostitution. Any individual occurrence of the name therefore does not necessarily attest to the existence of a contemporary woman working in the sex trade. The appearance of *Korōnē* on the amphora in Munich (figure 59) or cup in Berlin (figure 58) can be understood as part of the mechanism that enshrined this name in the annals of prostitution.

This point is supported by the repeated appearance within contemporary vase-paintings of the names of *Epilykos* and *Smika* (or *Smikra*), or their gender-inverted forms. The tight pattern of reoccurrence suggests that these people exist primarily within the collective pictorial imagination of the Pioneer vase-painters. What are the chances that *Smika*, the girl in the tondo of the Berlin cup (plate XXIV), is completely unrelated to *Smikra*, one of the naked girls on Euphronios' psykter (figure 54)? Numerous other features of the Berlin cup (raised black-glazed clay dots for curly hair in the tondo, the pose of the girl dancing on one foot, the standed lamps, the view of the

bottom of Smika's foot, the *kalos*-name Leagros, the possible personal name "Melas," the Kachrylion-esque potter-work) suggest that the name "Smika" is one of the cup's many features indebted to Euphronios. Indeed, a comparison between the hair, head, ears, and face of Ekphantidēs on the krater in Munich (figure 6), and those of the bearded man in the tondo of the Berlin cup (plate XXIV), suggests that Euphronios painted both men.¹³⁶ Two of the names on the cup, Smika and Epilykos, appear in gender-inverted form as Epilykē and Smikros, on the contemporary hydria in Berlin (plate XXII), which has been attributed to Euphronios or an artist under his influence. The names Smikros and Epilykos occur as artists' signatures on contemporary vases attributable to two artists, Euphronios and Skythes, mutually associated with the potter Kachrylion. This intricate and elaborate network of artistic interconnections supports the hypothesis that the names of Smikros and Epilykos, as well as the names of their "twin sisters," were not only familiar to, but also most likely generated by, artists looking at each other's vase-painting.

To summarize, pictorial as well as onomastic considerations suggest that the Berlin cup in general (plate XXIV, figure 58), and the names of Smika and Epilykos in particular, are part of a complex web of comic ceramic invention. Two special features characterize the pictorial proposition of the cup. One is an inversion of the expected, conventional balance of gender power, where men are on top. The other is the occurrence of sexual practices unattested elsewhere in art. The inversion accords poorly with the idea that the cup is rooted primarily in male sexual fantasy, for there is little evidence, so far as I know, of Archaic Greek male fantasies comparable to the modern fascination with the "dominatrix." The absence of parallels for certain sexual practices suggests that the vase-painting is not a record of popular customs. The two features together are reminiscent of the sort of inversion of gender power and exaggerated sexual situations attested in Old Comedy such as the *Lysistrata* or *Ekklesiazousai* of Aristophanes. It is not necessary to look forward in time, however, to identify parallels in poetry for the inversion of roles played by men and women in sexual situations, or esoteric erotic practices. The (in)famous Cologne epode of Archilochos (fragment 196aW, discussed in chapter two) tells the story of an encounter between a man and a young woman in which the man does not get what he wanted from the girl. In the course of the narrative, he scales back his initial request to something less than the ultimate delight. Leaving the girl intact, the man achieves satisfaction "just touching her (pubic) hair." This story celebrates rhetorical persuasion and realistic trade-offs, not physical coercion. For listeners or readers familiar with the physical domination and sexual exploitation of goddesses and women by figures such as Zeus, the Cologne epode is as surprising and amusing as the conceptually comparable cup in Berlin.

HISTORY AND ART HISTORY IN THE NAMES OF EUPHRONIOS

Long ago, it was assumed that the person praised in a *kalos*-inscription was an exact contemporary of the vase-painter or potter who wrote the message. More recently, it has become apparent that a name (e.g., Onetorides, Leagros) may continue to occur in *kalos*-inscriptions over a period of several decades. It is not safe to assume that a person praised for beauty will be a young contemporary of the writer.¹³⁷ But it remains a truism that a man praised on a vase for his beauty will have lived within the lifetime of the artist. One unfortunately fragmentary vase attributed to Euphronios challenges that assumption.

On pieces of a neck amphora in New York and Paris (figure 60), there are parts of two figures and two intriguing names. On one side of the vase, it appears that there was a solitary male figure. Alongside the figure is the inscription [Γλαυκ]υτες κα[λος]. On the other side of the vase, there was a solitary aulos-player. Above the musician's head is the inscribed name Σμινδυριδες.¹³⁸ If the *kalos*-name is correctly restored (there are few possible alternatives), it most likely refers to a potter who signed three black-figure Little Master cups dating to the period 550–530 BC *Glaukutes epoïēsen*. There is no attestation of this personal name in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* apart from these vase-inscriptions.¹³⁹ The potter Glaukytes must have been quite old by 515 or 510 BC, when the Euphronian neck amphora was painted. He was certainly no longer *kalos* (if he ever was). Indeed, one wonders if a potter born sometime around 570 or 560 BC was even alive in 510. How could a potter be called *kalos* if he were no longer living? How would anyone remember his name? The man may have disappeared, but his *name* was available for any vase-painter to see as a signature on a pot still hanging around the Kerameikos, or dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis. The inscription on the Euphronian vase raises the possibility that *kalos*-names sometimes might refer to a more or less well-known name, rather than a living, breathing man.

This idea is supported by the name on the other side of the vase. Smindyrides is an extremely rare name—just four occurrences in the *Lexicon* for Attica and none elsewhere. One was well known and long remembered. In Herodotos (6.127), among the many suitors vying for the hand of the daughter of Megakles, including the famous Hippokleides who “danced his marriage away,” was Smindyrides, son of Hippokrates, of Sybaris. Herodotos reports that he was the most luxurious man of his day. Stories about his way



FIGURE 60: Paris, Musée du Louvre, C11187 and, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.228.8, fragmentary red-figure neck amphora, ARV² 18, attributed to Euphronios, BAPD 200094. © RMN-Grand-Palais/Art Resource, NY.

of life (he never saw the sun rise or set, and he brought 1,000 slaves with him to Athens for the suitors' contest) continued to be told long after (Athenaios 273b–c and 541b–c). Of course, it is possible that a historical, late sixth-century aulos-player styled himself, in name at least, after the earlier, infamous man from Sybaris. But if the name “Smindyrides” was remembered at Athens two or three generations after the famous suitors' contest, as much as it appears to have been remembered later, then one wonders if there need be any real contemporary man behind Euphronios' representation of the aulos-player named Smindyrides. He is comprehensible in roughly the manner in which a figure in vase-painting named Achilles is meaningful—in relation to a familiar story. What seems innovative about the appearance of Smindyrides within Euphronios' vase-painting is the opening up of the borders of acceptable forms of storytelling for representation on vases. From legends of long ago to relatively recent Athenian tabloid-like gossip.

Consider another name from relatively recent Greek (art) history, which also served as the name of one or more Athenian potters. On at least two very early black-figure lip-cups of the mid-sixth century, there is the elaborate signature, spread across the two main surfaces of the vase, Εὐχῆρος ἐποιῆσεν, and ἠοργοτίμῳ υἱοῦς, “Eucheiros painted [me], the son of Ergotimos.” The father is presumably the very Ergotimos responsible for the somewhat earlier François vase (plates XIV–XV).¹⁴⁰ Another mid-sixth-century cup, mentioned earlier in this chapter, contains the beautiful two-part inscription, *kalon eimi poterion*, and *Euch[ei]ros epoïesen eme*, “I am a beautiful cup, Eucheiros made me!”¹⁴¹ The name “Eucheiros” is rare. It occurs just thirteen times in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. In Attica, it is attested in just two inscriptions apart from the vase-inscriptions just enumerated, the earliest being a naval roster of 405 BC. It is possible that Eucheiros was a traditional name within a single, real family of potters. The first member of the family known to us is Ergotimos. Then there is his son Eucheiros. In addition, a fragmentary sixth-century black-figure cup in the Vatican bears the letters Εὐχῆρῶ υἱοῦς, “son of Eucheiros,” presumably part of a potter's signature.¹⁴²

But the son of Ergotimos is not the earliest potter known in antiquity to be named Eucheiros. The earliest one figures in a story about a Corinthian man named Demaratos. When Kypselos seized power in 657 BC, Demaratos emigrated from Corinth to Etruria and brought with him three *factores*, “workers in clay.” Their names were Diopus, Eugrammus, and Euchir (“Eucheir” in Greek, Pliny, *Natural History* 35.43 [152]; Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Archaeology* 3.46.3).¹⁴³ Demaratos married an aristocratic Etruscan woman and produced a son, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who went on to become king of Rome from 616 to 579 BC. The transparent quality of the names of the artists travelling with Demaratos—*Eu-grammus*, “Good at drawing,” *Eu-cheir*, “Good with the hand”—have seemed so appropriate

to their occupations as to suggest that the whole story was an invention of later times, say the fourth century BC, for the purpose of inserting Greek ancestry into the genealogy of the Tarquinian kings of Rome. Archaeological discoveries, however, actually support the basic narrative: Corinthian trade with Etruria flourished in the seventh century BC, and there were Corinthian potters working in Etruria by the beginning of the sixth century. The name of Diopos is actually attested on a terracotta antefix from Sicily.¹⁴⁴ Percy Ure advanced the argument in favor of an early date for the story even further, by calling attention to the mid-sixth-century Athenian lip-cups signed “Eucheiros made it, Ergotimos’ son.” He suggested that the Athenian potter of this name was the grandson of the Eucheir who emigrated to Etruria in the middle of the seventh century.¹⁴⁵

Ure effectively demolished the argument that the story of Demaratos and the itinerant artisans can safely be assumed to be a later concoction simply because of the utter ridiculousness of the artisans’ names. But his genealogical speculation itself pushes up against the limits of believability. If Eucheiros the emigrant is already active around 650 BC, and Ergotimos is still active after 570 BC, then Eucheiros would have been ancient when he conceived Ergotimos, who in turn must have been quite old when he potted the revolutionary François vase. Geographically, the reconstruction is also puzzling: would a Corinthian potter relocate to Etruria, and then relocate again to Athens, which is where Ergotimos potted vases? In short, there is a case to be made that the name of Ergotimos’ son Eucheiros derives from the name of the much earlier Corinthian artisan emigre not because he was the boy’s grandfather, but because he had achieved legendary status among potters.

To end this chapter, let us return to the two vases with which it began, and look again at some of the names written on them. On the krater in Munich (plate III, figure 6), the name of the drinker who is belting out a tune, *Ekphantidēs*, is not attested at Athens or elsewhere before the mid-fifth century, when it is attested as the name of the earliest of the comic poets. But *Ekphantidēs* means “son of Ekphantos,” and the name of Ekphantos is more significant. According to Pliny (*Natural History* 35.5 [16]), Ekphantos of Corinth was the first person to add color within the outlines of drawings by grinding clay (literally *testae*, “sherds”) to make pigments. Taking Pliny’s claim at face value, Ekphantos developed his innovative painting technique well before the sixth century BC, when plaques decorated with several different colors of pigment are archaeologically attested.¹⁴⁶ One way of reading the name of the singer on Euphronios’ krater is that he is the “son” of a famous artist. And he is the “son” not of a living, breathing contemporary artist, but of a legend of early art history.¹⁴⁷ There is a case to be made that Euphronios has placed his own “son,” Smikros, in the company of another “son” of a legendary ceramic artist.

Let us turn to the vase with which this book began, the stamnos in Brussels (plate I, figure 1). As soon as one begins to suspect that Smikros could not really have hosted a party as lavish as this on the wages of a pot-painter, one begins to wonder about the nature of his companions. I call attention to four names, two female and two male. The name of Chorō, the girl sitting with Pheidiadēs (figure 7), is related in meaning to the Greek word for dance. In the *Lexicon*, there are two occurrences of the name in all of Greece, this vase and a Hellenistic inscription on Crete. The name is better attested as that of a mythological girl.¹⁴⁸ Most informatively, a closely related form of the name, Χοραν[θε], “dance-blossom,” occurs on a stamnos in Paris identical in form and attributed by Beazley to the same hand as the vase in Brussels (i.e., Smikros). Here, however, Choranthē cannot be a historical figure, because she is accompanied by Dionysos and his mythical silens.¹⁴⁹ Another girl on the Brussels vase, the companion of Automenēs, is named Rhodē. On the stamnos in Paris, there is a nymph named Ρο(δ)ανθε. Two of the three female figures on each of these closely related vases have names formed on the same stem—Chorō/Choranthē, Rhodē, Rhodanthē—yet in one case they are clearly fictional figures, belonging to a pictorial tradition (the depiction of silens and nymphs) in which wholesale invention of personal names is, as noted earlier, the norm.¹⁵⁰ Why assume that Chorō and Rhodē are not wholesale inventions as well?

Turning to the names of the male figures, one man on the reverse (figure 1), who handles the vases for the party, is named Εὐαρχος. Euarchos is an uncommon historical name in Attica.¹⁵¹ There is, however, one occurrence of the name earlier than the vase in Brussels. It is the name of an Athenian potter. On a black-figure cup in Florence, dated to 550 or 540 BC, there are the inscriptions Εὐαρχο[ς] ἐποίησεν μί, “Euarchos made me.”¹⁵² Although the name is relatively well attested in several different regions of Greece, in Athens, it is first attested as that of a potter.

Pheidiadēs, the name of the drinker to the left of Smikros on the vase in Brussels, is praised for his beauty on the London stamnos signed *Smikros egraphsen*. The name also occurs on a contemporary vase-fragment, which was once attributed to Smikros by Ohly-Dumm but now attributed to Euphronios.¹⁵³ As a historical personal name, Pheidiadēs is not common. It is unattested in the *Lexicon* outside of Attica. Within Attica, there are ten occurrences. Only one appears to be early enough to correspond to our Pheidiadēs, a dedication from the Acropolis made by Pheidiadēs and dated 500–480 BC.¹⁵⁴ This dedication is close in date to the stamnos in Brussels and might be seen as the best evidence that one of the figures within the vase-painting represents a contemporary historical Athenian. That may well be the case. But Mario Iozzo has recently argued that Pheidiadēs is also the name of a contemporary Athenian potter. On a lekythos in a private collection,

attributed to Paseas, and dated to 510 BC, around the top of the mouth, there is an *epoiēsen*-signature. Once read as Theidiadis, it has been re-interpreted by Iozzo as Pheidiadēs, the very man praised and depicted on contemporary vases signed *Smikros egraphsen*.¹⁵⁵

In short, a total of three of the names of the men depicted on the stamnos in Brussels, Pheidiadēs, Euarchos, and Smikros, are names of artisans known from signatures on other Athenian vases. This is quintessentially a vase-painting about the men who make painted vases.

EPILOGUE: PERSUASION, DECEPTION, AND ARTISTRY

One of the very celebrated works of Athenian vase-painting, a red-figure cup of around 500 BC, bears a signature—*Peithinos egraphsen*, “the Persuader painted [it]”—that, almost everybody agrees, is too good to be true (plate XXV, figures 61–62).¹ In the bowl of the cup, Peleus has his arms fastened around Thetis. His grip is unbreakable. Transform herself as she may into lion or serpent—for she is a goddess of the amorphous sea—Peleus remains wrapped around the goddess like a ring around a finger. On the outside of the cup, boys of exactly the same age as the hero, with the first trace of beard appearing on their cheeks like sideburns, pursue love. On one side of the cup, the adolescents court the attention and physical contact of younger boys, who exhibit no facial hair at all and are shorter in stature. On the other side, adolescent boys interact with beautiful women (notice the inscriptions identifying both men and women as *kalos* or *kalē*, “beautiful”). The three pictures are linked through the repetition not only of adolescent boys of the same age, but also of decorative bands of interlocking meander patterns. Every figure stands on the same decorative border, which circles the cup both inside and out. The significance of the pattern band as a linking device is made manifest by the design formed by the interlocking fingers of the firmly clasped hands of Peleus. The effect of the formation of the fingers is to transform the border decoration, which is usually extrinsic to the pictorial content of a vase-painting, into an intrinsic part of the picture.²

There seems to be an obvious affinity in content between the pictures, but no one can agree on the precise pictorial proposition of the cup as a whole.



FIGURE 61: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2279, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 115,2, signed by Peithinos, BAPD 200977. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Obverse.



FIGURE 62: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2279, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 115,2, signed by Peithinos, BAPD 200977. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.

Defined loosely enough, “courtship” may describe the general goal of the action in each picture: courtship, that is to say, some means to satisfy a desire for physical contact with another person.³ In the tondo (plate XXV), Peleus demonstrates the simplest approach. The unfolding action is, in one sense, nothing other than rape. The interpretation of even this seemingly clear-cut case is complicated, however, by the identities of the figures and the plans of the gods. The scene on the obverse of the cup (figure 61) depicts adolescents bent, like Peleus, on consummating a physical relationship, in this case, with a younger boy. It is apparent from the action and erection of the adolescent bending his knees that he, and presumably his friends, hope to consummate their desire between the legs of the little boys. All four of the young boys are held physically by their older adolescent interlocutors, who wrap their left arms tightly around the necks of the boys, or hold the back of their heads with one hand. Like Thetis, the boys do not allow the adolescents to take easy liberties with their little bodies.⁴ Three of the young boys grip the right arm of their would-be lover and push, it seems, the arm away from its erogenous goal.

Between the adolescents and boys, on the one hand, and Peleus and Thetis, on the other, there are real similarities in aim or intention. The adolescents are intent on consummating a relationship physically, and they lay hands on the ones they desire. The boys and Thetis are determined to resist. The difference between the actions unfolding in the two pictures is, in part, a matter of physical difficulty. A goddess of the sea has special, superhuman abilities to elude capture; Peleus’ success in hanging on to Thetis throughout her transformations is one measure of his stature as a hero. Not every man is up to such a challenge. If the conquest of Thetis is the standard against which the conquests of little boys are measured, the scene unfolding on the obverse of the cup is amusingly anticlimactic. The courting of boys, however, seems to entail something more than is required to bed a sea goddess. The picture of Peleus and Thetis gives the impression that all he must do to prevail is hold on to her physically. He does not make eye contact; nothing suggests that the goddess and hero communicate in any way. One wonders if the couple ever exchanged words. The peculiar nature of the “courtship” depicted in the tondo has much to do with the underlying story. Thetis resists Peleus not because there is something lacking in him as a man, but precisely because he *is* a man. Peleus was not moved, like Ixion, by goddess-lust to pursue this improbable relationship. Indeed, he was selected by Zeus to be Thetis’ husband precisely because he showed himself to be immune to lust at the court of Pelias.⁵

In the picture of the adolescents courting boys, nothing suggests that the former will ultimately get their way simply by hanging on to the latter. The little boys undergo no physical transformations that a lover need merely wait out. Something more is required to get to yes. One method is material offering. The second adolescent from the left has just given a boy two apples,

and the boy is plucking a third out of his suitor's hand. Something equally effective but less tangible seems to be entailed in the intense eye contact between two other pairs of lovers and beloved. They seem to be engaged in communication. Courting boys may require not heroic physical strength but seductive speech. The importance of speech is underscored by the picture on the other side of the cup (figure 62). Here, if erotic desire underlies the unfolding action, physical contact or coercion is no part of the image at all. Perhaps the most noticeable difference among the three images on the cup is the spatial gap that separates the men from the women. If the gap is going to be closed, and physical contact made, and desire consummated, it will be closed, it seems, through speech alone. On the question of how, by what means, one forms an intimate relationship with another person, the picture on the reverse of the cup represents the polar opposite of what is shown in the tondo.

If mapped onto a Venn diagram, the three pictures on the cup translate into an elegantly symmetrical design. The scene on the reverse shares with the picture in the tondo the presence of both male and female, but the two pictures differ entirely with respect to whether the boy makes physical contact with the girl. The scene on the obverse shares with the tondo the physical contact between the lover and beloved, but differs completely with respect to gender of the beloved. The pictures on the obverse and reverse are peopled with identical, sandal-clad adolescent lovers, and the objects of their attention are all unshod. But obverse and reverse differ sharply on the question of how close I can get to the beloved. All three pictures have in common comparably mature adolescent lovers, and all three pictures differ from one another on the status of the beloved—boy, girl, goddess. The cup invites one to play with it like a game, turning it round, tallying similarities and differences among the three pictures, except that the common underlying subjects of erotic desire and procreation are more than just a game.

One is reminded of the Cologne epode of Archilochos (fragment 196a, chapter two) and its epic comparanda. Most of the poem consists of a conversation between the narrator, who wishes to consummate his passion, and the girl he desires. It entails no disregarding of anything said in the poem to imagine one of the heterosexual couples on the reverse of the cup exchanging the poem's pair of speeches. In Book Fourteen of the *Iliad*, Zeus is overcome, like the narrator of the epode, by desire for immediate physical, sexual contact with Hera. Like the narrator, the god is met with resistance that he must overcome. But the concessions he must make are far less than those agreed to by the narrator of the epode. And the effect of his tactless enumeration of women he has had serves to remind us that Zeus can and did physically force himself upon any mortal who roused his slightest desire. The moment shown in the tondo of the cup has much more in common with the "courtship" practiced by Zeus than with the strategy taken by the narrator of the epode.

In Book Six of the *Odyssey*, the hero finds himself in conversation with a young girl of marriageable age. What he desires from her at the moment unfolding in the epic is far from sexual. But the idea that Nausikaa will soon marry is voiced at the beginning of the episode, and the possibility that others will suspect that she fancies the hero, or that he will become her husband, or that she thinks he is the ideal kind of man to marry, is prominent in her speeches. What Book Six of the *Odyssey* has in common with epode of Archilochos is the emphasis placed on the importance of persuasive speech in a man's interactions with a girl. Emblematic of the vast differences between the ways Zeus moves in the world and the constraints on a mortal man is Odysseus' deliberation over whether to make physical contact with Nausikaa at all: "[s]hould he fling his arms around her knees, the young beauty, plead for help, or stand back, plead with a winning word, beg her to lead him to the town and lend him clothing? This was the better way, he thought. Plead now with a subtle, winning word and stand well back, don't clasp her knees, the girl might bridle, yes" (6.141–147). The boys courting girls on the reverse of the cup appear to have taken the example of Odysseus to heart. The scenario sketched out in the Cologne epode is similar to the scene of adolescents courting little boys on the obverse in plotting a middle course between coercion and persuasion. Like the narrator of the poem, the adolescents meet with resistance from the objects of their desire. Like the narrator, the adolescents are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the option of brute physical force. They rely instead on the Odyssean art of rhetorical persuasion. Through skillful negotiation, it may be possible to consummate one's desire for the beloved, although one may not get all that one asks for. One pictorial proposition of the cup as a whole is that *biē* or "force," by itself, is about as realistic, as a viable means of seduction in the here and now, as a women sprouting lions and serpents.

That interpretation is satisfyingly secular, but it conceals a significant ambiguity, namely, the identity of the female figures on the reverse. What kind of women are they? Nothing definitively rules out the possibilities that they are goddesses or heroines. In modern scholarship, however, just two identifications are seriously debated. Some scholars take it for granted that the female figures are courtesans. Eva Keuls argued that the pictures on the cup, though drawn from the diverse discourses of mythological narrative and the depiction of contemporary life, are nevertheless held together by a single thought: the pleasures of illicit sex, with either little boys or grown courtesans, versus the drudgery of marriage. "The total program of the kylix contrasts extra-marital sex, based on negotiation and free will, with marital sex based on compulsion."⁶ Keuls did not offer arguments in favor of identifying the female figures as courtesans or prostitutes. When they are offered by other scholars, however, the arguments are far from conclusive. The physical separation between the adolescents and the women is puzzling if the latter are theoretically open to more

or less indiscriminate physical intimacy. This puzzling reticence is attributed to a need for a “gingerly” approach. Examples are offered of vase-paintings of men interacting with alleged courtesans in which the former keep a respectful distance from the latter during negotiations.⁷ The parallels are themselves highly problematic, however, for the identity or status of the women is uncertain. And the bags of coins or knucklebones, present in the parallels and possibly suggestive of gift-giving or monetary exchange, are conspicuously absent from the picture on the cup.⁸

The distance between the adolescents and the female figures is explained in a completely different way by James Davidson. Far from being in the midst of delicate negotiations for the favors of the courtesans, the adolescents are recoiling from the wiles of feminine persuasion. “They are fiercely resisting the temptation of lovely brazen ladies.” This reading makes it possible for Davidson, like Keuls, to offer an interpretation of the entire cup, but his is quite different from hers: the theme of the cup is twofold, both entrapment and also, as unambiguously illustrated on the obverse and in the tondo, resistance.⁹ But the argument in favor of the reading founders on the pictorial parallels provided by the cup itself, not to mention other vase-paintings. The claim that the adolescents wrap themselves tightly in their cloaks and bow their heads in this picture, specifically to indicate a sense of *aidos* or shame at physical intimacy with sluts, loses its force as soon as one turns the cup around. Two of the three adolescents interacting with girls are identical in pose and dress to adolescents courting boys (compare reverse figures 3 and 5 [from left] with figures 1 and 8 on the obverse). The adolescent wrapped tightly in his mantle is identical in pose and reserve to his counterpart on the other side of the cup, just not in the tightness of his wrap. Moreover, the gesture made by each of the three women on the reverse of the cup—one hand held up, palm out, fingers open—is easily paralleled in other vase-paintings in which the narratives indicate that the gesture means “stop, slow down.” The gestures suggest that the unseen verbal exchange presumably taking place in this scene of courtship is much closer to the dialogue that occurs between the narrator and the girl he desires in the Cologne epode than to the scenario envisioned by Davidson.¹⁰ Andrew Stewart rightly recognized that the entire pictorial ensemble, dress as well as demeanor, suggests that the female figures are equal in status to the well-dressed and demure adolescents with whom they interact. They are not, he argued, *hetairai*.¹¹ If one looks to the picture in the tondo for guidance, because it contains the only other female figure on the entire cup, one might conclude that the female figures on the reverse, like Thetis, are possible future mothers of children to their adolescent suitors. They are, in other words, potential spouses. They correspond in status to neither of the other two types of beloved on this cup. As a goddess, Thetis is so far above Peleus that the only means available to him of courting her successfully is cunning, perseverance, and divine sanction.

The little boys are perhaps of the same social class as the adolescents, to judge from their similarly nice clothing. But they are smaller and weaker. Courting them requires a lighter touch, a certain deference, but it is still possible to corral them. The girls are equal to the adolescents in age as well as the cost of their clothing. A rough equality of status is suggested pictorially through the symmetry that exists between each male–female pair. Equals cannot be coerced or cajoled physically, but only appealed to with words.

That is one possible reading of the cup, but it is not the only reading, and the reason why the interpretation is open is that the cup holds back. Alan Shapiro nicely encapsulated the ambiguity of the picture of male–female courtship when he wrote “[i]t is hard to imagine where the scene on B could take place—perhaps at a religious festival, one of the few occasions on which a respectable girl might be seen in public.”¹² The vase–painter who explicitly indicated the setting of the courtship of little boys as occurring in a gymnasium (note the strigils, sponges, and aryballoi hanging from pegs) seems to have gone out of his way to mystify the setting of the courtship between adolescents and girls. One is reminded, again, of the Cologne epode, which unfolds in an empty meadow (unless some more specific setting is noted in its opening lines). Further ambiguities concern the age of the adolescents. It has been noticed that they seem much younger than the active male lovers, or *erastēs*, familiar from literary sources or depicted on other vase–paintings.¹³ By the time Zeus granted Peleus the honor of marrying Thetis, the hero had more adventures under his belt than a lad of fourteen or fifteen, sporting his first beard, could ever have had. It appears that, in reality, an Athenian man gave thought to marrying a girl at some point in his twenties or later, not his mid-teens.¹⁴ The courting pictured on the reverse of the cup has something in common with mythical scenes of courtship, such as the dance of marriageable boys and girls led by young Theseus for the benefit of the princess Ariadne (figure 32).¹⁵ The point is, the pictorial program of the cup is not predicated on precise correspondences between the represented figures and real people, social classes, occupations, and customs. The subject of the cup is not social history but discourse, and it affords more than one point of view.

WHO IS PEITHINOS?

The theme of the pictorial program of the cup in Berlin is signaled in the tondo by the signature of the painter who claims to have painted it: Π[ε]ίθινος ἔγραψε. His name, Peithinos, derives from the verb *peithō*, “to persuade.” Outside of Athenian vase–painting, the name is attested as a real, historical name but once in the entirety of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, for a second-century Boiotian man. Within vase–painting, it occurs one other time, on a somewhat earlier red-figure fragment, discussed below. It is all but certain



FIGURE 63: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2278, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 21,1, attributed to the Sosias Painter, BAPD 200108. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Tondo.

that the name of the painter, “The Persuader,” was invented to clarify the pictorial proposition of his vase-painting.¹⁶

It would well serve the purposes of this book to be able to demonstrate that the cup in Berlin, signed *Peithinos egraphsen*, like the vase-painting signed *Smikros egraphsen*, was actually painted by an artist using a different name in other signatures. The stylistic affinities of the cup have proven hard to pin down. Long ago, an attempt was made by Paul Hartwig to assign additional vase-paintings to the great artist Peithinos, the semantic value of whose name attracted relatively less

attention. The most important attribution was the extraordinary cup in Berlin with the signature *Sosias epoïesen* (figures 63–64).¹⁷ The two cups in Berlin share a very high level of elaboration, particularly in the drawing of the clothing, such as the short sleeves with swallow-tail folds or the spotted cat-skin seat covers with carefully drawn manes. They also share a conception of the cup as a means of offering three images linked in theme. Adding to the links between the two cups is a contemporary red-figure oinochoe in New York (figure 65), which appeared long after Hartwig wrote. The oinochoe bears the graffito inscription *Euthymides epoïesen*, though it is generally not believed to have been painted by Euthymides.¹⁸ It is also a very elaborately detailed vase-painting and exhibits similar short swallow-tail sleeves. Although the drawing of the oinochoe is almost as mannered as the drawing of Peithinos’ cup, there are differences. Among the puzzling aspects of the style of the Peithinos cup is the drawing of horizontal wavy lines in dilute glaze to indicate folds over the breasts of the female figures. This peculiar mannerism does not occur on the oinochoe or the Sosias cup.

In the 1942 edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Beazley compared Peithinos’ cup to a different but equally interesting cup. He placed it “in the neighborhood of” the infamous cup discussed in the [previous chapter](#), the “name vase” of the Thalia Painter ([plate XXIV, figure 58](#)), and one other cup tentatively assigned that artist (Louvre G68). Given the differences in subject matter among the three pieces, there is a limited amount of drawing with which to make direct comparison. But there are similarities in draftsmanship in the anatomical details of the torsos of the men between the orgy-cup and Peithinos’ cup, and the faces of the female figures on all three pieces.



FIGURE 64: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2278, red-figure cup, *ARV*² 21.1, attributed to the Sosias Painter, BAPD 200108. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Courtesy bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY. Reverse.



FIGURE 65: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.11.9, red-figure oinochoe, BAPD 9988. Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, OASC.

If Beazley's comparison seemed elusive in 1942, it was stunningly confirmed by the subsequent appearance of a second signature of Peithinos. The inscription, Πει(θ)ινοσ [ε]γγραφε, appears on a fragment of a cup depicting a silen in the Cahn collection.¹⁹ The silen is remarkably close in drawing to the silens on Louvre G68. In the second edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (115), Beazley was circumspect about the implications of all this. In a letter to Herbert Cahn, he was much more forthcoming:

In ARV, 81, the Berlin Peithinos was placed in the neighborhood of Berlin inv. 3251 [plate XXIV, figure 58] and Louvre G68 which are nos. 7 and 8 in the list of vases by the Thalia Painter. The new Peithinos (no. 1) points in the same direction, for it must surely be an earlier work by the same artist as Louvre G68. If so, it is by the Thalia Painter, and the Thalia Painter would be Peithinos. On the other hand, but for the signature, no one would have thought of connecting it directly with the Berlin Peithinos, which is of course considerable later—contemporary with the other cups that bear the same kalos-name—and an exceptional piece, among the most elaborate of all cups (and among the most affected)? You see that I have hesitated to say, “the Thalia Painter is Peithinos,” and to fuse the two lists.²⁰

The difficulty posed by the Peithinos cup for Beazley is signaled by the words he retained for *ARV*² (115): “an exceptional piece, among the most elaborate of all cups (and among the most affected).” It is, in other words, highly self-conscious, in the manner in which it is painted. As such, it partially defies Beazley's methodology, inasmuch as he relied on more or less un-self-conscious habits of drawing.²¹ As such, it also calls to mind the painting of Euphronios as discussed in this book. Indeed, one significance of the interconnections identified by Beazley is that they bring the cup signed by Peithinos into the orbit of the vase-painting of Euphronios, because the remarkable orgy cup in Berlin, the name-vase of the “Thalia Painter,” as noted in the [previous chapter](#), has extensive points of contact with the painting of Euphronios. In shaping the content of the cup in Berlin to suit the name of the artist who alleged to have painted it, or shaping the name of the artist to suit its pictorial proposition, the painting of this vase has the hallmarks of Euphronios' subjective approach to vase-painting, even in its style.

THE PERSUADER: ERASTĒS OR ARTIST?

If the oinochoe in New York ([figure 65](#)) and Peithinos' cup ([plate XXV](#), [figures 61–62](#)) were not painted by the same artist, they nevertheless inform the interpretation of each other in one particular way. On the oinochoe, there is a female figure identified by inscription as Peitho, the goddess of persuasion.²² This is the earliest certain occurrence of the goddess in art. Her appearance on a vase very close in time and style to the cup in Berlin assures

us that “persuasion” was not too subtle a concept for a late Archaic vase-painter to work with. The narrative context in which Peitho appears on the oinochoe in New York is perhaps of additional significance. It is the judgment of Paris. The contest among the three goddesses is at least nominally a beauty contest. Physical attraction is theoretically one of the criteria that might lead Paris to award the apple of discord to one goddess as opposed to another. Reading the vase-painting in that way, Peitho would represent the persuasive attractiveness of Aphrodite’s physical beauty. A useful comparison is a slightly later vase in Boston that depicts Paris leading Helen away like a bride.²³ The diminutive god of love, Eros, flutters ahead of Helen; Aphrodite follows behind, adjusting the women’s veil. And behind Aphrodite follows a goddess labeled Peitho. In this vase-painting, it is reasonable to think that Peitho is the embodiment of the power of erotic attraction to persuade a person (Helen) to give herself over to her lover. In the *Encomium to Helen*, the mid-fifth-century sophist Gorgias essentially describes infatuation as a form of persuasion: εἰ οὖν τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματι τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ὄμμα ἤσθεν προθυμίαν καὶ ἄμιλλαν ἔρωτος τῇ ψυχῇ παρέδωκε, τί θαυμαστόν, “if, therefore, the eye of Helen, pleased by the figure [lit. “body”] of Alexander, presented to her soul eager desire and contest of love, what wonder?” (section 19, trans. Kennedy in Kent Sprague 1972). Following this line of thinking, one might interpret the name of the painter of the cup in Berlin, Peithinos, in relation to the experience of being infatuated with the physical beauty of another person. The name of the artist might suggest, “I am an expert in persuasively presenting the infatuation of young men with the physical beauty of young boys or young ladies.”

The presence of Peitho at the judgment of Paris, however, is not so simply explained. Paris is not infatuated with Aphrodite and, being a mere shepherd on peripheral Mount Ida, has never laid eyes on the Greek celebrity bride Helen. If Peitho represents the power of Aphrodite to make a person irresistible in the sight of another, it is not clear what she is doing in this picture, since the object of Paris’ future infatuation, Helen, is not present. Furthermore, in many ancient accounts of the myth, Paris awarded the apple to Aphrodite not because of the physical beauty of the goddess, but because the bribe she offered him was more desirable than the ones offered him by Hera or Athena.²⁴ It is true that the payoff presented to Paris by the goddess of love, Helen, is of incomparable physical beauty. But Aphrodite has a twofold challenge, and both parts essentially depend on rhetoric: she must persuade Paris that Helen’s beauty is more valuable than military victory or political power, the offerings of Athena and Hera. And Aphrodite must persuade Paris of (the absent) Helen’s beauty through verbal description alone. The *Encomium of Helen* articulates more than one reason why Helen may have gone off with Paris.

Besides the possibility that she eloped with him because of an overpowering visual attraction to Paris, there is the possibility that she did so under the influence of persuasive speech: εἰ δὲ λόγος ὁ πείσας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπατήσας . . . λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ θειότατα ἔργα ἀποτελεῖ, “if it was speech which persuaded her [*logos ho peisas*] and deceived her heart . . . Speech is a powerful lord, which by means of the finest [*smikrotatōi*] and most invisible body effects the divinest works” (section 8). The presence of Peitho within the representation of the judgment of Paris on the oinochoe (figure 65) would not necessarily have been understood exclusively in relation to the experience of infatuation at the sight of an attractive person. In this picture, her presence makes as much sense as a visible manifestation of the power of Aphrodite’s argument.²⁵

Much of the pictorial content of the cup in Berlin (plate XXV, figures 61–62) suits an understanding of the name of its artist, Peithinos, in relation to the belief in the persuasive power of visual attraction. But another part of the content of the pictures suggests that “Peithinos” embraces the persuasive power of argument. It does so, first of all, ironically, by depicting the complete failure of successful speech in the tondo and the resulting necessity of physical force. Second, and more importantly, the picture on the reverse depicts the complete absence of physical coercion, and even the absence of clear and explicit eye contact. In this scene, if seduction is successful, it is thanks to the persuasive power of speech alone.

Peithinos, the name of the painter taking credit for the creation of the cup in Berlin, is usually dissolved into its pictorial content. When the meaning of the root-word is registered, the name of the artist is understood to function like a title. Ancient artisans have been recently well studied, social-historically and iconographically, but always *qua* artisan.²⁶ That is to say, the artisan has been studied as a historical individual or a member of a particular social group or class. Less well studied is the presence of a potter or painter within the work of ceramic art. The problem is exemplified in Beazley’s still valuable 1944 study entitled “Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens,” quoted in chapter one. In his study, there is a single sentence that addresses the self-conscious manipulation of pictorial and epigraphic resources by certain artisans. Concerning the stamnos in Brussels with which this book began (plate I, figure 1), and related vase-paintings from the same circle in which artisans seem to make fleeting appearance, he wrote, “[f]or a moment the artist, one might say, seems to edge his everyday personality a little farther into the world of his creation.”²⁷ The phrase “one might say” signals that much more needed to be said. For it is an open question whether the artist’s “everyday personality” has anything important to do with the self-representations studied in the present book (to be fair, Beazley added “seems”), and whether “the world of his creation” preexisted, in any sense, the entry of the artist into it, and why it is

just “for a moment” that the artist does this, when Priapos, Pistoxenos, Syriskos, Skythes and others suggest that the practice was widespread in time.

“Peithinos” embodies several of the issues in himself. In creating the cup in Berlin, the painter did not opt, like the artist of the oinochoe in New York, to include a representation of the personification of persuasion *within* the pictorial world. The painter opted to incorporate the idea of persuasion into his own persona as the creator of vase-paintings. Davidson grasped some of the possible implications: “[d]oes this low-class artisan fancy himself as one of the swanky gymnasium boys? Or is it us that he aims to seduce, the viewers . . . ?”²⁸ The *Encomium of Helen* reassures us that, in the fifth century BC, the concept of persuasion embraced not only erotic and rhetorical persuasion, but also the persuasive power of poetry and pictorial art. For Gorgias not only offers two different explanations of why Helen went away with Paris—one predicated on the power of sight to intoxicate the mind and the other on the power of speech to enchant or deceive it—he also offers aesthetic parallels for each. As illustration of the power of words to “stop fear and banish grief and create joy and nurture pity,” he offers the experience of listening to poetry (section 9). He goes so far as to assert that “all who have and do persuade people of things do so by molding a false argument” (section 11).²⁹ One is reminded of Eumaios’ description of the seductive power of the stranger’s (Odysseus’) lies: “my queen . . . you know how you can stare at a bard in wonder—trained by the gods to sing and hold men spellbound—how you can long to sit there, listening, all your life when the man begins to sing. So he charmed my heart, I tell you, huddling there beside me at my fire” (17.518–521). Gorgias offers another aesthetic parallel in connection with the persuasive power of sight. This one is visual art: ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ γραφεῖς ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν χρωμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐν σῶμα καὶ σχῆμα τελείως ἀπεργάσωνται, τέρπουσι τὴν ὄψιν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ποίησις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐργασία θέαν ἡδεῖαν παρέσχετο τοῖς ὄμμασιν, “whenever pictures perfectly create a single figure and form from many colors and figures, they delight the sight, while the creation of statues [*andriantōn*] and the production of works of art [*agalmata*] furnish a pleasant sight to the eyes” (section 18).

On the cup in Berlin (plate XXV, figures 61–62), the distinct experiences described by Gorgias—the persuasive effect of the sight of the beautiful body, the power of persuasive argument to deceive an individual, and the pleasure attributed to the experience of looking at paintings or sculptures of human figures—all those experiences have been fused. At the center of it all is fiction. For everyone will agree that the inscription *Peithinos egraphsen* is a lie. No one, it seems, or virtually no one, was born with such a name. But the cup’s pictorial proposition is so remarkable, so persuasive, as to suggest that only the embodiment of persuasion itself could have created it.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: “I AM ODYSSEUS”

- 1 Starobinski 1975, 347.
- 2 Brussels A 717, *ARV*² 20,1, BAPD 200102. The inscriptions: Immerwahr 1990, 68 no. 400: Χορό, Φειδιάδης, Αὐτομένης, Ῥόδε, ἡλικῆ, Σμίκρος, Εὐαρχος, Εὐέλθῶν. The inscription: Σμίκρος ἔγραψεν. The inscribed name of Automenēs is completed on the fragment, New York 1986.60, on permanent loan to Brussels. It is mentioned and photographed in Beazley 1989, 47 n. 72, with pl. 25,4.
- 3 Searle 1980. On Searle’s essay see, e.g., Snyder and Cohen 1980–1981; Steinberg 1981.
- 4 Δημόδοκ’, ἔξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ’ ἀπάντων· ἢ σέ γε μοῦσ’ ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάις, ἢ σέ γ’ Ἀπόλλων· λίην γάρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις, ὅσσοι ἔρξαν τ’ ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσοι ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί, ὡς τέ που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας. On the meaning of *kata kosmon*, see Ferrari, G. 1988, 54, and chapter 2.
- 5 For example, Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait with a Pillow*, New York 1975.1.862, ca. 1491–1492. An important study of the earliest artist regularly to depict himself is Koerner 1993.
- 6 Beazley 1989, 47.
- 7 καὶ γὰρ αἱ γε βαναυσικαὶ καλούμεναι καὶ ἐπίρρητοὶ εἰσι καὶ εἰκότως μέντοι πάνυ ἀδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. καταλυμαίνονται γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν τε ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων, ἀναγκάζουσαι καθῆσθαι καὶ σκιατραφεῖσθαι, ἔνιαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς πῦρ ἡμερεύειν. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων θηλυνομένων καὶ αἱ ψυχὰ πολὺ ἄρρωστώτεραι γίνονται. καὶ ἀσχολίας δὲ μάλιστα ἔχουσι καὶ φίλων καὶ πόλεως συνεπιμελεῖσθαι αἱ βαναυσικαὶ καλούμεναι.
- 8 καὶ τοὺς κεραμέας κατακλίναντες ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διαπίνοντάς τε καὶ εὐωχομένους, τὸν τροχὸν παραθεμένους, ὅσον ἂν ἐπιθυμῶσι κεραμεύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ μακαρίους ποιεῖν, ἵνα δὴ ὅλη ἡ πόλις εὐδαιμονῇ. ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς μὴ οὕτω νοθεύει· ὡς, ἂν σοι πειθόμεθα, οὔτε ὁ γεωργὸς γεωργὸς ἔσται οὔτε ὁ κεραμεὺς κεραμεὺς. A good discussion of those passages in relation to late Archaic Athenian vase-painting may be found in Neer 2002, 89–91.
- 9 Foucault 1971 devoted the first chapter to the analysis of the picture.
- 10 ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφήν ἐνετύπωσε, πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρον ἐπηρμένον δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα.
- 11 Though scholia on Aristophanes’ *Peace* 605–606, which claim to follow the fourth-century BC Athenian historian Philochoros, envision a scenario in which Pheidias fled Athens and erected the Zeus at Olympia before being put to death. For the sources and analysis of them, see Harrison 1966, 107–112, 132; Preisshofen 1974; Harrison 1996, 16 n. 1, 59; Davison 2009, 623–628; Platt 2011, 108–111.
- 12 Preisshofen 1974, 68–69.
- 13 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἦψατ’ αὐτῆς Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς. εἶτα Περικλέης φοβηθεὶς μὴ μετᾶσχοι τῆς τύχης.
- 14 Harrison 1966, 132.
- 15 The historicity of the anecdote about the prosecution of Aspasia by Hermippos is debated: an overview of the debate is contained in Gkaras 2008, 4–9. Note that the text of Plutarch is not completely explicit about the extent of the charges against Aspasia, and that allows Rusten 2011, 165 test. 2 to interpret the passage to mean that Hermippos accused Pheidias of procuring girls for Perikles. For Perikles in the comic poetry of Hermippos, see most recently Jones 2011.
- 16 κερδαλέος κ’ εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπῆς, ὅς σε παρελθοὶ ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι, καὶ εἰ θεὸς

- ἀντιάσειε . . . οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες, οὐδ' ἐν σῆ περ
ἔων γαίῃ, λήξειν ἀπατάων μύθων τε κλο-
πίων, οἳ τοι πεδόθεν φίλοι εἰσίν. On the
importance of this passage in Book Thirteen,
see Mumaghan 1987, 3–5.
- 17 ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἄοιδὸν ἀνὴρ ποτιδέρκεται . . . τοῦ
δ' ἄμοτον μεμάασιν ἀκουέμεν, ὀππότ' ἀείδη-
ῶς ἐμὲ κείνος ἔθελγε παρήμενος ἐν
μεγάρουσι.
- 18 For *ainos*, see Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 229.
The two passages of the *Odyssey*, those in
Books Thirteen and Seventeen, are nicely dis-
cussed in relation to lying and poetry in Pratt
1993, 72–81.
- 19 Only one form of subjectivity is extensively
explored in this book, namely, the manner in
which a work of art or poetry makes an artist or
poet, in a self-conscious or self-reflective way,
part of the subject matter of the work. Other
forms of subjectivity, such as the manner in
which a work of art acknowledges or fails to
acknowledge the presence of a viewer (on
which see especially Elsner 2006), are touched
on only to the extent (see chapters five and six)
that the work invites a spectator to identify
with the point of view of the artist.
- 20 Smith 2002, 71.
- 21 Useful lists of such vases may be found in
Gericke 1970. Many interesting case studies
are in Lissarrague 1990a.
- 22 On these depicted, figure-decorated vases, see
Oenbrink 1996.
- 23 For a cautionary note to this effect, see Yatromanolakis 2007, 57–58.
- 24 See L. E. Rossi, “I have been persuaded for
some time that all Archaic poetry composed for
solo delivery, that is to say monodic poetry, was
in origin intended for the *symposion*,” quoted in
Pellizer 1990. For sympotic martial elegy, see
now Irwin 2005, 32–34.
- 25 Herington 1985, 195–198.
- 26 Xenophanes fragment 1W, text/trans. after
Gerber 1999a.
νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζῆπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες
ἀπάντων
καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοὺς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ
στεφάνους,
ἄλλος δ' εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃ παρατείνει·
κρητῆρ δ' ἔστηκεν μεστός εὐφροσύνης·
ἄλλος δ' οἶνος ἐτοῖμος, ὃς οὐποτέ φησι
προδώσειν (5),
μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοις, ἄνθεος ὀσδόμενος·
ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἀγνήν ὀδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἴησιν,
- ψυχρὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὸ καὶ
καθαρόν·
παρκέινται δ' ἄρτοι ξανθοὶ γεραρὴ τε
τράπεζα
τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη (10)·
βωμὸς δ' ἄνθεσιν ἀν τὸ μέσον πάντη
πεπύκασται,
μολπὴ δ' ἀμφὶς ἔχει δώματα καὶ θαλίη.
χρὴ δὲ πρῶτων μὲν θεὸν ὕμνεν εὐφρονας
ἄνδρας
εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις,
σπείσαντάς τε καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια
δύνασθαι (15)
πρήσσειν—ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν ἐστὶ
προχειρότερον,
οὐχ ὕβρεις— πίνειν δ' ὀπόσον κεν ἔχων
ἀφίκοιο
οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.
ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πῶν
ἀναφαίνει,
ὡς ἦ μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς (20),
οὐ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτῆνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
οὐδὲ <τι> Κενταύρων, πλάσμα <τα>
τῶν προτέρων,
ἢ στάσις σφραδανάς—τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
ἐνεστίν—
θεῶν <δὲ> προμηθεῖν αἰὲν ἔχειν
ἀγαθήν.
- 27 *Theogony* 617–734. For the sources of this
battle, see Gantz 1993, 44–48. There was also
an epic poem entitled *Titanomachia*, presumably
Archaic in date, on which, see West 2003a,
26–27, 222–233.
- 28 Fragment 11, text/trans. Leshner 1992. For this
interpretation of fragment 1W, see Marcovich
1978, 13: “here Xenophanes the religious
reformist is speaking.”
- 29 Ford 2009, 56–57. For *stasis*, “internal political
strife,” and the symposium, see Murray 1983,
265–270; Murray 1990.
- 30 Aristophanes, *Birds* 686; the Platonic text, *Hip-
pias Major* 296a.
- 31 See Gantz 1993, 277–281, 446–447. Xenopha-
nes' poem has been advanced in fact as primary
evidence that there was poetry circulating in the
late sixth century BC on the gigantomachy. The
iconography of the giants and centaurs may be
found in the corresponding entries of the *Lexi-
con iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (LIMC).
- 32 Basel BS 489, *ARV*² 454, BAPD 217401.
- 33 Munich 8935, *ARV*² 1619,3bis, BAPD 275007.
This vase is discussed in detail in chapter one.
On the relationship between Xenophanes'

- poem and the imagery of Athenian vase-painting, see also Lissarrague 1990a, 28.
- 34 Whether or not the poem is missing a first line such as “let us begin our drinking party. We have what we need; for . . .” is disputed: see Leshner 1992, 51 and Ford 2009, 53 n. 38.
- 35 On the role of the phrase “it is necessary for merry men to . . .” in relation to the other infinitives, see Marcovich 1978, 6.
- 36 Marcovich 1978, 4.
- 37 Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983, 164–165, went so far as to read this literally: “[i]n the longest of his extant elegies (fr. 1 . . .) he [Xenophanes] has authority enough to outline the rules of behaviour for the symposium that is to follow; he seems therefore to have been honourably received in aristocratic households.”
- 38 ἦ τοι μὲν τότε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν αἰδοῦ
τοιούδ’ οἷος ὄδ’ ἐστὶ θεοῖς’ ἐναλίγκιος
αὐδῆν.
οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον
εἶναι
ἦ ὅτ’ εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχη κάτα δῆμον
ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ’ ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἀκουάζωνται
αἰδοῦ
ἦμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ’ ἐκ κρητῆρος
ἀφύσσω
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι·
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται
εἶναι.
σοὶ δ’ ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετράπετο
στονόνετα
εἶρεσθ’, ὄφρ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος
στεναχίζω.
τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ’ ὕστατιον
καταλέξω;
κήδε’ ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ
Οὐρανίωνες.
νῦν δ’ ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι.
- 5 Gaspar 1902. Arezzo 1465, *ARV*² 15,6, BAPD 200068.
- 6 Furtwängler and Reichhold 1900–1925, 2:6–13. He simply noted that the vase in Arezzo was a much better and more significant work of art: the profiles of the heads better drawn, the drapery more graceful, and the ornament different, and that it was stylistically a little further developed.
- 7 Beazley 1925, 62. The sting was taken out of the phrase in *ARV*² 20: “imitator of Euphronios.”
- 8 Ohly-Dumm 1974, 18: “the copious inner detail of the drinker Smikros on the stamnos . . . is thoroughly ‘Euphronian’.”
- 9 Louvre G30, *ARV*² 15,9, BAPD 200071.
- 10 Ohly-Dumm 1974, 17–18; Bothmer 1990, 35–36. The hands of Automenes are especially easy to examine in Beazley 1989, pl. 25, 4.
- 11 Neer 2002, 116. Notice also the right hand attached to the left arm of the dancer looking to the left on the reverse of the vase in Paris (Louvre G110, plate XI) discussed below. The best published photo of the clothing around the waist of the drinker on the Munich vase is Ohly 1971, 230 fig. 3.
- 12 For the song, see Lissarrague 1990a, 133.
- 13 Dresden 295, *ARV*² 16,13, BAPD 200075.
- 14 Peschel 1987, 376 n. 43. Compare Vermeule 1965, 38: “the gesture made by Smikros on the Brussels stamnos . . . is adapted to a different emotional and psychological schema.”
- 15 The cup-boy on the reverse of the krater (figure 4) is very similar to the men on the stamnos in terms of the drawing of muscular detail.
- 16 On this point, see Bothmer 1990, 34–35.
- 17 Rome, Villa Giulia L.2006.10, BAPD 187.
- 18 London E438, *ARV*² 20,3, BAPD 200104. For a discussion of the vase, see Williams, D. 1992, 90–91.
- 19 Beazley 1917, 236. The easiest way to follow the comparisons made in the text is in the catalogs of the exhibition of the work of Euphronios: Pasquier, Bothmer, Villard, et al. 1990 or Goemann 1991, hereafter abbreviated as *Euphronios*.
- 20 New York, Shelby White Collection, BAPD 7501, *Euphronios* no. 6.
- 21 Louvre C11070, *ARV*² 15,7, BAPD 200069; Leipzig T523, *ARV*² 15,8, BAPD 200070, *Euphronios* nos. 15 and 14, respectively.
- 22 Berlin 1966.19, *Para* 323,3 bis, BAPD 352401, Σμῆμικρος ἔγραψεν.

CHAPTER I SMIKROS AND EUPHRONIOS

- 1 Vermeule 1965, 37. For the inscriptions, see Immerwahr 1990, 64 no. 363: Ἐχφραντίδης, Θόδδεμος, Μέλας, Συκό, Σμῆμικρος.
- 2 On the relationship between the two vase-paintings, see especially Ohly 1971, 234.
- 3 Nicely observed by Vermeule 1965, 36.
- 4 Vermeule 1965, 34–35 with n. 5.

- 23 For the amphora with the name, see Louvre G106, *ARV²* 18,3, BAPD 200091, *Euphronios* no. 18.
- 24 St. Petersburg B.2351, *ARV²* 18,2, BAPD 200089, *Euphronios* no. 17.
- 25 New York 2001.563 and formerly Princeton L.1984.57, BAPD 9017837, illustrated in *Euphronios* nos. 25–26. The piece once in Princeton is reported to belong to Robert Guy. Its current whereabouts are unknown to me. On the parallels in shape, scheme of decoration, and subject matter, between that fragmentary vase and the amphora in Berlin signed *Smikros egraphsen*, see Giuliani in Goemann 1991, 254.
- 26 Louvre G33, *ARV²* 14,4, BAPD 200066. The fragment in Malibu, 86.AE.212 (formerly Bareiss loan S.80.AE.273, formerly Bareiss 34, BAPD 275009), tentatively attributed to Smikros by Beazley, *ARV²* 1620, is more comparable to Louvre G33 than to Beazley's comparanda of Louvre G43, *ARV²* 20,2, which he attributed to Smikros. In addition to the billeting on hair, moustache, and eyebrow, and the curve of the eyebrow, and the eyes, notice the treatment of the contours of the beard top and bottom, and the spiky incision for the forelocks of the hair. About the fragment in Malibu, see Williams, D. 1992, 90: "Frel tells me that he believes the Bareiss fragment to be a work of Euphronios himself. It is very hard to be sure one way or the other . . ."
- 27 Greifenhagen 1967, 22, About the neck amphora in Berlin, Beazley wrote (*Para* 323,3bis), tersely and tellingly, "the drawing is very like Euphronios."
- 28 Louvre G103, *ARV²* 14,2, BAPD 200064.
- 29 Two specific differences were singled out by Williams, D. 1992, 95 n. 58: the rendering of the trochanters on the Berlin amphora is meagre, whereas that on the krater in Arezzo is full. There is also a lack of "fluffy lightness" in the pubic hair of the silen, compared to that of other figures by Euphronios. But the early krater in Berlin, discussed below (figure 17), exhibits trochanters like what is shown on the Berlin vase. And the pubic hair of Sarpedon on the calyx krater in Rome signed by Euphronios has lost its fluffy lightness (rigor mortis setting in?).
- 30 Louvre C11071, *ARV²* 15,10, BAPD 200072. See Villard, F. 1953, 39.
- 31 Ohly-Dumm 1974, 18–19.
- 32 Neer 2002, 229 n. 109. For a high-definition digital image that clearly shows two of the three bars of the initial sigma, see Art Resource (www.artres.com) ART419371.
- 33 Compare Frel 1983, 150: "with Smikros' best pieces, like the signed jug in Berlin, one suspects some help from the master . . ." Or Knudsen Morgan 1983, 32: "the skillful rendering of the hirsute eyebrow and beard and the grimacing expression of the wild man are rather superior to the usually modest products of Smikros, who was Euphronios' pupil and faithful companion. One is tempted to believe that the master retouched this drawing, as he did perhaps some of the other, better products of Smikros; it may even be that Euphronios allowed Smikros to sign Euphronios' own drawings, as, for example, the recently acquired amphora in Berlin."
- 34 Williams, D. 2005, 281.
- 35 We know that the name Smikros was used as a nickname. The informant on which the narrative of Plato's *Symposium* is based, that is, Aristodemos of Kydathenaion, is described (173b) as *smikros*, i.e., small, but in Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.4.2), the same man is referred to as *Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον*, "Aristodemos who was called Mikros." I am grateful to Hadyn Pelliccia for the references to Aristodemos.
- 36 For the modern responses to the vase-painting, which range from taking the depicted scenario at face value to denying it any historical validity, see Neer 2002, 87–91; Hedreen 2009b, 200–209, with further references.
- 37 The reading after Greifenhagen 1967, 19. Immerwahr 1990, 69 no. 404 recorded gamma for tau in the middle of the inscription, *ΒΕΤΕ-ΝΑΡΕΥ(?)ΕΝΕΤΟ*, but suspected that Greifenhagen's interpretation was correct.
- 38 Compare Louvre G30 (plate VI) or the krater in Munich (figure 6), with the inscriptions coming out of the mouths of symposiasts. Euphronios is fond of inscriptions that emerge from something. A much earlier parallel is a Middle Corinthian aryballos (Corinth C-54-1, Amyx 1988, 165 no. C-2, 560 no. 17; Wachter 2001, 44–47 no. COR 17), on which an aulos-player with a similar-sounding name, *Poluterpos*, "very pleasing," plays his instrument, out of which tumbles a legible, metrical inscription.
- 39 Steinruch 2003. One possible obstacle to Steinruch's reading; Immerwahr 1992, 50, claims that Euphronios always wrote long consonants as doubled. For the inscription, see also Tsanoglou 2010, 32–33.

- 40 There is a comparable play on sexual overtones of the musical vocabulary in a much later inscription (Greek Anthology 5.99 in Paton 1916–1918): “I wish, lyre-player, that, standing by you as you play, I could hit your [bottom] string and undo your middle one.” The passage is discussed by Power 2010, 41–42. I thank Greg Leftwich for calling my attention to this passage.
- 41 This would not be the only drawing of a silen by Euphronios to call attention to the silen’s phallus, for one of the ithyphallic silens on the krater in Paris (Louvre G33, *ARV*² 14.4, BAPD 200066) is named Peon, which seems clearly related to the Greek word πέος or “penis.”
- 42 For the inscription, see Immerwahr 1990, 69 no. 404; Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 173.
- 43 Steiner, A. 2007, 203.
- 44 Paris, Louvre G107, *ARV*² 18.1, manner of Euphronios, BAPD 200088. The inscription can be easily verified in the photographic detail in *CVA* Louvre 6, pl. 33.4. For the reading, see Immerwahr 1990, 69 no. 401. For the restoration of <e>inai in particular, see Threatte 1980, 190–191, for a number of similar if not exact parallels. For Smikros as an alternative to Smikros, see below. For the iconography of statue bases, see Schefold 1937.
- 45 For the pertinence of the stylistic similarities between the Amazons and the figures of Herakles on the two vases, see Williams, D. 1992, 91; Bothmer 1992, 24.
- 46 *ARV*² 1619.
- 47 The question of attribution was briefly complicated by the publication in 1974 of a lovely red-figure fragment in Munich (8952, BAPD 6204) depicting a young male aulos-player. The fragment bears an inscription, ΦΕΙΔΙ[AΔΕΣ], familiar from the stamnoi in Brussels (plate 1, figure 1) and London signed by Smikros. In the initial publication, Ohly-Dumm argued in favor of attributing the fragment and the neck amphora in Paris to Smikros. Ohly-Dumm 1974, 18–20. Those attributions were short-lived, and now even Ohly-Dumm attributes the painting on both vases to Euphronios. For a brief history of the attribution of the amphora and the fragment, see Denoyelle in Pasquier et al. 1990, 137–139; Goemann 1991, 152, 157.
- 48 Furtwängler et al. 1900–1925, 2:10 read the inscription as a question, which avoided some of the difficulties: “[how] does it seem to be to Smikros?” For good discussions of various readings of the inscription, and how it relates to the imagery, see Neer 2002, 119–122, 134 no. I8; Steiner, A. 2007, 183–186.
- 49 Triple interuncts are not unknown as word-separators in sixth-century vase-painting: see Threatte 1980, 79. But they are very common in stone inscriptions and so should have been understood as representing the look of an inscribed statue base.
- 50 For the interpretation, “it seems to be by Smikros,” see Gaspar 1902, 36. Williams, D. 1992, 92, understood the inscription to mean “it seems to be by Smikros” in a pejorative sense—a humorous reference by Euphronios to the fact that his student Smikros was a slavish copyist. For the dative plus the verb “to be” in the sense of possession, see Goodwin 1894, 248 no. 1173. Compare Hipponax frag. 13: οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ κύλιξ, “for she had no cup.” For the genitive construction, see Smyth 1956, 344 no. 1491. Perhaps that is what the artist intended to write: Immerwahr 1992, 54 n. 17, noted that there is a slight wave in the final letter of the personal name.
- 51 Simon 1992, 94. For references to the mobility of the statues of Daidalos, see Morris 1992, 222–225.
- 52 Denoyelle, in Goemann 1991, 153, makes the interesting observation that here, as on Louvre G110 (see below), the problem of attribution and the riddle of the inscription are related. She seems to be implying that they are deliberately related.
- 53 Louvre G110, calyx krater, *ARV*² 14.3, BAPD 200065.
- 54 For the demonstrative adjective, see Denoyelle in Pasquier et al. 1990, 60–66. This is not the first time the demonstrative adjective was used to refer to a painted figure: a black-figure lip cup in Ostermundigen, signed by Nearchos as potter, BAPD 316 (ΑΤΛΑΣ ΗΟΔΕ). On a pyxis lid from Brauron (*Para* 70, BAPD 350495), there is an artist’s signature as well as a dedication: [Νέ]ανδρος τάδε[ἔ]γραψε, etc. Punctuation between noun and direct object ensures that the demonstrative adjective goes with the verb: *these* were “written” by [Ne]andros—presumably meaning not only the words but also the animals and decoration. See also the amazing inscriptions, with several demonstrative adjectives, on Boston 61.1073, *Para* 69–70, signed by Neandros, BAPD 350341. Finally, see also Toulouse 347, lip cup, *ABV* 165, BAPD 310560: “this here [is] Lyson.”
- 55 See *LSJ* s.v. *mikros*. It is true that names based on “Mik-” are rare before the late fifth century BC. See Threatte 1980, 507–510. My thanks to

- David Blank for calling my attention to the significance of the variations in spelling.
- 56 Munich 2307, *ARV*² 26,1, BAPD 200160. For the interpretation, see Neer 2002, 51–53, with references.
- 57 Denoyelle in Pasquier et al. 1990, 66.
- 58 That persuasive reading was offered by Laurens 1999, who improved on a line of interpretation first suggested by Linfert 1977, 19–22.
- 59 Indeed, when he first attributed this vase to Euphronios, in Beazley 1925, 59,3, all that existed at that time was one of the komasts, plus part of the name Leag[ros]. The scene of Herakles and the Lion, which compares so readily with the signed painting of Euphronios, was not known to Beazley at that time; yet he saw the painter's hand in the komast alone (and perhaps in the name of Leagros as well, a hallmark of Euphronian vase-painting [see below]).
- 60 Maras took the letters “Euphron” to be part of a potter's signature, the very first potter's signature of Euphronios, the verb *epoiesen* occurring, he suspected, in an area of the vase now lost.
- 61 Malibu 82.AE.53, BAPD 30685. The pertinence to the identification of the boy of the inscription *Leagros kalos* is persuasively argued by Boardman 1992, 45–50. For a different and, to me, less persuasive interpretation, see Kilmer 1993, 187.
- 62 For Leagros son of Glaukon, see Robinson and Fluck 1937, 132–136; Raubitschek 1939, 160–164; Shapiro 2004, 6.
- 63 Frel 1983, 147–148.
- 64 Bothmer 1990, 33–34. According to him, the eyelashes on the psykter in Malibu are the earliest surviving examples of the motif in red-figure vase-painting. In black-figure, they are rare but can be traced back earlier. Basel, Cahn H. C. 498, BAPD 9017848, *Euphronios* no. 10, is perhaps the one mortal figure in Euphronian vase-painting to be represented with eyelashes: see Moore 2008, 31 n. 35.
- 65 Shapiro 2000, 27.
- 66 St. Petersburg 644 (B1650, ST1670), *ARV*² 16,15, BAPD 200078.
- 67 For the interpretation of this complex inscription and the vase-painting, see further in chapter seven.
- 68 Berlin F2180, *ARV*² 13,1, BAPD 200063. See Bothmer 1990, 29, on the rarity of the motif.
- 69 There are links between the psykter and several other vase-paintings signed by or attributed to Euphronios. The name of Melas, the man slapping his forehead on the psykter, is the name of a symposiast on the krater in Munich (plate III) and a *kalos*-name on the reverse of the Antaios krater in Paris (figure 21). Antias, the boy holding the lyre, occurs as a *kalos*-name on three vases signed *Smikros egraphsen*, the ones in London, Brussels (plate I), and Paris (plate IX). Antias is the name of the athlete on the hydria in Dresden, possibly the name of an athlete on a fragment in Heidelberg, and probably a *kalos*-name on the stamnos in Leipzig, all of which are attributed to Euphronios: Dresden 295, *ARV*² 16,13, BAPD 200075, Leipzig T523, *ARV*² 15,8, BAPD 200070, Heidelberg 51, *ARV*² 16,16, BAPD 200079. The few occurrences of the *kalos*-name Antias outside of the vase-painting of Euphronios are on vases attributed to artists in his orbit (*ARV*² 1563–1564).
- 70 Bothmer 1976, 502.
- 71 The early signed cup: Rome, Villa Giulia, once Hunt collection, BAPD 7043.
- 72 See for example Ohly-Dumm 1974, 25 n. 55, who appears to have been the first to mention the vase in print.
- 73 Malibu 83.AE.285, BAPD 13369; New York 1996.250, BAPD 28197. On the additions to the oeuvre of Smikros, see Williams, D. 1992, 87–90.
- 74 See Mingazzini 1967, 336–337, who made this suggestion without, it seems, knowledge of the psykter. A more nuanced attribution of just one of the two friezes was made by Williams, D. 1992, 92; Williams, D. 2005, 280.
- 75 Frel 1983, 150.
- 76 Robertson, M. 1991, 96. See also Giuliani in Goemann 1991, 16; Robertson, M. 1992, 26–27.
- 77 Mingazzini 1967, 336–338. Louvre G58, *ARV*² 21,6, BAPD 200107. Beazley 1918a, 31.
- 78 Williams, D. 1992, 92. Smikros is not even the only artist proposed as painter of the komasts on the reverse of the krater. Beth Cohen 2006, 50 and n. 40, suggested the Hegesiboulos Painter (an artist discussed at length in chapter seven below).
- 79 See Beazley 1989, 51–54.
- 80 Compare Robertson, M. 1992, 24: “The picture is a programme piece of the new style, but the artist has put everything into the two principals . . . [T]he charming picture on the back . . . puts little emphasis on the new concerns.”
- 81 Bambach 2013, 32.
- 82 Once Malibu 81.AE.213, now Rome, Villa Giulia, Δορις [ἐγγραφε]εν, BAPD 15527.

- 83 Robertson, M. 1991, 95–96. The initial surviving letter of the name may be a chi rather than a kappa, but then the possible restorations are even fewer. See the reverse index in *LGPN* 2. For Euthymides, see New York 1981.11.9, BAPD 9988, discussed in [chapter seven](#).
- 84 Robertson, M. 1991, 93–95 listed five.
- 85 Malibu 76.AE.16.1 and 2, BAPD 5733 and 5732, respectively. These phialai were published by Cardon 1978/1979 and are nicely illustrated in Cohen 2006, 64–65.
- 86 Cohen 2006, 48–49.
- 87 Cardon 1978/1979, 137. The evidence of Euphronios’ involvement in the production of red-figure cups with coral-red ground has increased thanks to the discovery of a fragmentary cup in the Athenian Agora, discussed in [chapter seven](#) below.
- 88 On Euphronios as potter, see Beazley 1989, 50, 55; Williams, D. 1991a.
- 89 For the likelihood that the phiale signed *keros* [*epoi]ēsen* was manufactured in the workshop of Euphronios, see also Tsingarida 2014.
- 90 Robertson, M. 1991, 96. Compare Tsingarida 2009, 192–193.
- 91 Buitron-Oliver 1995, 74 no. 29. She also notes the possibility that the kappa is a chi. In the CAVI entry for the fragmentary phiale, Immerwahr also made the connection between the signature as read by Buitron-Oliver and the signature on Louvre G110 ([plate XI](#)).
- 92 Beazley 1989, 47.
- 93 A landmark reassessment of the significance of the style of Euphronios, which emphasizes different but arguably complementary values to mine, may be found in [chapter two](#) of Neer 2002. Self-parody is well explored in the classic 1964 essay Sontag 1983, 111 and *passim*.
- 94 For this suggestion, see Friis Johansen 1996, 15; Scodel 1992, 75. For seals, see Woodbury 1952, 23–24.
- 95 Scodel 1992, 75; Friis Johansen 1993, 26–29; Pratt 1995; Friis Johansen 1996, 14; Hubbard 2006, 205.
- 96 Detienne 1991, 11.
- 97 Compare Pratt 1995, 179.
- 98 Riddles, of course, are a well-attested form of sympotic entertainment: see Neer 2002, 13–14.
- 99 Osborne and Pappas 2007, 135–136.
- 100 Osborne 2010a, 248.
- 101 Hubbard 2006, 205–206.
- 102 Williams, D. 2005, 281.
- 103 Figueira and Nagy 1985, 1, 89.

CHAPTER 2 ARCHILOCHOS,
THE FICTIONAL
CREATOR–PROTAGONIST,
AND ODYSSEUS

- 1 Frel 1983, 147–148.
- 2 Snell 1953, 44. Compare Fränkel 1973, 133: “The lyric poem does not, like the recitation of a nameless singer, resort to the past in order to fill leisure hours agreeably with traditional tales of the olden times, but centers on the personality of the speaker, the time of delivery, and the particular circumstances of its origin.”
- 3 Dover 1964, 206, 209, and *passim*.
- 4 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἦθος, ἐπειδὴ ἔνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ ἐπίφθονον ἢ μακρολογίαν ἢ ἀντιλογίαν ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ἢ λοιδορίαν ἢ ἀγροικίαν, ἕτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ἴσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιδόσει, καὶ ὡς Ἀρχιλόχος ψέγει.
- 5 Herington 1985, 53: “The spectators are granted no immediate information about the identity of the speaker. Sometimes this will emerge in the course of the performance; we happen to know, for instance, that the ‘I’ who doesn’t care for riches will turn out to be an individual named Charon the Carpenter. It is likely, however, that many poems contained no identification of the speaker from end to end.”
- 6 Kantzios 2005, 76.
- 7 Lyric poetry characterized by such a “dramatic” mode of narrative presentation is briefly discussed by Gentili 1958, xvi–xvii.
- 8 For other examples of female first-person voices in the Theognidea, see 579–580 and 861–864.
- 9 Frag. 10B, text and trans. in Campbell 1982.
- 10 Anakreon frag. 385 in Campbell 1988.
- 11 Martin 2001, 72.
- 12 On this fragment, see Bowie 2001, 7.
- 13 On this poem, see Brown 1984.
- 14 Bowie 1986, 16–17.
- 15 Dover 1964, 207.
- 16 Anacreontea 8 in Campbell 1988. On this imitation of Archilochos’ Gyges poem, see Kantzios 2005, 5–6.
- 17 On the length of iambic poems, see Bowie 2002, 37–38. About the eclipse poem, Dover 1964, 207, pithily wrote, “had Aristotle wished to select from a poem whose purpose was ψόγος a passage which actually ψέγει, he would surely have made a better choice than

- the verse χρημάτων ἄελπτον κτλ.” On how his poem may have ended, see Burnett 1983, 67 n. 39. The possibility that the father in question is Archilochos’ enemy Lykambes (more on him below) was made less likely by the discovery of a very different name, [Ar]chēnaktidēs, on a fragmentary papyrus that reproduced this poem.
- 18 Nagy 1999, 243. The importance of the passage of Pindar for the subsequent interpretation of Archilochean poetry is discussed in detail by Rotstein 2010, 284–289.
- 19 On this point, see Miller, A. M. 1981, 137–139; Carey 1981, 42, 63.
- 20 A celebrated but elusive poem of Archilochos. See West 1974, 138–139 on frag. 324W.
- 21 Steiner, D. 2011.
- 22 As Brown 2006, 45, nicely observed, “there is the crucial recognition here of the categories of friend and enemy, and those categories are maintained by responding appropriately. From the fragments it is clear that Archilochos shared this view; in fact the speaker of *fr.* 23 West² gives it memorable expression (14–15).”
- 23 παραφανεΐσης δὲ τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας οἱ ἔφ’ ἑκατέραν τὴν ποιήσιν ὁρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμωδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τραγωδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων. Rotstein 2010, 61–63, points out that Aristotle uses the term “iambic” in a much broader sense in the *Rhetoric* than he does here, and that the narrower focus in the *Poetics* suits the dialectical nature of the passage.
- 24 Winkler 1990, 311.
- 25 Gerald Else 1957, 135–142, made a heroic effort to wring a different sense out of the passage. If individual temperament of the poet were the decisive factor in determining the character of a poem, whether it is high or low, “Homer would be an insoluble paradox, not to say a monster, since he [as Aristotle himself acknowledged] wrote masterpieces in both genres.” See also Heath 1989, 347 and n. 14. Other readers of the passage, however, have found it difficult to construe the word *ēthē* as referring to anything other than the temperaments of the poets: see, e.g., Lucas 1968, 75; Golden 1992, 69–71; Halliwell 1995, 39. On the light shed by this section of the *Poetics* on iambic poetry, see Rotstein 2010, 74–88.
- 26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας, ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτους ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους εἶναι (τὰ γὰρ ἦθη σχεδὸν αἰεὶ τοῦτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις, κακία γὰρ καὶ ἀρετὴ τὰ ἦθη διαφέρουσι πάντες).
- 27 ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη μιμητῆς Ὀμήρου Σοφοκλεῆς, μιμοῦνται γὰρ ἄμφω σπουδαίους, τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει, πράττοντας γὰρ μιμοῦνται καὶ δρῶντας ἄμφω.
- 28 Winkler 1990, 311: “between the two competing basic principles of generic organization—dramatic vs. narrative or dignified vs. undignified—the latter in principle dominates.” Cf. Clay, D. 1998, 9–10.
- 29 On this point, see also Nagy 1999, 247.
- 30 τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸ Ὀμήρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ποιήμα, εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς, ἀπὸ δὲ Ὀμήρου ἀρξαμένοις ἔστιν, οἶον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα . . . ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος ἦν . . . οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμωδίας ἀχῆματὸς πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας· ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιάς καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγωδίας . . .
- 31 Ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ἐστὶν ὥσπερ εἴπομεν μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν, οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πάσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστὶ τὸ γελοῖον μόριον. τὸ γὰρ γελοῖον ἐστὶν ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἴσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν, οἶον εὐθύς τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης.
- 32 διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποιήσις ἱστορίας ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποιήσις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ’ ἱστορία τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον λέγει. ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μὲν, τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποῖα ἅττα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πράττειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὐ στοχάζεται ἢ ποιήσις ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθεμένη· τὸ δὲ καθ’ ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμωδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ’ ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν.
- 33 Bowie 2001.
- 34 Halliwell 1986, 270 n. 27: “there can be no doubt that at the centre of the era of invective mentioned at 48b 30ff. Ar. would have placed Archilochus: note the verb *psegein* of the latter at *Rhet.* 1418b 27.”
- 35 Nagy 1999, 91, who argued that Charilaos is a stock character: “whose people (*laos*) has mirth

- (*charis*).” Several other figures within Archilochean poetry have been interpreted as stock characters, in part on the basis of their names: for the root-word *lukos*, “wolf,” within the name of Archilochos’ archenemy Lykambes and its significance, see Miralles and Pòrtulas 1983, 51–58; Miller, P. A. 1994, 28–35. Two characters within the Cologne epode discussed below have names that are meaningful, etymologically, in relation to the stories in which they occur. The name of Neoboule “suits the kind of girl who changes her marriage plans” as Van Sickle 1975b, 152, put it. And the name of Amphimedo, the mother of the girl-protagonist (and perhaps also the mother of Neoboule), appears similarly to express the idea of vacillation. See Clay, D. 1998, 12. On stock characters in iambic poetry generally, see West 1974, 26–27; Nagy 1999, 243–252.
- 36 Frags. 15, 48, 96 (=test. 4, A col. IVa), 105, 131. Fragment 131 not only addresses Glaukos in the vocative but also mentions his father’s name, Leptines.
- 37 Burnett 1983, 43; Toohey 1988, 8 n. 37.
- 38 A helpful overview of the problem of the interpreting the “I” in Archaic Greek poetry may be found in Jarcho 1990.
- 39 For example, Fränkel 1973, 138: “in the guise of the carpenter Charon, Archilochus hurls at his adversary reproaches whose coarseness we can only surmise.” That statement is breathtaking in its readiness to fill in what is missing from the poem, acknowledging only in the ironical “we can only surmise” the absence of any evidence that the poem ended with reproach.
- 40 Test. 42 (Origen *c. Celsum* 3.25) and test. 16 (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.11–12), respectively.
- 41 Seidensticker 1978, 11, 19–20 (quote).
- 42 See West 1974, 24–25; Burnett 1983, 18–19; Rotstein 2010, 306–308. See also Carey 2009, 152–153, who is more willing to entertain the possibility that many of the traits derived from the poetry correspond to those of the historical poet Archilochos.
- 43 Rotstein 2010, 306–309.
- 44 Archil. frag. 196aW, first published by Merkelbach and West 1974, text and translation after Gerber. For the attribution of the poem to Archilochos, see Henrichs 1980, 15 and *passim*. Fuller annotation of the extensive scholarly commentary on this poem may be found in Hedreen 2006, 295–298.
- 45 For an attempt to reconstruct the content of the opening lines, see Koenen in Gelzer, Theiler, Koenen, et al. 1974, 499–500.
- 46 The important gloss was identified by Degani 1975. See also Del Corno 1985, 29, who called attention to the occurrence of a very similar expression in a passage of Aretaios: “the holy satyrs of Dionysos in paintings and sculptures maintain their private parts in a state of erection, a symbol of the *theiou prēgmatos*, ‘divine thing.’” That comparison makes less likely an alternative interpretation, according to which *pareks to theion chrēma* means “outside of marriage.” Satyrs are interested in sex, not marriage. West first suggested the reading, “besides sexual intercourse,” in Merkelbach et al. 1974, 105. For the euphemistic quality of the expression, he compared Theokritos’ use of the expression *ta megista*, “the greatest,” in the sense of “going all the way,” in *Id.* 2.143.
- 47 See the Hellenistic epigram attributed to Dioskorides in *Anth. Pal.* 7.351, quoted below, which is presumably based on one or more poems of Archilochos. In the epigram, the daughters of Lykambes swear that “we did not set eyes on Archilochus either in the streets or in Hera’s great precinct.” Such a religious setting may have been specified in the lost opening lines of the Cologne epode.
- 48 Metaphors of this sort are commonplace in Greek poetry; parallels for their use in the Cologne epode are given in Degani 1974, 126–127; Bremer, Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987, 39 (Slings). For meadows also as a traditional site of seduction in Greek poetry, see Bremer 1975, with 272–273 on this poem.
- 49 Miralles et al. 1983, 42. For “spontaneous combustion,” see Calder III 1979, 43. The choice of participle for the very last line of the poem, ἐπιψαύ[ων], meaning “touch lightly,” is well suited to the idea that the narrator has just made contact with the girl’s pubic hair, and seems less well chosen if he has forcefully penetrated her. On this point, see Felson Rubin 1978–79, 140–141; Van Sickle 1979/80. For the argument that the girl is not deflowered, which is compelling, see also Degani 1974, 121–122; Burnett 1983, 88; Stehle 1997, 245. That there is deliberate ambiguity about precisely what happened under the cloak is rightly stressed by Slings 1990, 23.
- 50 On the point-for-point rhetorical structure of his speech, see Koenen in Gelzer et al. 1974, 499; Fowler 1987, 73.

- 51 Pseudo-Acron on Horace, *Epode* 6.11–14, text/trans. after Archil. test. 26 Gerber: Lycambes habuit filiam Neobulen. hanc cum Archilochus in matrimonium postulasset, promissa nec data est a patre. hinc iratus Archilochus in eum maledicum carmen scripsit; quo tanto est dolore compulsus ut cum filia vitam laqueo finiret. For the testimonia generally, see Carey 1986.
- 52 It appears that Neoboule is the girl-protagonist's older sister because the male narrator treats Neoboule as if she were the girl offered to him by the girl-protagonist, and because the latter says that the alternative girl is *en hēmeterou*, “in our house.” See, e.g., Koenen in Gelzer et al. 1974, 500; Bremer et al. 1987, 32. For a different interpretation, see Eckerman 2011.
- 53 Merkelbach 1974.
- 54 See Gentili 1988, 190; Slings 1990, 25; Brown 1997, 67–68; Carey 2009, 156–158. Cogent objections to this approach may be found in Jarcho 1990, 34–35.
- 55 Nagy 1999, 246. Furthermore, the narrator rejects a relationship with Neoboule in the epode, whereas it is Lykambes who breaks his promise to give Neoboule to Archilochos in the testimonia, a point emphasized by, e.g., Koenen in Gelzer et al. 1974, 507–508; West 1975, 218. Of course, it is possible, as Carey 1986, 62–63 argued, that the narrator of the epode is rejecting a girl who has already been denied him (“I never wanted her anyway”).
- 56 On the relationship between blame and praise in this poem, see Gelzer et al. 1974, 504 (Koenen); Rankin 1977, 71; Felson Rubin 1978–1979; Henrichs 1980, 9 n. 5; Burnett 1983, 84.
- 57 For her mock-epic language, see Fowler 1987, 41.
- 58 Van Sickle 1975a, 6.
- 59 On this point, see Slings in Bremer et al. 1987, 31–32; Eckerman 2011, 11–14.
- 60 For the similarities between the two poetic accounts of seduction, see especially Van Sickle 1975b, 126–129; Henderson 1976, 165–166; Fowler 1987, 28–30.
- 61 See especially the perceptive analysis of Miralles et al. 1983, 137–143.
- 62 Van Sickle 1975a, 12: “he does not get all he must have asked for.”
- 63 Eckerman 2011, 17. Compare Henderson 1976, 169–170. Eckerman stresses the unheroic quality of those sex acts as an argument in favor of his conjecture that the girl gives the narrator a blow job. Only that “provides the male with a satisfying, ‘heroic’ climax.”
- 64 For a brief but enlightening comparison, see Van Sickle 1975b, 125–126.
- 65 τῶν ἀλεεῖνω φῆμιν ἀδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω μωμευῆ· μάλα δ’ εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον· καὶ νῦ τις ὄδ’ ἐπιησι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας· “τίς δ’ ὄδε Ναυσικάα ἐπεται καλὸς τε μέγας τε ξεῖνος; ποῦ δέ μιν εὔρε; πόσις νῦ οἱ ἔσσεται αὐτῆ.” On Nausikaa’s extraordinary speech, see de Jong 2001, 166: “this is surely the most spectacular potential *tis*-speech of the Homeric epics: an imaginary, future speech, in which a speaker ascribes what in fact are his/her own feelings to an anonymous ‘someone’ (τις).”
- 66 *Anth. Pal.* 7.351=Archil. test. 20 Gerber: οὔτε τι παρθενίην ἥσχυναμεν οὔτε τοκήας οὔτε Πάρον . . . μὰ θεοῦς καὶ δαίμονας, οὔτ’ ἐν ἀγυαῖς εἶδομεν οὔθ’ Ἥρης ἐν μεγάλῳ τεμένει.
- 67 ὧς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δέ κ’ ὄνειδεα ταῦτα γένοιτο. καὶ δ’ ἄλλη νεμεσῶ, ἢ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέξοι, ἢ τ’ ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἔοντων ἀνδράσι μίσγηται, πρὶν γ’ ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν.
- 68 On the interpretation of this word in Nausikaa’s speech, see Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988, 311.
- 69 For the Homeric character of the address, see Campbell 1976, 152. For the unprecedented nature of the “matronymic,” see Koenen in Gelzer et al. 1974, 504. It has prompted speculation that the girl-protagonist is not in fact the sister, or full sister, of Neoboule.
- 70 Cairns 1990.
- 71 “γόννα[ι], φάτιν μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπῳ[ν] κακίην
μὴ τετραμήνης μηδέν· ἀμφὶ δ’ εὐφ[ρο]νι,
ἐμοὶ μελήσει· [θ]υμὸν ἴλαον τίθειο. 10
ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τοι τῆς ἀνολβίης δοκ[έ]ω
ἦκειν; ἀνὴρ τοι δευλὸς ἄρ’ ἐφαινόμην,
οὐδ’ οἴός εἰμ’ ἐγὼ [α]ὔτὸς οὐδ’ οἶων ἄπο.
ἐπ[ίσ]ταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έ]ο[υ]ν[τα] μὲν φι[ι]λεῖν,
τὸν δ’ ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε [κα]ὶ κακο[] 15
μύ[ρ]μηξ. λόγωι νυν τ[ῶ]δ’ ἀλη[θ]εῖή πά[ρ]α.
πό[λ]ιν δὲ ταύτην[ν] . . .]. . . ἐπιστρέ[φ]εα[ι] [ι]
οὔ]τοι ποτ’ ἄνδρες ἐξε[π]όρθη]σαν, σὺ δ[ὲ]
ν]ῦν εἶλες αἰχμηῆ κα[ὶ] μὲγ’ ἐξήρ(ω) κ[α]λ[έ]ος.
κεῖνης ἄνασσε καὶ τ[υ]ραν[ν]ίην ἔχε· 20
π[ο]λ[ι]τ[ῶ]ν σ[ὶ] θ[η]ν[ν] ζ[η]λωτὸς ἀ[ν]θ[ρ]ώπων
ἔσεαι.”

- “Lady, have no fear of the evil rumour that people spread. As for kindly report(?), that will be my concern. Make your heart propitious. Do you think I have reached such a degree of misfortune? I seem to you then to be a base man, not the sort of person I am and my ancestors were. Indeed I know how to repay love with love and hatred with hate and biting abuse(?) like an ant. There is truth then in what I say. You move about this city (which?) men have never sacked, but now you have captured it with the spear and you have won great glory. Rule over it and retain your dominance; in truth you will be the envy of many people.” For the interpretation of this poem, which is difficult, see West 1974, 118–120; Clay, J. S. 1986.
- 72 For the gentleness of Odysseus, see Stanford 1963, 31–32.
- 73 Page 1964, 133, with emphasis added. Kirkwood 1974, 220 n. 29, noted that even Page acknowledged that *amōmēton*, “blameless,” is employed in a significant manner, which Kirkwood describes as “ironical.”
- 74 Fowler 1987, 13–20.
- 75 Stanford 1963, 90–91. The aptness of the comparison with Priam’s description of Odysseus in *Il.* 3.190–198 is suggested also by Kirkwood 1974, 33; Whitehorne 2012, 823. The passage in *Iliad* Book Three is also discussed in chapter three.
- 76 Russo 1974, 147.
- 77 Seidensticker 1978, 12.
- 78 Seidensticker 1978, 20.
- 79 For the ancient testimonia on the line of Archilochos, see West 1998, 12, apparatus to frag. 25.
- 80 See Fowler 1987, 27, who argued, in this instance, that the similarities in language are unlikely to be coincidental. See also Snell 1953, 47. A longer fragment of Archilochos is comparable to what Odysseus says immediately before “our lives, our mood and mind.” Fragment 130W reads, in part, “often when men are lying prostrate on the dark earth [the gods] raise them upright from their misery, and often they overturn on their backs even those whose stance was very firm.” *Odyssey* 18.132–134 reads “So long as the gods grant him power, spring in his knees, he [man] thinks he will never suffer affliction down the years. But then, when the happy gods bring on the long hard times . . .” Fränkel 1973, 134, sees this fragment of Archilochos as a kind of quotation of the *Odyssean* passage.
- 81 Snell 1953, 58–59: “Archilochus’ lines are so closely related, even in matters of detail, that he must have known Homer’s verses, and been influenced by them.” The connection was emphasized by Page 1964, 159; Whitehorne 2012, 823. Fowler 1979, 24–25, demurred.
- 82 de Jong 2001, 485.
- 83 See Kirkwood 1974, 34–35.
- 84 Seidensticker 1978, 19.
- 85 For the seventh century, see for example van Wees 1999; West 2011, 15–19. Burkert 1987, 47: “by about 580/570 . . . the whole of the *Iliad* appears to have been widely known, including those parts that are labelled later additions by the analysts: Phoinix, Dolon, *Patroklos atla* of Sophilos, and the Ransom of Hektor. Even the last book of the *Odyssey* seems to have been around.” For the argument that the *Odyssey* had achieved roughly the form that it now has by 600 BC, see Stephanie West in Heubeck et al. 1988, 33–40. One can still find serious arguments in favor of the traditional, eighth-century date for the epics: see, e.g., Lane Fox 2008, 360–364.
- 86 See Touchefeu-Meynier 1992, 956–959, esp. nos. 88, 94, 109, 127. See also the “Aristonothos” krater: Izzet 2004.
- 87 For the problem, see Gerber 1970, 64; West 1974, 179–180.
- 88 The cases for and against Mimnermos fragment 2W as an intentional allusion to Homeric poetry are well made in Garner 1990, 3–8, and Burgess 2001, 117–122. There are uncanny echoes of the *Odyssey* in other early Greek poets besides Archilochos: see Alkman frag. 80 *PMG* with *Odyssey* 12.47, frag. 81 with *Od.* 6.244 and 7.311, frag. 84 with *Od.* 5.277. See also Alkaios frag. 44 Lobel-Page. Fowler 1987, 20–33, is skeptical that allusion is frequently being made to Homeric epic as early as seventh-century lyric poetry, but it is noteworthy that, of the twenty-eight cases examined in his book, fully twenty of them are passages of Archilochos.
- 89 Hymn 1, lines 1–8, text and translation after West 2003b. For a seventh-century date for the poem, see West pp. 6–7. The implications of the poem for the understanding of poetic self-consciousness in the early Archaic period are nicely articulated by Pratt 1993, 24–26.
- 90 Burgess 2001, 117.
- 91 δεδίδαχεν δὲ μάλιστα Ὀμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο παραλογισμὸς . . . παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου τὸ ἐκ τῶν Νίπτρων.

- 92 On this passage, see Lucas 1968, 229; Pratt 1993, 63–64.
- 93 Kirkwood 1974, 37, noting the “great” verbal similarities between this passage of the *Odyssey* and Archilochos frag. 131W, nevertheless tries to distinguish them: “there is a crucial difference. Odysseus the beggar is still Odysseus the king.” The fact that Amphinomos does not understand the warning, and does not walk out of the hall and save his own life, shows that Odysseus the beggar is *not* Odysseus the king to Amphinomos.
- 94 Greek text in the introduction above. For the passage’s fame, see Ford 1999. For a perceptive account of the rhetorical relation of the *apologia* to the hero’s situation in Phaiakia, see Most 1989b.
- 95 Ferrari, G. 1988, 54; Pratt 1993, 13.
- 96 The distinction I am making was also explored by Clay, J. S. 1983, 9–25. Compare also Pucci 1987, 226: “Odysseus takes over and, like a poet (*Od.* 11.363–368), narrates the story of his survival and return. No Muse inspires him, and yet he charms and beguiles the Phaeacians who formerly had simply ‘enjoyed’ Demodocus’ song.” Odysseus is compared to a singer elsewhere in the *Odyssey*: 17.518–521 (discussed above in the introduction), and 21.406–411.
- 97 See especially the lengthy consideration of the problem in Fenik 1974.
- 98 For the significance of this, see Clay, J. S. 1983, 25–28.
- 99 Higbie 1995, 163: “with this statement, I believe that Odysseus makes himself unique among Homeric figures: he is the only human ever to lie about his identity.”
- 100 See especially Podlecki 1961, 129–131, on the deliberate nature of the occurrence of *me tis* in this passage. See also Austin 2009, 104–105 and *passim*, for the thematic significance of this play on names. Generally, Heubeck et al. 1989, 35. The passage is also discussed in an interesting essay by Collins 2012, 280–281, on the Odyssean roots of certain Nietzschean ideas about identification, but it is possible that he underestimates the thematic significance of the passage in writing “certainly no Greek thinking of Odysseus’ wordplay would seriously question what it really meant to be a no one.” A useful introduction to the concept of *mētis* in relation to the *Odyssey* may be found in Slatkin 1996, 234–237.
- 101 For the passages and analysis, see Trahman 1952; Walcot 1977; Most 1989a, 131–133; de Jong 2001, 326–328; Kelly 2008, 182–193.
- 102 Compare Irwin 2005, 129 and n. 47.
- 103 πολλοὺς βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους, ψεύδεά τ’ ἀρτύνοντας ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο· σοὶ δ’ ἔπι μὲν μορφῆ ἐπέων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί. μῦθον δ’ ὧς ὄτ’ αἰοῖδος ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας.
- 104 Page 1964, 134. For the correct version of the poem, see Gerber 1970, 11.
- 105 Though it occurs twice in the *Homeric Hymns*, to Apollo [480], “I am the child of Zeus Apollo,” and to Dionysos [56], “I am Dionysos.”
- 106 On this point, see Létoublon 2008, 57.
- 107 See Heubeck et al. 1988, 73. Compare Fowler 2004, 226: “[o]stensibly, the epic singers regard themselves as her [the Muse’s] mouthpiece and submerge their personal identity in hers. In terms of oral poetics, one could say that the individual singer does not regard himself as anything but the latest instantiation of the tradition.”
- 108 On this way of reading fragment 1W, see Seidensticker 1978, 13–15. On the significance of the position of *eimi*, see de Jong 2001, 227–228.
- 109 See Snell 1953, 51; Page 1964, 138–139. See also Gerber 1970, 41.
- 110 Fowler 1987, 26.
- 111 Admittedly, the preposition *en* is missing from the Homeric parallel. But see Kirkwood 1974, 31 and n. 25.
- 112 Snell 1953, 51.
- 113 Létoublon 2008, 54–55: “In my opinion, the value of the allusion to this dangerous beverage is strongly ironic.”
- 114 Fowler 1987, 17–18, 41, who suggested that the poem might be mock-heroic. See also Bowie 1986, 16.
- 115 Compare frag. 216W: “and what’s more I should be an auxiliary like a Carian.”
- 116 Obbink 2005. My translations are after Obbink 2006.
- 117 E.g., a well-known Homeric noun-epithet combination, πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, “much-resounding sea,” almost certainly was employed. Cf. Archilochos frag. 13W.3 and Barker and Christensen 2006, 14–15.
- 118 The key letters are]εθ in line 4. They are generally restored as part of a first-person plural verb. In this way, the narrator implicates himself and his contemporaries in flight. See West 2006, 12; Swift 2012, 143. It is possible that some contemporary historical military event is the point of departure for the poem. As Bowie 2010, 151, points out, however, it is possible to restore a first-person plural verb that allows the story of the triumph

- of Telephos and humiliation of the Achaians to be a freestanding narrative, told for its own sake.
- 119 Swift 2012, 145.
- 120 See Whitehorne 2012. See also West 2006, 15.
- 121 Barker et al. 2006, 33.
- 122 Baxandall 1988, preface.
- 123 Like the Cologne epode, the fragment contains language familiar from the *Odyssey*: *lusimelēs*, “limb-loosening,” is used in the *Odyssey* to describe sleep (once post-coital, 23.343); “limb-loosening desire” (*luto gounata*) to sleep with Penelope is the effect she has on the suitors (18.212–213). Page 1964, 139: “a transference of *Odyssey* language and thought to a different meter.”
- 124 Aristotle, *Politics* 1336 b 20–22. For the interpretation, see Nagy 1996, 218.
- 125 Kantzios 2008, 38–40.
- 126 Bowie 1986, 16.
- 127 For the two nouns together, see Theogn. 983–984: ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐν θαλίησι φίλον καταθώμεθα θυμόν, ὄφρ’ ἔτι τερπωλῆς ἔργ’ ἔρατεινὰ φέρη, “let us give up our hearts to festivity, while they can still sustain pleasure’s lovely activities.” Compare the description of Herakles’ blessed life after death in the *Odyssey* (11.602–603): αὐτὸς δὲ μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι τέρπεται ἐν θαλίης, “he enjoys himself at feasts among the immortal gods.” Exactly the same noun-verb combination, *thaliēs terpsetai*, occurs in Archil. frag. 13.2.
- 128 The significance of frag. 215W for the understanding of the meaning of the term “iambos” was recently explored in detail by Rotstein 2010, 151–166. See also Dover 1964, 189; West 1974, 25; Bartol 1993, 31–32; Brown 1997, 48–49; Kantzios 2005, 2–4.
- 129 For the reading of the Greek in this passage, and the interrelation of fragments 11W and 13W, see Gerber 1970, 16–17.
- 130 On the epic passage, see Stanford 1963, 67–68.
- 131 For the reception of the speech, see Ford 1999.
- 132 Barker et al. 2006, 30–32.
- ἀργύρου ἑπάλμυ, “Zeus, father Zeus, sultan of the Olympian gods, why have you not given me gold?” (fragment 38W). See also frag. 117W.
- 3 For the interpretation, see West 1974, 29.
- 4 For an attempt to reconstruct this mysterious crime narrative, see West 1974, 143–144.
- 5 West 1974, 28–29. Even Fränkel 1973, 214, much more committed than West to the idea that non-epic poetry of the Archaic period genuinely reflects the personal experiences of the poet, conceded that “here the intended effect is missing if one does not enjoy the play of riotous fancy which is involved with it. Hipponax is always playing a part, which is to be understood as such; he caricatures himself in order to amuse his auditors.” On the elite and aristocratic associations of the names of Hipponax and his parents, see Degani 1984, 24–25; Carey 2008, 96–97.
- 6 Rosen 1988b, 37 n. 29.
- 7 Carey 2008, 97.
- 8 Stanford 1963, 76 n. 18.
- 9 The comparison is well analyzed in Rosen 1990, 15–17.
- 10 Testimonia 19 and 19b Degani, the first of which occurs in Gerber as test. 5: Ἰππώνακτα τὸν ποιητὴν οὐ μόνον μικρὸν γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεπτόν, ἀκρότονον δ’ οὕτως ὡς . . . κενὴν λήκυθον βάλλειν μέγιστόν τι διάστημα. A Homeric parallel for this description of Hipponax was identified long ago by Eustathios, who compared the scene in the *Iliad* (23.844–849) in which mighty Polyposes throws a discus.
- 11 Rosen 1990, 11–15.
- 12 Hom. *Il.* 3.193: *meiōn*, the comparative of *mikros*.
- 13 See Rosen 1990, 22–25, with references to Lobel.
- 14 Hipponax frag. 17W. See Gerber 1999b, 461. On frag. 129W, see Degani 2007, 133 on fr. 127.
- 15 Rosen 1988c; Brown 1988; Fowler 1990.
- 16 Degani 1991, 41 on frag. 23D. Frag. 72W is a poem about Rhesos at Troy and his encounter with Odysseus and Diomedes during the same night raid, which suggests that Hipponax was familiar with Book Ten or the “Doloneia” of the *Iliad*.
- 17 As Carey 2008, 96 nicely observed, this was the *only* cup the characters possessed.
- 18 See Rosen 1988b, 35–37 for an attempt at reconstructing what the lovers are doing.
- 19 On this point, see Koenen 1959, 114.
- 20 Fowler 1987, 42.

CHAPTER 3 HIPPONAX AND HIS MAKE-BELIEVE ARTISTS

- 1 Archilochos and Hipponax are brought together as poets of *iamboi* in Hipponax test. 17a Degani.
- 2 Compare ὃ Ζεῦ, πάτερ <Ζεῦ>, θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων πάλμυ, τί μοῦκ ἔδωκας χρυσόν,

- 21 Carey 2009, 164.
- 22 The *Suda* (s. v. Boupalos) identified the Aris-
tophanic line as a parody of Hipponax
fragment 120W.
- 23 See also fragment 15W: τί τῷ τάλαντι Βου-
πάλῳ συνοίκησας, “why did you cohabit with
the wretched Boupalos?” which conceivably is
addressed to Arete.
- 24 In addition to what follows, see fragments 95
and 95aW.
- 25 On the likelihood of the restoration, Bou-
[palos], see Rosen 1988b, 34 n. 19; Rosen
1990, 24 n. 42.
- 26 Pliny, *NH* 36.4[12], trans. after Gerber in Hip-
ponax test. no. 4: Hipponacti notabilis foeditas
voltus erat; quam ob rem imaginem eius lasciv-
ia iocosam hi proposuere ridentium circulis,
quod Hipponax indignatus destrinxit amaritu-
dinem carminum in tantum, ut credatur ali-
quis ad laqueum eos conpulisse. For other
testimonia on the feud between Hipponax
and the sculptors, see West 1998, 109–110.
I take up the one extant fragment of Hip-
ponax in which the profession of Boupalos
appears to be manifest (frag. 136W) shortly.
- 27 A thorough account of the literary tradition on
the Chian family may be found in Floren 1987,
335–336.
- 28 *Inscriptiones de Délos* 1: no. 9. For a detailed
study of the inscription, see Scherrer 1983. For
further bibliography, see Kansteiner, Lehmann,
Seidensticker, et al. 2007, 1–4.
- 29 Archermos: Raubitschek 1949, 7–8 no. 3
(=DAA no. 3); Mikkiades: IG XII 5.147, Jeffery
1990, 294 n. 29.
- 30 See Raubitschek 1949, 485; Ridgway 1986. For
the scholion, see White 1914, 120. The scholiast
identifies Karystos of Pergamon as his source,
but perhaps meant Antigonos of Karystos, a
writer who worked at Pergamon in the Hel-
lenistic period.
- 31 For a highly speculative restoration of the few
remaining letters of the sculptor’s signature on
the Siphnian Treasury, see Viviers 2002.
- 32 4.30.6: Βούπαλος δέ, ναούς τε οικοδομή-
σασθαι καὶ ζῶα ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρ-
ναίοις ἀγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος
ἐποίησεν ὧν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ
κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρῳ χειρὶ τὸ καλούμενον
Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων.
- 33 9.35.6: καὶ Σμυρναίοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων
χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη
Βουπάλου . . . Περιγαμηνοῖς δὲ ὠσαύτως ἐν
τῷ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ, Βουπάλου καὶ αὐται.
- 34 As Rosen 1988b, 31 n. 10, put it, “the testi-
mony of Pausanias . . . gives us little reason to
doubt . . . that the 6th c. Boupalos existed.” See
also, for example, Raubitschek 1949, 486–487;
Goodlett 1989, 48–53.
- 35 In addition, there is widespread suspicion that
Pliny’s identification of Melas as paterfamilias of
the Chian clan of sculptors is based on a mis-
reading of the name of the founder of the city of
Chios. See, e.g., Ridgway 1986, 262 and n. 12.
Healthy skepticism of the historical value of
Pliny’s account of the Chian family in general
is expressed by Sheedy 1985, 625. The unsys-
tematic character of this section of Pliny is
emphasized by Isager 1991, 147–149.
- 36 On these points, see Heidenreich 1935,
672–674; Shapiro 1993, 227; Villard, L. 1997,
117; Bemmman 1997, 552. Rumpf 1936, 62–64,
who attempted to defend the historicity of
Pausanias’ claim, identified a single example of
a deity represented with a horn of Amaltheia in
red-figure vase-painting of the end of the sixth
or early fifth century—and the deity is not
even Tyche.
- 37 Cook, J. M. 1958/1959, 32.
- 38 Donohue 1988, 147. See also three statues in
the Argive Heraion (2.17.4–5): a gold-and-
ivory statue attributed to Polykleitos; an *arch-
aion agalma*, an “ancient statue,” of Hera on a
column (therefore a stone statue); and finally
the *archaiotaton*, the “oldest” image of Hera, one
made out of wild pear wood. In this passage,
the word “*archaion*” arguably indicates only that
the statue of Hera on a column is later than the
venerable peer-wood image. In addition, see
10.4.9: at Daulis is a temple of Athena and an
archaion agalma or ancient statue. But the
wooden image (*xoanon*) is even older, *palaio-
teron*, having been brought from Athens by
Prokne according to the local people. There is
no certainty that either image was very old. In
Pausanias, the word *xoanon* is used to refer to a
wooden image of a god of any period: see
Bennett 1917, 16–17; Rumpf 1936, 60–62;
Donohue 1988, 140.
- 39 The word *archaion* is used as a means of distin-
guishing Roman from pre-Roman in another
description (7.22.9): in Triteia, there is a temple
of Athena, and an *agalma* of stone “belonging to
our [time]” (*eph’ ēmōn*). The *archaion* or ancient
statue was carried off to Rome according to the

- locals. Here, the force of *archaion* seems primarily to be “pre-Roman,” which could mean anything from Archaic to Hellenistic.
- 40 For a differing point of view, see Rumpf 1936, 60–62.
- 41 See Karanastassi 1992, 739 no. 3; Shapiro 1993, 173.
- 42 Harrison 1986, 202. Pseudo-Plutarch, *de musica*, 14,1136a, reports that there were three diminutive Graces on the hand of the statue of Apollo on Delos, now lost, attributed to Tektaios and Angelion. But, uniquely, those Graces reportedly held musical instruments, which suggests that originally the figures represented Muses.
- 43 Harrison 1986, 196 no. 24 and *passim*.
- 44 On the decoration of this building, see Zanker 1988, 240–243.
- 45 A fragmentary inscription from Pergamon (Fränkel and Habicht 1890–1895, 1:39 no. 46) has been restored as the signature of Boupalos, because it contains a reference to Chios. There are difficulties with the interpretation: see Rumpf 1936, 58–59. For my purposes, what is noteworthy is that the inscription is Hellenistic.
- 46 For the interest in Hipponax in the Hellenistic period, see Acosta-Hughes 2002.
- 47 This is not the first time it has been suggested that the works of Boupalos are Archaistic. Heidenreich 1935 also argued that the sculptures attributed to Boupalos by Pausanias were second century BC in date (though he did not doubt that there was an Archaic sculptor named Boupalos). A point-for-point rebuttal was mounted by Rumpf 1936. As I hope to have shown in this chapter, a more compelling case can be made than Heidenreich mounted. For the argument, see Fullerton 1987, 269. See also Villard, L. 1997, 124, and Fullerton 1990, 27–28 n. 66, 85–86. Long ago, Robert 1886, 117, anticipated Heidenreich’s argument.
- 48 For a detailed discussion of the references to Daidalos in Pausanias, see Morris 1992, 246–251; Arafat 1996, 67–74.
- 49 Morris 1992, 249.
- 50 Osborne 1985.
- 51 Delivorrias 1984, 10.
- 52 Porter 2001, 73–74. See also Hutton 2005, 314.
- 53 Compare Hutton 2005, 316.
- 54 Perhaps not surprisingly, the name is unattested as a historical Greek name: see *LGPN* and Rosen 1988b, 32–33.
- 55 Compare Hughes 1996, 211: “overlooked in all of these lines of discussion is the simple but essential fact that Boupalus and Athenis are sculptors, and it is the creation of a product of their art that, according to the testimonia, arouses the poet’s wrath.”
- 56 On this point, see also D’Acunto 2007, 245, who presumes, however, the historical existence of an Archaic sculptor named Boupalos.
- 57 And possibly to the lovely movement of the choral performers singing and dancing Pindar’s ode: see Steiner, D. 2001, 137.
- 58 Fragment 581 in Campbell 1991:
 τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυνοσ Λίνδου ναέταν
 Κλεόβουλον,
 ἀεναοῖσ ποταμοῖσ ἄνθεσι τ’ εἰαρινοῖσ
 ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέασ τε σελάνας
 καὶ θαλασσαιαῖσι δῖναισ ἀντίθენτα μένοσ
 στάλασ;
 ἄπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ
 καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ
 φωτὸσ ἄδε βούλα.
- 59 Gentili 1988, 164: Pindar saw his poetry “as a craft—existing, technically, on the same level as one of the figurative arts.”
- 60 Texts in Degani 1991, 3–4 nos. 7–9; West 1998, 109–110; Gerber 1999b, 344 nos. 3–4, 350 no. 11.
- 61 Zanker 1995, 20.
- 62 This point was conceded by Zinserling 1967, 19–20.
- 63 Giuliani 1997, 984–990.
- 64 Boston 10.216, *ARV*² 81, BAPD 200661. Dasen 1993, 169. For this sort of imagery, see also Mitchell 2009, 34–35, 235–248.
- 65 Athens, NM Acropolis 1073, BAPD 16393. For defecation in vase-painting, see Cohen and Shapiro 2002, 88–89. The series of late Archaic vase-paintings of men with extraordinary physiognomies is discussed in detail in Metzler 1971, 81–99.
- 66 See Shapiro 1988, esp. nos. 4–5.
- 67 Vatican 16552, cup, *ARV*² 916,183, Painter of Bologna 417, BAPD 211120. Lissarrague 2000, 136–138.
- 68 New York 07.286.47, *ARV*² 175, name-vase of the Hegesiboulos Painter, BAPD 201603. For a detailed discussion of earlier interpretations of the man, see Moore 2008, 14–16. She emphasized the significant differences between the old man on the Hegesiboulos cup and the hypercephalic men on the cups in Boston (figure 22), Athens, Rome, and elsewhere. She is right to emphasize the differences in degree, but I am not persuaded that they amount to differences in kind or genre.

- 69 Athens, Third Ephoreia (A 5040), BAPD 6101, published and attributed to Euphronios by Papoutsaki-Serbeti 1980, illustrated and discussed in Moore 2008, 16–17, 32 n. 47 and 36 n. 104. I return to the many similarities between the two cups in chapter seven.
- 70 On this fragment, see esp. D’Acunto 2007, 244–246.
- 71 The text is admittedly difficult. My argument accepts as a working assumption La Penna’s reading of the text. For a defense of his reading, and the identification of Medusa as Boupalos, see Rosen 1988a, 292 n. 8 and passim.
- 72 Degani 1984, 61.
- 73 See also Nonnos *Dionysiaka* 47.559–563 and the fifth-century historian Pherekydes 3 F 11 lines 14–16 in Fowler 2000, 281.
- 74 Deonna 1927, 231–232. For the representation of the gorgon, see the general survey of Krauskopf and Dahlinger 1988. For the early representations of Artemis, see Kahil 1984, 624–629. On the affinities between Artemis and Gorgo, see Vernant 1991b, 195; Topper 2007, 110 n. 10.
- 75 Which appears to have been coterminous with the earliest occurrence of the visual motif in art. See, e.g., Paris, Louvre CA 795, Cycladic relief pithos, ca. 670 BC, Krauskopf et al. 1988, pl. 183 Gorgo, Gorgones 290. On this point, see Benson 1967.
- 76 On this point, see Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 262–263, and Mack, below.
- 77 Frag. 78c.18–21, text and translation after Sommerstein 2008. Fea[rsome look in its eyes] is based on the restoration φ[β]ον β[λέ]πων] for φ[β] long-short-long].
- 78 On this point, see Green 1982; Ferrari, G. 1986, 19–20; Steiner, D. 2001, 45–48. On this fragment of Aischylos, see also Hedreen 2007a, 234–236, with further bibliography.
- 79 Mack 2002, 574.
- 80 On this motif, see Vernant 1991c, 147–149; Balensiefen 1990, 113–129.
- 81 Mack 2002, 593.
- 82 Schol. Hephaisteion p. 281.8 Consbruch=West 1998, 64.
- 83 Burnett 1983, 20: “That would be success: that would be the mark of excellence.” Compare Hendrickson 1925, 103: “a crystallization of popular belief in the invective power of the iambists.”
- 84 New York 31.11.4, standlet, *ABV* 78.12, signed by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, BAPD 300735. See the survey of scholarly responses in Halliwell 2008, 539.
- 85 Aristophanes fragment 130 Henderson. For analogs within the visual arts, see Green 1982.
- 86 Compare Aristophanes *Peace* 474.
- 87 Pollux 7.108, discussed in Faraone 1992, 55.
- 88 Topper 2007.
- 89 Vernant 1991a, 113. See also Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux 1988, 192–194; Vernant 1991c, 144.
- 90 See also Masson 1962, 120.
- 91 Ἐν δ’ ἐτίθει νειὸν μαλακὴν, πείριαν ἄρουραν,
εὐρείαν τρίπολον· πολλοὶ δ’ ἀροτῆρες ἐν
αὐτῇ
ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
οἱ δ’ ὅποτε στρέψαντες ἰκοίατο τέλσον
ἀρούρης,
τοῖσι δ’ ἔπειτ’ ἐν χερσὶ δέπας μεληδέος
οἴνου (545)
δόσκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιών· τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν’
ὄγμους,
ἰέμενοι νειοῖο βαθείης τέλσον ἰκέσθαι.
ἦ δὲ μελαινέτ’ ὄπισθεν, ἀρηρομένη δὲ ἔσκει,
χρυσεῖη περ εὐόσα· τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα
τέτυκτο.
- 92 As quoted in de Jong 2011, 1. Compare Francis 2009, 10: “as if the shield were running some sort of movie in animated metal.” But Giuliani 2003, 42, is more inclined to see in the animation a reminder of the divine craftsmanship of the shield.
- 93 Becker 1995, 21, 56, 80 and passim. See also Hubbard 1992, 26–27.
- 94 A point nicely demonstrated by Heffernan 1993, 13.
- 95 Auerbach 1953, 6.
- 96 Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίικιλλε περικλυτὸς
ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ ἴκελον οἶον ποτ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσῶ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμω Ἀριάδνῃ.
- 97 Edwards, M. W. 1991, 228–229.
- 98 That the word *choros* in the epic text cannot mean merely a physical structure is persuasively argued by Schadewaldt 1944, 442 n. 1. See also Morris 1992, 13–15; Lonsdale 1995, 273 n. 3.
- 99 For the importance of Daidalos in this passage, see Heffernan 1993, 14–15. The rival was Daidalos’ nephew Perdix or Kalos or Talos. The story is old, for it is attested in Hellanikos *FGH Hist* 323a F 22a=Fowler 2000, 222–223 no. 169. For the potter’s wheel, see Diod. 4.76. The sources and variations of the story are considered by Morris 1992, 259–260; Gantz 1993, 262; Fowler 2013, 480–481.

- 100 Translation after Sypher in Steinberg 2001, 27–28.
- 101 Becker 2003.
- 102 Taplin 1980, 11–18.
- 103 Many of the issues touched on my account of the shield of Achilles were recently and sympathetically addressed in Squire 2013, 158–161 and *passim*.
- 104 The little poem may have had a significant afterlife within Kallimachos' Hellenistic project of artistic criticism, if Hughes 1996, 214–215, is correct in reading the name of Mimnes in the fragmentary remains of *Iambus* 13.
- 105 On the reconstruction of the poem, see West 1974, 146–147. For the name, Rosen 1988b, 39–40. Aischulides is attested as a personal name in the Archaic period only at Athens, as a dedicant of a monument to Athena dating to around 510–500 BC: *IG I³* 635, Raubitschek 1949, 55 no. 54.
- 106 Schol. Ovid *Ib.* 447 = Degani 1991, 5 no. 10d.
- 107 For this interest, see Hedreen 2006, 308–311.
- 108 I thank Mario Tello for calling my attention to the significance of the diminutives in this poem.
- 109 Bowie 2008, 139–141.
- 110 *IG I³* 856 is a marble base from the Athenian Acropolis with a dedication from Phaidros and the artist's signature of Euphron. 857 is part of a marble pillar, dedicated by [Sm]ikuthē, and made by Euphron. 1018 is marble base in the Peiraios museum with a dedication to Hermes and an artist's signature of Euphron of Paros. All three of the inscriptions are dated to between 470 and 450 BC. On the Acropolis dedications, see Raubitschek 1949, 500–501.
- 111 One further possible indication of interest, within the work of Euphronios, in iambic poetry, is the name of one of the silen on the calyx krater in Paris attributed to the artist (Louvre G33, *ARV²* 14.4, BAPD 200066). The most remarkable of all the figures on this vase, figure 10, the silen shown frontally, dancing on one foot, sizably endowed, bears the name *νανβος* or *ιανβος*. The closest name or word is *iambos*. For this reading of the name, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 154.

CHAPTER 4 HEPHAISTOS IN EPIC:
ANALOG OF ODYSSEUS AND
ANTITHESIS TO THERSITES

- 1 Hephaist. *Ench.* 5.4 in Hipponax test. 13 Gerber: ἔστιν ἐπίσημον ἐν τοῖς ἀκατάληκτοις

καὶ τὸ χωλὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ τινὲς μὲν Ἴππώνακτος . . . εὐρημά φασι.

- 2 Tractatus Harleianus in Ananius test. 2 Gerber: τὸ οὖν παλαιὸν ἱαμβικὸν διαιρεῖται εἰς τὸ κωμικόν, τὸ τραγικόν, τὸ σατυρικόν, τὸ Ἴππωνάκτειον τὸ καὶ χωλόν.
- 3 See, e.g., Battezzato 2009, 137. For the attribution of the invention of this meter to Hipponax, see testimonia 24–27 in Degani.
- 4 The peculiar idea that physical deformity and technological or artistic prowess went hand in hand appears elsewhere in early Greek poetry. The trio of Kyklopes who manufacture thunderbolts for Zeus are the first creatures in Hesiod's *Theogony* to be singled out for physical abnormality: “these were like the gods in other regards, but only one eye was set in their foreheads” (141–143 trans. Most). But Hephaistos is by far the best-known physically imperfect yet technically sublime artisan god.
- 5 μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος αἰοιδὸς φορμίζων. On this possibility, see Edwards, M. W. 1991, 230 on lines 604–606.
- 6 Ἥ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀκροθέτιο πέλωρ αἴητον ἀνέστη
χωλεύων· ὑπὸ δὲ κνήμαι ῥώνοντο ἀραιαί . . .
σπόγγω δ' ἄμφω πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ'
ἀπομόργνυ
αὐχένα τε στιβαρόν καὶ στήθεα λαχνήεντα,
δῦ δὲ χιτῶν', ἔλε δὲ σκήπτρον παχύ, βῆ δὲ
θύραζε
χωλεύων· ὑπὸ δ' ἄμφιπολοι ῥώνοντο ἄνακτι.
- 7 See Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 132, 136.
- 8 Aischylos frags. 47–49 in Smyth/Lloyd-Jones; Hdt. 3.37; Burkert 1985, 281.
- 9 Schol. Hom. *Il.* 14.296. For commentary, see Hedreen 1992, 21.
- 10 ὡς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἔοντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ
Ἄφροδίτη
αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, φιλέει δ' αἰδηλὸν Ἄρηα,
οὐνεχ' ὁ μὲν καλὸς τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, αὐτὰρ
ἐγὼ γε
ἠπεδανὸς γενόμεν.
- 11 As far back as Burkert 1960, 136–137.
- 12 On those points of similarity, see Braswell 1982. See also Dobson 2003, 164, who identifies a number of parallels between this passage of the *Odyssey* and Archilochos frag. 114W. Odysseus is like the short general with curved shins and a big heart; Euryalos, the tall preening general.
- 13 On this theme, see Alden 1997. More forceful but also more speculative is Olson 1989.

- 14 Zeitlin 1995, 128.
- 15 For all those parallels, see Newton 1987, 13–15.
- 16 On the sense that Odysseus has, for once, lost his cool, see de Jong 2009, 72–73.
- 17 The antiquity of the second occurrence of the simile has been doubted: see Russo, Fernandez-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992, 329. For a spirited defense of the authenticity of both, see Zeitlin 1995, 136. See also de Jong 2001, 555.
- 18 The importance of ambush as the definitive skill of Odysseus is emphasized by Edwards, A. T. 1985, 18–40.
- 19 For a brilliant analysis of the simile in relation to the bed and the hero, see Zeitlin 1995, 131–137.
- 20 Starobinski 1975, 348–350.
- 21 *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
οὐδ' ὁ γ' ἀληθέα εἶπε, πάλιν δ' ὁ γε λάζετο μῦθον,
αἰὲν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόον πολυκερδέα νωμῶν·
“πυθθανόμην Ἰθάκης . . .”*
- 22 de Jong 2009, 80–81.
- 23 For a perceptive analysis of the passage, see de Jong 2009, 77–79.
- 24 These interactions and their implications have been thoroughly analyzed. See Harsh 1950; Amory 1963; Emlyn-Jones 1984; Murnaghan 1987, 118–140; Williams, B. 1993, 48–49.
- 25 Richard Ellman as quoted in Williams, B. 1993, 184 n. 59.
- 26 See Heubeck et al. 1988, 367; de Jong 2001, 208–209.
- 27 Brown 1989. See also Olson 1989, 142 n. 28.
- 28 On this point, see Braswell 1971, 132; Burkert 1960, 142.
- 29 For *agélasta*, see Garvie 1994, 301–302; Alden 1997, 517; Halliwell 2008, 80–81.
- 30 See Lowry 1991, 96.
- 31 Florence 4209, *ABV* 76,1, Kleitias, BAPD 300000, discussed at length in chapter five. For the iconography of Ares and Aphrodite, see Delivorrias 1984, 123–125.
- 32 Athens, NM, *LIMC* 2, pl. 364 Ares 60. Various dated from the late seventh to the mid-sixth century BC. See Shapiro 1995, 11 n. 88.
- 33 Compare de Jong 2001, 209.
- 34 A point partially appreciated by Dobson 2003, 171.
- 35 On this point, see Halliwell 2008, 60.
- 36 Sikes 1940, 122; Kirk 1985, 113–114; Halliwell 2008, 62. That interpretation goes back to ancient commentaries on the epic.
- 37 Zeitlin 1989, 172, 193 n. 117.
- 38 On the *ekphrasis* of Euripides' *Ion*, see Hannah 2002.
- 39 Zeitlin adds to the list of allusions in this scene the fact that Ion spills his drink onto the ground, just as Hephaistos spilled his seed onto the earth, resulting in the conception of Erichthonios. In her reading of the Euripidean passage, this is the primary point of evoking Hephaistos, for the engendering of Erichthonios, the idea of autochthonous origins, and the rape of a female by a male god are all major themes of this play.
- 40 The point is appreciated by Halliwell 2008, 63. This interpretation of Hephaistos seems intuitively grasped by Panofsky 1972, 35: “a god whose very lucklessness, combined with rare gifts of humorous good nature and inventiveness, made him the most laughable and, at the same time, the most lovable figure of the pagan Pantheon.”
- 41 McGlew 1989, 283–292, makes a case for interpreting the test of the troops as a plausible rhetorical strategy, rather than an act of poor judgment. The text clearly states, however, that the Achaians would have abandoned the expedition had not the goddesses intervened. For an account that emphasizes Agamemnon's failure of leadership, see Thalmann 1988, 7–10.
- 42 I am unpersuaded by the arguments of Lowry 1991, 32–40, 94, 98 and *passim*, that *aischistos* means “most shame-causing,” and not “most physically ugly.” His attempts to get around the clear, contextually established meanings of *aischista*, *aischunō*, and *aischros* in, say, Semonides 7.73–74, *Iliad* 22.74–75, and Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 a 33–36, which entail physical or visual ugliness, are not compelling.
- 43 For the argument that τῶ (222) refers to Agamemnon and not Thersites, see Postlethwaite 1988, 134–135; Thalmann 1988, 18 and n. 44. On this point, the scholarship varies: see, e.g., de Jong 1999, 262–263.
- 44 See Kirk 1985, 141: the language and syntax of the sentence “give it an almost pornographic flavour.”
- 45 An excellent demonstration of the rhetorical relationship between the speeches of Thersites and Achilles is offered by Postlethwaite 1988. For an appreciation of the speech as “a polished piece of invective,” see also Kirk 1985, 140–141. The critique of the speech, in comparison in particular with those of Nestor, in Martin 1989, 109–113, does not deny the cogency of the argument.
- 46 The “wild hyperbole” was observed by Rose 1988, 21.

- 47 Lincoln 1994, 14–36.
- 48 E.g., Griffin 1980, 10.
- 49 On the difficult and disputed question of the extent to which the episode implies an ideology of class difference, see Geddes 1984, 22–23 and passim; Thalmann 1988, 3–4 and esp. n. 7; Rose 1988.
- 50 For discussion of the story in Pherekydes, and its relationship to the picture of Thersites in the *Iliad*, see Fowler 2013, 139–140.
- 51 For the text of Proklos, see West 2003a, 110–111. See also the *Tabula Capitolina*, described in West 2013, 130–131.
- 52 Burgess 2001, 9–12; West 2013, 135–136.
- 53 Compare Stuurman 2004, 184: “He is . . . the personification of a thinkable discourse by Homer.”
- 54 The difficult question of Thersites’ social status in Book Two is thoroughly reviewed by Marks 2005. Additionally see Rosen 2003, 134, who also favors the idea that, in traditional epic poetry, Thersites was understood to be on more or less equal speaking terms with the heroes.
- 55 Calhoun 1934, 305.
- 56 Nagy 1999, 259–264.
- 57 On the relevance of Thersites to the interpretation of the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax, see especially Riu 2008, 83 and passim.
- 58 For the interpretation of *melanochroos* and *oulókarenos*, “dark-skinned” and “curly-haired,” see Russo et al. 1992, 90. This passage was discussed in chapter two in connection with Archilochos frag. 114W.
- 59 Other reservations about Nagy’s reading of the Thersites episode may be found in Rosen 2007, 69–78; Riu 2008.
- 60 Compare Halliwell 2008, 69–71.
- 61 Compare Halliwell 2008, 69, 71–72, 74.
- 62 The comparison is nicely made by Marks 2005, 17–23.
- 63 Lincoln 1994, 22.
- 64 Perhaps needless to say, this interpretation differs from the detailed and thoughtful psychoanalytic reading of Hephaistos offered by Fineberg 2009, 307 and passim.
- have it reflects an awareness of the story of the return of Hephaistos, see also Janko 1992, 192.
- 2 For the text assigned to Libanios, see Lobel and Page 1955, 272; Gibson 2008, 15.
- 3 West 2011, 292–293.
- 4 Alkaios frag. 349(d) Lobel-Page=Campbell 1982, 384–385.
- 5 For the connections between the two stories, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1895, 224–225, who argued that the return of Hephaistos is likely to have been a model for Demodokos’ story. Mutual influence or interaction between two oral traditions is another way of thinking about the relationship.
- 6 Florence 4209, *ABV* 76,1, BAPD 300000. For the inscriptions on the vase, see especially Cristofani, Marzi, et al. 1980; Wachter 1991.
- 7 I advance an interpretation of the visual emphasis on procession in the iconography in Hedreen 2004.
- 8 Beazley 1986, 29.
- 9 The story was told in an epic entitled *Danaïs*, which is of uncertain date but presumably not later than the end of the Archaic period: see Bernabé 1987, 122 no. 2. It was also depicted on the throne at Amyklai (Paus. 3.18.13), which is certainly Archaic in date. For the sources and visual representations, see Hermay and Jacquemin 1988, 629–630; Shapiro 1995, 1.
- 10 This point is emphasized by Simon, Hirmer, and Hirmer 1981, 75. For the goddess’ libidinous effect on anyone or anything she passes, see *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 68–74.
- 11 For the general interpretation of the role of Aphrodite in this visual narrative, see Robert in Preller 1894, 1:177 n. 3, and, especially for the interpretation of the gesture of Aphrodite, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1895, 221. For reservations about the general interpretation, see Shapiro 1995, 8. On the relative chronology of epic and the François vase, see comments below.
- 12 Outside of Athenian art, *silenoí* are often represented as having the hooves of a horse affixed to the legs of a man. Much rarer, and visually more striking, are *silenoí* made up of the entire rear leg of a horse, as here. For other examples, see Hedreen 1992, 149 n. 104.
- 13 Beazley 1986, 25. See also Lissarrague 2001, 20–21.
- 14 Oakley and Sinos 1993, 38.
- 15 This association is emphasized by Simon et al. 1981, 72.

CHAPTER 5 PICTORIAL SUBJECTIVITY AND THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES ON THE FRANÇOIS VASE

- 1 For a reconstruction of the hymn, see West 2001. For the likelihood that the *Iliad* as we

- 16 London 1971.11–1.1, *Para* 19,16 bis, BAPD 350099, fully published by Williams, D. 1983. The relationship between the dinos and the François vase is also considered by Stewart 1983, 58–63; Carpenter 1986, 1–12. A fragmentary dinos attributed to the Painter of London B76, Chiusi 67371, BAPD 9022267, which must shortly postdate the François vase, is also decorated with an ambitious representation of the reception in honor of Peleus and Thetis, in which Hephaistos and Dionysos proceed on foot, rather than in chariots, and Hephaistos is relegated to the end of the procession. The vase was published by Iozzo 2009, 68–69, 71 and *passim*.
- 17 Beazley 1986, 27.
- 18 Beazley 1986, 29.
- 19 *Pythian* 3.88–95:
 λέγονται μὰν βροτῶν
 ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἷ σχεῖν, οἶτε καὶ
 χρυσαμπύκων
 μελομενᾶν ἐν ὄρει Μοισᾶν . . .
 καὶ θεοὶ δαΐσαντο παρ’ ἀμφοτέροις,
 καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυ-
 σέαις ἐν ἔδραις, ἔδνα τε
 δέξαντο. See also *Nemean* 4.66–68: “[Peleus] beheld the fine circle of seats on which the lords of the sky and sea sat and revealed to him their gifts and his race’s power” (translations after Race).
- 20 Slatkin 1991, 53–84.
- 21 Hoffmann 1987.
- 22 For the identification of the amphora carried by Dionysos as an S–O–S amphora, see Arias, Shefton, and Hirmer 1962, 289. For the type, see Johnston and Jones 1978. For the function of the vase, see Docter 1991.
- 23 Rumpf 1953, 470. See Hom. *Il.* 23.83–92, *Od.* 24.71–77, and Stesichoros frag. 234 *PMG*=Campbell 1991, 162–163. For the relationship of the story to the return of Hephaistos, see Hedreen 1992, 21.
- 24 The history of the debate is well documented by Moore 2011, 4–6. Important contributions include Schaus 1986; Haslam 1991. See also Giuliani 2003, 148–150.
- 25 For additional possible antiquarian connotations of the S–O–S amphora on the François vase, see the suggestion made by Pinney in Stewart 1983, 70 n. 4. For old-fashioned vases within other vase-paintings, see Oenbrink 1996, 117.
- 26 The ash branch that became the spear was given to Peleus at his wedding according to *Kypria* frag. 4 in West 2003a, 84–85 (frag. 3 Bernabé). Compare Hom. *Il.* 16.140–144, which identifies the ash as a gift to Peleus from Cheiron but does not specify the occasion. For the argument that the branch carried in the vase-painting is the original ash, see Stewart 1983, 64–65; Moore 2011, 7–8. Cheiron’s branch is also hung with prey, which has reminded many commentators that Cheiron would feed the child of the marital union of Peleus and Thetis, Achilles, on the entrails of young prey. For the story, see Robertson, D. S. 1940. Compare Beazley 1986, 10.
- 27 On the names in Hesiod, see West 1966, 180–182. Even the order in which the names occur on the François vase matches, in part, the enumeration of the goddesses in the Hesiodic account: see Wachter 1991, 107–108.
- 28 Wachter 1991, 104, 108.
- 29 Stewart 1983, 55–63.
- 30 For the way in which the story was told in Stesichoros, see Haslam 1991, 36–40. For the chronology of Stesichoros, see the careful study of West 1971, 306 and *passim*, who dates the poet’s activities 560–540 and not earlier than 570.
- 31 Osborne and Pappas 2007, 134.
- 32 Steinberg 2001, 25, see also 14.
- 33 A slightly later, mid-sixth-century date was advocated by West 1985, 136–137. But many scholars believe the poem to be earlier. Hirschberger 2004, 42–49, concluded that the poem was composed between 630 and 590 and not later. Janko 2011, 41–43, believes that the arguments for a sixth-century date are flawed, and that the poem is closely comparable in diction and language to the much earlier *Theogony*, of which it is a sequel. He believes that the ancient attribution of the *Catalogue* to Hesiod is justifiable.
- 34 Fragment 98.16–19 (=150 MW), text and translation after Most though omitting for the moment his restorations.
- 35 Henrichs 1983, 40; West 1985, 178; Dasen 1994, 594. For the epithet used of Poseidon, see *Theogony* 441, 456, 930.
- 36 The text is after Luppe 1984, 110, 114–115.
- 37 Luppe 1984, 116–117. The translation is after Most 2007, 170–171, who accepted Luppe’s reading. Luppe argued that there is enough space in the lacuna in line 16 for the letters spelling “Hephaistos” but not enough space for other proposed restorations. He also

- pointed out that the name of Hephaistos would fit metrically into the lacuna at the beginning of line 19, giving the meaning “all belong to the lineage of the *kreiontos*, ‘sovereign,’ loud-sounding Hephaistos.” Admittedly, the epithet *kreiōn* is not attested elsewhere in epic poetry for Hephaistos. See also Hirschberger 2004, 324–325, who gives this identification of the “loud-sounding” god in line 19 more attention than any other suggestion. The epithet *enktupos*, “loud-sounding,” is appropriate not just for Poseidon, but also for Zeus: see Grenfell and Hunt 1915, 50. It would also be completely appropriate for a god who hammers on anvils all day. In a different tradition, Hephaistos is the father of another mythological group sometimes characterized as diminutive, the Kabeiroi: see Dasen 1993, 194–196.
- 38 For details, see Carpenter 1986, 11, 97; Carpenter 1997, 93; Ferrari, G. 1986, 11, 16–18.
- 39 The question was recently and thoroughly explored by Mary Moore 2011, 2–3, who persuasively argued that the pose signifies neither dancing nor swift motion.
- 40 Contrast the image immediately above, of a winged goddess who, in contrast to Ajax, effortlessly (she is a goddess) lifts wild animals, like kittens, by the scruffs of their necks. The impression that Ajax is not moving quickly but lifting a heavy object is also given by comparisons with figures elsewhere on the François vase, who really are best understood as running because the front foot is off the ground (e.g., Achilles, Polyxena, Pheidimos). Other representations of Ajax carrying the body off of the battlefield also suggest that the hero moved slowly and heavily: see Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 185–193.
- 41 Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 81–97.
- 42 Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 19–20, 88, 90.
- 43 It is worth recalling that Athena, having invented the aulos (which is played like the syrinx, by puffing up the cheeks), discarded it when she saw a reflection of her face as she played the instrument and it distorted her appearance. For the sources, see Gantz 1993, 86–87.
- 44 Beazley 1986, 26.
- 45 Poseidon, for example, lifts an enormous rock that represents an entire island on a pyxis in Malibu 90.AE.15, plus other fragments, ca. 550 BC, attributed to the BMN Painter, BAPD 10148.
- 46 For those ideas, see Beazley 1986, 32; Wachter 1991, 97; Snodgrass 1998, 120; Giuliani 2003, 144–146.
- 47 Snodgrass 1998, 118–119, conceded that “the whole episode will have been one of Homer’s personal contributions to Greek legend... [T]he *Iliad* probably remains the likeliest inspiration for this treatment of the theme.” Even Burgess 2001, 81, accepts the idea that the funeral games for Patroklos derive from the *Iliad*, and he is skeptical that Patroklos in his entirety originated in the epic. There is also a small but important fragment of a dinos of around 580–570 BC signed by the Athenian vase-painter Sophilos, Kleitias’ immediate predecessor (Athens, NM 15499, *ABV* 39.16, BAPD 305075). On the fragment are parts of a grandstand of spectators, a racing chariot team, part of the name of Achilles, and the inscription ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥΣ ἄτλα, “games for Patroklos.” Titles, giving the general subject of an entire, multi-figure scene, are virtually unknown in vase-painting. But titles are attested for individual parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as early as the fifth century BC. On this point, see also Shapiro 1989, 44.
- 48 Hippothoos appears to have been the name of a Kalydonian boar hunter in some accounts: see Huys 1997. Damasippos occurs eighteen times in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, but not within Attica, and only twice before the fourth century. Hippothoos and Hippothōn are virtually unknown, appearing but three times each, Hippothōn once in Attica, in the second century BC.
- 49 See Amyx 1988, 553–554; Wachter 2001, 257; Osborne et al. 2007, 143–145.
- 50 Several suggestions have been made, but they are very different from mine: Lowenstam 1992, 176, suggested that Kleitias is trying to say that “Odysseus is a superlative competitor but still inferior to Achilles.” Lattimore 1997 argued that the picture essentially condenses the entirety of the funeral games for Patroklos, in which Odysseus emerged, overall, as one of the biggest winners.
- 51 For the theme, see Edwards, A. T. 1985, 18–41.
- 52 Gregory Nagy 1999, 22–24, 40, 42–63, ingeniously argued that the first Song of Demodokos does not merely touch on the theme of *mētis* versus *biē* underlying the *Odyssey* as a whole, but in fact represents an independent epic tradition in which Achilles and Odysseus come to

- blows over the respective values of force and deception. Clay, J. S. 1983, 105, argued that the first song of Demodokos “both playfully and seriously, suggests an alternate *Iliad*.” For further details on the interpretation of the first song of Demodokos, see Hedreen 2001, 173–175.
- 53 On the passage, see the classic analysis of Detienne and Vernant 1978, 11–23. Where I depart from their analysis of this Homeric passage is in emphasizing that Antilochos’ post-race crisis-management is also part of a successful deployment of *mētis*.
- 54 It is true that Achilles is said to have captured other Trojans or Trojan allies outside the walls of Troy (*Iliad* 1.225–228, 11.101–107, 20.90–92, 21.35–40), but those incidents celebrate, as much as anything else, his fleetness of foot (esp. 20.187–194).
- 55 On those points, see Hedreen 2001, 86–87, 165–167, 233–234.
- 56 Athens, NM Acropolis 594a–b, *ABV* 77.8, BAPD 300731. See Hirayama 2010, 196. Compare Louvre E639, Corinthian column krater, Amyx 1988, 266,1; Barringer 1995, 72–73, pls. 67–68. See also Krieger 1973, 77–80. Note that Peleus’ technique is familiar from *Odyssey* 4.351–424.
- 57 The earliest surviving literary account of the story even describes Ariadne instructing Theseus to try to approach the Minotaur stealthily while it slept: Pherekydes frag. 148 in Fowler 2000, 352–353.
- 58 Clay, J. S. 1983, 113.
- 59 One fragment, depicting Perseus, is in Moscow, Pushkin 2986, *ABV* 77.2, BAPD 300725. The other fragment, depicting Odysseus (labelled) and Polyphemos, is in Basel, Cahn HC 1418, BAPD 7383, Hirayama 2010, 236–237, no. B1.1.
- 60 Both the return of Hephaistos and the ambush of Achilles were identified as celebrations of *mētis* by Torelli 2013, 94, in his analysis of the thematic program of the François vase, but he did not associate them with Odysseus.
- 61 For the names of the heroes traditionally associated with the Kalydonian boar hunt, and the literary sources, see Stewart 1983, 63 with notes 34–35; Wachter 1991, 91–92.
- 62 On Tochsamis, see Wachter 1991, 93–94: the second part of the name is non-Greek and reminiscent in sound of the second part of the name of a legendary Kimmerian king, Lygdamis. For the opinion about archery, see Barringer 2004, 16. She offers an interpretation of the presence of strangely dressed archers within the Kalydonian boar hunt that associates it with the presence of the equally aberrant image of the female combatant Atalante.
- 63 Ferrari Pinney 1983.
- 64 For this kind of generic personal name elsewhere on the François vase, see the boy filling a hydria with water in the Troilos scene: his name, “Troōn,” is derived from the name of his hometown or region, “Troia,” Troy City or Troad.
- 65 Lissarrague 2001, 18. Compare Lezzi-Hafter 2013, 170: “another approach recognizes a certain ethnic and geographical partition: from the archers in Black Sea dress . . . to the Pygmies (south of Egypt) . . .” Or Harari 2004, 166: the placement of the geranomachy around the foot of the vase is due to not “either a sort of conceptual degradation or a paradoxical counterpoint, but to the expression of a topographic marginality.” Or Hoffmann 1987, 30–31.
- 66 For a parallel polar opposition of Ethiopia and Scythia, see Hedreen 1991, 324–330. I am not persuaded by the arguments of Ivanchik 2005, 109–110, that the figure of Kimmerios on the François vase evokes in no way an ethnic group or geographical region. The claim that the name was in circulation as a personal name, and did not refer to the ethnicity of the persons so named, stands on the thinnest of ice. There are a total of three attestations of the personal name Kimmerios in all of *LGPN*: one from Rhodes, one from Tenos, and one from Ephesos (Paus. 10.9.9), dating to the end of the fifth or the fourth century BC. On the basis of so few attestations, can one really claim that Kimmerios was a personal name circulating so widely and frequently that it carried *no* geographical or historical connotations? For further reservations about Ivanchik’s argument, see Cohen 2012, 470–473.
- 67 The sources include Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos* (4) 307–315; Plutarch, *Theseus* 21, citing the early Hellenistic writer Dikaiarchos; Pollux 4.101.
- 68 For the argument that the moment shown is the arrival on Crete, see Dugas 1943, 9–11; Shapiro 1989, 146–147; Giuliani 2003, 154–157, 294–296. For the idea that the dance is not the *geranos*, or no dance at all, see Giuliani and Shapiro, among others.

- 69 For a more detailed exposition of those discursive functions of the time and place and character of the dance on the François vase, see Hedreen 2011, 498–503.
- 70 Muellner 1990, 61–77.
- 71 Muellner 1990, 82–89.
- 72 Muellner 1990, 92.
- 73 Muellner 1990, 94, 97.
- 74 E.g., Calame 1997, 56.
- 75 In contrast to scholia on 18.590, I understand *choros* to mean “dance” as much as “dance-floor.” I take *entha*, “there,” in 18.593, to refer not to the represented physical setting of the dance, but to the surface of the shield, like the word *en* in 18.590 and elsewhere. For the identification of the dance on the shield with the dance performed by Theseus, see scholia b on 18.591–592, in Erbse 1969–1988, 4:564–566, and Eustathios 1166 on 18.590, in van der Valk 1971–1987, 4:102. For the way in which dance might have figured within the story of Ariadne, see further in Hedreen 2011, 503–506.
- 76 See Shapiro 1989, 18–21, for an excellent discussion of the evidence for the 566 date. See his pp. 41–43 for the arguments in favor of the idea that musical performances of various kinds go back to that date. For the question of how the fixation of the texts of Homer relate to activities at Athens in the sixth century, see Heubeck et al. 1988, 36–40 (West); Janko 1992, 29–32.
- 77 For the relationship between the two poetic descriptions of shields, see the analysis of Cook, R. M. 1937. There is a more positive appreciation of the Hesiodic shield in Martin 2005.
- 78 Shapiro 1984, 527 and passim; Wachter 1991, 104–107.
- 79 On the significance of the absence of personal names from the shield of Achilles, see Giuliani 2003, 42–43.
- 80 Eric Owen, as quoted in Taplin 1980, 12.
- 81 Compare Lissarrague 2001, 19: “the geranos . . . which verbally echoes the scene on the foot of the vase.”
- 82 I thank Francesco de Angelis and Richard Neer for enlightening discussion of this point.
- 83 Shapiro 2013, 13.
- 84 Mitchell 2009, 107.
- 85 E.g., Stewart 1983, 67; Beazley 1986, 28.
- 86 Sikes 1940, 122; Kirk 1985, 113–114; Halliwell 2008, 62. That interpretation goes back to ancient commentaries on the epic. For Euripides’ important gloss on the passage, see chapter four.

CHAPTER 6 FRONTALITY,
SELF-REFERENCE, AND SOCIAL
HIERARCHY: THREE ARCHAIC
VASE-PAINTINGS

- 1 New York 26.49, aryballos, *ABV* 83.4, BAPD 300770. For the inscriptions, see Immerwahr 1990, 27 no. 97. For a thorough description: Richter 1932. That the incised signature was not an afterthought but planned during the painting of the vase: Cohen 1991, 53–54. See also Mertens 1988, 429: “not only is the middle [satyr] directed straight ahead but below him is also the artist’s incised signature: ΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝΜΕ. It seems as though Nearchos is addressing the viewer.”
- 2 Wollheim 1987, 101: “[t]here are certain paintings that have a representational content in excess of what they represent. There is something which cannot be seen in the painting; so the painting doesn’t represent that thing. But the thing is given to us along with what the painting represents: so it is part of the painting’s representational content.” This interpretive approach was taken as long ago as Alois Riegl in *The Group Portraiture of Holland* of 1902. See Hedreen 2007a, 232–234 and passim for further details.
- 3 On the process of endowing an internal spectator with a repertoire, see Wollheim 1987, 104, 129.
- 4 Wollheim 1987, 129. On the lack of relevance of internal spectators who do not occupy the position of the external spectator, see pp. 102–103.
- 5 On the signature, see especially Cohen 1991, 53–55.
- 6 For Sophilos as a writer, see Immerwahr 1990, 21–22. For Nearchos, his p. 27.
- 7 On this point, see Wollheim 1987, 43.
- 8 New York 14.146.2 and Munich 2603, *ARV*² 9,1–2, BAPD 200038 and 200040. In the absence of the verb, some scholars have been reluctant to attribute the painting to the master himself. See Beazley, *ARV*² 9; Richter 1934, 553–554; Cohen 1977, 349–353. Beth Cohen considers the possibility that the name refers to the potting of the cups. Potters’ names occasionally occur on other vases without the verb *epoiēsen*.
- 9 For critiques of the apotropaic interpretation, see Ferrari, G. 1986, 11; Kunisch 1990, 20–21;

- Martens 1992, 332–347; Mitchell 2009, 36–46. For this and other aspects of eye cups, see also Hedreen 2007a.
- 10 For the relationship between some eye cups and the iconography of the gorgon, see Beazley and Magi 1939, 58; Beazley 1986, 62. For the identification of the faces of eye cups as silens, nymphs, a panther, or Dionysos, see Ferrari, G. 1986, 14–18; Kunisch 1990, 24–25; Steinhart 1995, 55–60.
 - 11 Boardman 1976, 288. Compare Keck 1988, 70.
 - 12 Neer 2002, 116.
 - 13 Wollheim 1987, 19–20. Compare Riegl 1985, 144: “after all, what are new solutions, if not reconciliations of the conflicts that preceded them?” For the basic idea, that one can retrospectively recognize significance in something that one did unintentionally, see Williams, B. 1993, 50, on *Odyssey* 22.154–156.
 - 14 Filipczak 1987, 202.
 - 15 Munich 8953, BAPD 6203. The cup was published by Ohly-Dumm 1974, 7–14. The cup was included in the recent study of small red-figure cups by Böhr 2009, 112 with 123 no. C 1, which includes a profile drawing. The spelling of the artist was once read as *Ευθρονιος*, but it appears that Euphronios almost always wrote a “theta” with a dot inside the circle, rather than a stroke across it, as here. Elsewhere, he occasionally wrote the letter “phi” with a diagonal stroke, as here: compare plate XI. The remarks of Wegner 1979, 25 and n. 40, “one would hardly have taken [this cup] for a work of Euphronios without the signature, so conventionally [like] earliest red-figure is the running Amazon . . . [and] the gorgoneion corresponds . . . in its size not to that which is attested for Euphronios,” exemplifies a scholarly tendency discussed in chapter 1, namely, a tendency to assume that Euphronios was unable or unwilling to paint in any manner other than the highly detailed and highly original manner documented on some of his large, signed works.
 - 16 Seki 1988, 588.
 - 17 Bochum, Ruhr S489, *Para* 332,8 ter, BAPD 352437. See also Hillert 1995, 182. For the close relationship between Euphronios and the Hermaios Painter in style, see Williams, D. 1992, 82.
 - 18 New York 1997.388, 56, and 493, BAPD 46026, thoroughly published by Mary Moore 2010. A small number of illustrations and commentary on the inscriptions were provided by Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 131–135, when the fragments were on loan at the Getty Museum. Although attributed to or associated with Lydos since its appearance, Moore pp. 41–43 has persuasively argued that is not attributable to that ceramic artist.
 - 19 E.g., Ailian, *VH* 2:38, 41. For the occasions of women’s wine-drinking, see Burton 1998. For comedy, see Davidson 1997, 191.
 - 20 Berlin 3223, pelike, *Para* 393, Early Mannerist, BAPD 206777. For the subject generally, see Krauskopf, Simon and Simon 1997, 797 and passim.
 - 21 Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, *ABV* 152,25, BAPD 310452. Even earlier, perhaps as early as the fragmentary krater, is an amphora of the so-called Tyrrhenian type: Louvre E831, *ABV* 103,108, BAPD 310107. It depicts six women dancing wildly around Dionysos with animals in their hands.
 - 22 E.g., London E362, *ARV*² 585,34, Early Mannerist, BAPD 206764. There is an important mythological distinction between the world and activities of the silens, on the one hand, and the narratives involving women maddened by Dionysos, on the other. There are also significant differences (as well as similarities) between the maenads and the traditional female companions of the silens—the nymphs. See Hedreen 1994.
 - 23 Fort Worth, BAPD 11686.
 - 24 For the character of Classical satyr-play, see, e.g., Simon 1982. On the question of the relationship between Athenian vase-painting and satyr-play, see Lissarrague 1990c; Hedreen 1992, 105–178; Hedreen 2006, 315–317; Topper 2007, 97–98 and passim.
 - 25 The association of the name with the Trojan War may be attested on a mid-fifth-century vase as well, which puzzlingly depicts the departure of Achilles and Oukalegon from Agamemnon and Kymothea: see Paris, Cab. Méd. 851, *ARV*² 1251,41, Eretria Painter, BAPD 216978.
 - 26 Moore 2010, 24. Compare Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 131.
 - 27 Oenbrink 1996, 100–104. For the argument that numerous other depictions of figure-decorated vases are depictions of ceramic (as opposed to metallic) vases, see Oenbrink pp. 83–97. In agreement that the vases depicted on the fragmentary New York krater are meant

- to be understood as ceramic vases is Moore 2010, 45 n. 33: “the scheme of decoration supports his interpretation.”
- 28 On this point, see also Oenbrink 1996, 100–104. For rosettes around the rim of an amphora from the second quarter of the sixth century, see New York, Callimanopoulos (once Basel, Bloch), *Para* 31,10, Camtar Painter, BAPD 350207.
- 29 Samos K898, *ABV* 151,18, BAPD 310445. A detailed commentary in Kreuzer 1998, 65–68, 119 no. 29.
- 30 For the identification of the subject, see Caskey and Beazley 1931–1963, 2: 95–99, no. 113. Venit 2006, 35–36 suggested that the decoration of the fictive vase offers a counterpoint to the image of harmonious silen-nymph relations on the body of the vase. I like to think that the silens and nymphs embody seemingly opposing impulses of irresistible desire and confident self-mastery as part of their mythical personae: see Hedreen 2007b, 169–173.
- 31 This point is nicely discussed by Mertens 1987, 171–173.
- 32 An even earlier example is Cortona, Biblioteca comunale, lebes fragments, KX Painter, BAPD 17899, which depicts a procession of silens carrying vases (amphora and column krater). Noting the incised decoration on the column krater within this image, Venit 2006, 30, suggested that this is perhaps the earliest extant representation of an ornamented clay vase. The pattern of reverse “Zs” on the neck corresponds to the stepped zigzag pattern on the vertical surfaces of the lips of Late Corinthian column kraters. Once again, the context of the fictive painted vase is the mythical Dionysiac world.
- 33 Malibu 86.AE.113, BAPD 79. For other examples of black-figure vase-paintings of figured kantharoi held by Dionysos, see Oenbrink 1996, 129–130, A2 (the Malibu vase), A5, and A7.
- 34 Eustathios on Hom. *Od.* 3.91. For the role of Naxos in the mythology of Dionysos, see Hedreen 1992, 67–103.
- 35 Compare Oenbrink 1996, 104–105.
- 36 According to Rasmussen 1985, 33–34, 38 (quote): “all the evidence suggests that the kantharos of Etruscan type, whether of metal or clay, strongly appealed to the Greeks.” See also Courbin 1953, 339–345; Brijder 1988, 109–113. For the typology of Attic kantharoi, see Caskey et al. 1931–1963, 1: no. 17 on 95.36. Boiotian potters also manufactured a carinated form of kantharos in the sixth century, and Carpenter 1986, 119–121, argued that the Attic version was modelled on the Boiotian. If that were true, however, it would not necessarily alter the association or connotations of the carinated kantharos, among Attic or Boiotian or both schools of potters and their patrons, with Etruscan pottery.
- 37 E.g., Munich 1447, amphora of Panathenaic shape, *ABV* 81,1, near the Painter of the Acropolis 606, BAPD 300761, ca. 560 BC according to *CVA* Munich 7, p. 31. For further examples of representations of Dionysos holding a kantharos in Athenian vase-painting dating to 550 or earlier, see Moore 2010, 33 with n. 71. On the association of the kantharos with Dionysos, see Caskey et al. 1931–1963, 1: no. 17. Outside of Athenian vase-painting, the kantharos is associated with Dionysos even earlier, on a late seventh-century Cycladic amphora in the archaeological museum on Melos: Papastamos 1970, 55–56, pl. 10. On the restriction of the kantharos to Dionysiac, mythological scenes in Athenian vase-painting, see Cohen et al. 2002, 84.
- 38 Komasts: Athens, Agora P334, dinos, *ABV* 23, connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, BAPD 300278, Young 1935. For the association of the kantharos with Dionysos in Athenian vase-painting generally, see Gericke 1970, 22–24. For the possibility that Herakles acquired the kantharos from Dionysos, see Hedreen 1992, 90.
- 39 Seeberg 1971, 73 n. 10. The connection between the Etruscan origins of the kantharos and Dionysos is also touched on in Bonfante 2002, 52.
- 40 Seeberg 1971, 73. For the primitive associations of the drinking horn, see also Nonnos, *Dionysiaka* 12.360; Isler-Kerényi 2007, 33–34.
- 41 For arguments in support of the proposition that significant features of Dionysiac mythology and ritual were correlated with the ancient speculation about primitive life, see Hedreen 2009a. More generally, see Topper 2012.
- 42 See Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; Sourvinou-Inwood 2004 for detailed examinations of the complex mythology concerning the primitive populations of Greece.
- 43 Rome, Museo del Foro 515366, BAPD 9022287.

- 44 Simon 1997b, 292 with Vulcanus 70. For further references, see *LIMC* Supplement 2009, pl. 124 Hephaistos add. 1.
- 45 Berlin F2294, *ARV*² 400,1, BAPD 204340.
- 46 Three other extant vases, contemporary with the cup, depict a metalworker finishing a helmet or shield for a female client, and two of the vase-paintings include the goddess Athena as a participant in the transaction. See Hermary et al. 1988, 631, 650, for a list of vases. The presence of the goddess suggests that the scene is occurring in the mythical past. For the much earlier, well-known fragmentary kantharos signed by Nearchos, which depicts the arming of Achilles on one side, and appears to have included a fragment with the name of Hephaistos on the other side, see now Mommsen 2009, 55–56. For the pictorial tradition of Thetis participating in the transfer of weapons to her son, a good comparison is Boston 01.8027, neck amphora, *ABV*152,27, Amasis Painter, BAPD 310454. For the identification of the metalworker in the bowl of the name-vase of the Foundry Painter, see also Neils 2000, 75, who suggested that the disparity in the size of the feet of the artisan in the tondo of the cup establishes beyond doubt that he is Hephaistos.
- 47 A sharp formal and semantic analysis of the scene is offered by Neer 2002, 77–85.
- 48 Geddes 1987, 323–324 and *passim*.
- 49 Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* 4.2, trans. Marchant. This passage was discussed in the introduction. On the rules and practices surrounding the gymnasium, see Fisher 1998.
- 50 Louvre F67, *ABV* 67,2, manner of the Heidelberg Painter, BAPD 300605; Munich 1468, *ABV* 315,3, Painter of Cambridge 47, BAPD 301629.
- 51 Rome, Villa Giulia (once Malibu 83.AE.362), BAPD 13363.
- 52 See Williams, D. 1991b, 58.
- 53 For discussion of the pose, see Fehr 2009, 129–136.
- 54 Karlsruhe 67.90, BAPD 355, perhaps potted by Tleson, manner of the Centaur Painter. Thoroughly published by Metzler 1969.
- 55 The squatting posture taken by the laborers is also the posture not infrequently seen in representations of silens engaged in masturbation (e.g., figure 34). In literature, masturbation is associated stereotypically with slaves, who do not have the power or resources to have their way with anybody else. For these associations, see Lissarrague 1990b, 57; Hedreen 2006, 282–283. In one vase-painting, Berlin F2315, *ARV* 21, BAPD 200110, the two ideas of the low-status artisan and the socially marginal silen may be brought together: a squatting silen, oriented frontally to the viewer, with a large but flaccid phallus, is in close proximity to the artist's signature, "Sosias epoiesen." Wehgartner 1997 proposed that the artist Sosias saw himself in the silen, whose squatting position is familiar from many other representations of artisans.
- 56 Boston 01.8073, *ARV*² 342,19, BAPD 203543, Beazley 1989, 42.
- 57 Fehr 2009, 134, 136. Beazley 1989, 42, offered a similar reading of the cup in Boston, though its touch of humor leaves open the possibility that the scenario is invented: "As for the walking-stick leaning against the wall, and the strigil with oil-bottle hanging on the wall, they are not meaningless, although they have nothing to do with the potter's craft: they symbolize the painter's independence and point forward to the time when he will be free—shortly before sunset I wash, I dress, I take my stick, and you don't see me again till the morning." The mantled men observing the completion of the large bronze statue on the name-vase of the Foundry Painter were also identified as the sculptor-proprietors of the shop by Thompson 1964, 324, who compared their interests in personal hygiene with the description of Hephaistos washing up in the *Iliad* (18.414–416). See also Mattusch 1980, 440–441. Arguing in favor of the idea that they represent men of leisure killing time by visiting workshops, see Zimmer 1982, 12.
- 58 Gombrich 1972, 5.
- 59 Oxford G267 (V518), *ARV*² 336,22, BAPD 203459. *CVA* Oxford 1, p. 6 suggests that this and the Boston cup were painted by the same hand.
- 60 Boston 62.613, *ARV*² 1701,19bis, BAPD 275647.
- 61 The identification of the men as clients was persuasively argued by Neils 2000. It is also advocated by Ridgway 1993, 439–400; Smith 2007, 92–93, 103.
- 62 An excellent example is the roughly contemporary cup in Malibu depicting three successive, and causally interconnected, events from the short life of the Trojan War hero Ajax: Malibu 86.AE.286, *Para* 367,1 bis, Brygos Painter, BAPD 275946.

- 63 Thompson 1964, 325–327.
- 64 Compare London E468, volute krater, *ARV*² 206,132, Berlin Painter, BAPD 201941, which depicts a nude, beardless warrior armed with a shield and spear, charging an opponent. Inscriptions identify the beardless hero as Achilles, his opponent as Hektor. An even closer parallel, formally, as Thompson noted, is provided by Athens, Agora P24113, cup, *ARV*² 213,242, BAPD 202142, possibly an early work of the Berlin Painter: the position of the spear and shield are exactly as on the name-vase of the Foundry Painter. Although inscriptions are lacking, the identification of the subject as the duel between Achilles and Memnon is assured by the presence of the mothers of the heroes, a traditional feature of the iconography of this story.

CHAPTER 7 WRITING AND INVENTION IN THE VASE-PAINTING OF EUPHRONIOS AND HIS CIRCLE

- 1 The only chronologically comparable instance is the extraordinary testimonium concerning a (lost) self-portrait of the architect Theodoros of Samos (Pliny, *NH* 34.19 [83]), which associates him also with the creation of the Labyrinth. The testimonium is examined carefully by Zinserling 1967, 290–294.
- 2 *Marcel Duchamp as Rose Sélavy*, by Man Ray, ca. 1920–1921, Philadelphia Museum of Art 57–49–1.
- 3 Immerwahr 1971, 59 n. 7.
- 4 Immerwahr 1982, 64–65.
- 5 Wachter 1991, 104–105.
- 6 Berlin 3151, merrythought cup, *ABV* 79, BAPD 300748. For the story, its sources, and its iconography, see Miller, M. C. 1997.
- 7 On this point, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 131. The date given to the fragmentary krater in that publication (550–540 BC) seems too late: see Moore 2010, 21 (560–550). The earliest known silen to bear a personal name other than the generic Silenos is perhaps the silen on a fragment in a private collection attributed to Sophilos bearing the personal name *[S]tratos*: BAPD 9029557.
- 8 For Stysippos, see Beazley, *ARV*² 1609. Otherwise, the name is unattested in *LGNP*.
- 9 Noting that the names of a few silens and nymphs on the “Chalkidean” vases attributed to the artist known as the Inscription Painter recur on Athenian vases, Wachter 2001, 270–273, 285, suggested that at least some silen and nymph names were “in a way” traditional. But the Inscription Painter learned vase-painting, it appears, at Athens, at precisely the time when inventive personal names for silens and nymphs begin to circulate on vases.
- 10 It has long been recognized that the silens are creatures of art more than of poetry: see Simon 1997a, 1109.
- 11 All of those excerpts are from Goodman 1976, 21.
- 12 Goodman 1976, 21–22.
- 13 Wollheim 1970, 535.
- 14 Goodman 1976, 31–32.
- 15 Goodman 1976, 32–33. The book also pushes back (p. 48) against “the popular conviction that excitation of emotions is a primary function of art.”
- 16 Naples 3240, *ARV*² 1336,1, BAPD 217500. Immerwahr 1990, 115.
- 17 Osborne 2010b, 156 and *passim*.
- 18 For this reading of the vase, see especially Buschor in Furtwängler et al. 1900–1925, 3:133. See also Arias et al. 1962, 378.
- 19 Immerwahr 1990, 73.
- 20 For the testimonia concerning the comic poet, see Rusten 2011, 135–136.
- 21 Jeffery 1990, 366, pl. 72 no. 75.
- 22 Vermeule 1965, 37.
- 23 The uncertainty surrounding their identification is underscored by the disagreement over their social position: while Vermeule saw Ekphantides as a “tuneful aristocratic,” Dyfri Williams claimed that the men in this vase-painting are all members of Euphronios’ circle: “it is important to note that although Smikros and his friends are at a symposium, it is one without any of the aristocracy present.” See Williams, D. 2005, 280. Contrast Ohly 1971, 229, 234: “Symposion der vornehmen Athener.”
- 24 Vermeule 1965, 38, 35.
- 25 See Bartalucci 1964, 243–250. Cf. Archilochos frags. 116, 250, 251, 331W, and Hipponax frag. 167W.
- 26 On the interpretation of this fragment, see Brown 1995.
- 27 Davidson 1997, 80–82, 91–93.
- 28 Webster 1972, xiii–xiv.

- 29 Webster 1972, 42.
- 30 Webster 1972, xv. Cole in the introduction to Gentili 1988, xii.
- 31 Scodel 1992, 57.
- 32 Baltimore: Walters 48.2240, *ARV*² 1700, *Paidikos egraphsen*, BAPD 275636. Silens: London market, BAPD 12969; *Paidikos*; Basel market, BAPD 16527: [*Pai*]dikos. For the interpretation of the name “Paidikos” as the personal name of the silen, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 165.
- 33 Gotha 48, *ARV*² 20, BAPD 200100. Ohly-Dumm 1974, 22 n. 11.
- 34 London E139, skyphos, *ARV*² 77,86, signed by Epiktetos as painter, BAPD 200613; Florence 2 B 2, *ARV*² 1554, skyphos fragment, unattributed; Brussels A11, skyphos, *ARV*² 266,86, Syriskos Painter, BAPD 202767; Louvre C10818, skyphos, *ARV*² 266,87, Syriskos Painter, BAPD 202768; Schwerin 708, skyphos, *ARV*² 862,30, Pistoxenos Painter, BAPD 211358.
- 35 Villa Giulia 866, *ARV*² 264,67, an unusual shape of astragalos, name-vase of the Syriskos Painter, BAPD 202749.
- 36 Mulgrave Castle, Whitby, Normanby, skyphos, *Para* 353,1, BAPD 352513, Πιστοχσενος [Σ]υρισκος εποι[ε]σεν in three lines; Mulgrave Castle, cup-skyphos, *Para* 353,2, BAPD 352514, Πιστοχσενος [Σ]υρισκος εποι[ε]σεν. Beazley seems to have recorded those two signatures from direct examination (see *Para* 353). Dyfri Williams 2009, 316 n. 79 suggested that Syriskos and Pistoxenos were two separate artists running one workshop. On the two vases in Mulgrave Castle, the verb, he suggested, is in the dual form. But Martin Robertson 1976, 42–43, seems confident in the singular form of the verb.
- 37 Formerly Malibu 92.AE.6, now, it appears, Rome, Villa Giulia, calyx krater, BAPD 28083.
- 38 Robertson, M. 1992, 136–140.
- 39 Pevnick 2010.
- 40 See Beazley, *ABV* 170, plus Swiss private collection, BAPD 9022850.
- 41 Compare Williams, D. 2008, 161: “the potter named, wishfully perhaps, Priapos.” It is worth noting that the potter’s signatures are the earliest occurrence of the name. Boston 10.185, bell krater, *ARV*² 550,1, name-vase of the Early Classical Pan Painter, BAPD 206276, may contain the earliest extant representation of Priapos. See CB 2: no. 94.
- 42 Athens, NM, Acrop. 833, black-glaze olpe fragment, *ABV* 170,2, BAPD 301083.
- 43 Boston 13.105, *ABV* 170,1, BAPD 301082.
- 44 Beazley 1927–1928, 202 n. 4, with further bibliography.
- 45 Boston 95.55, BAPD 9022340, nicely illustrated in Cohen 2006, 260–261. Ca. 520–510 BC.
- 46 A similar juxtaposition of opposites occurs on the amusing late sixth-century cup in Oxford formerly in the Bomford collection (Ashmolean 1974.344, BAPD 396). The base takes the form of male genitalia similar in size and shape to those of the *aidoia* just considered. Around the tondo of the cup, there is an image of luxury-loving men, relaxing on the ground, enjoying wine and music in a lush vineyard. The company is attended by a petite cup-boy, ready to resupply the drinkers from an oinochoe. He faces an ivy-crowned drinker whose interests are erotic more than convivial. The sexual ambience of this group is homoerotic. The exterior of the cup points in a different direction. On each side of the vase, there is the frontal face of a silen. Viewed from one side, the cup permits the genitalia to be seen as those of the silen depicted in part on the vase. This figure is traditionally associated with a different sexual orientation, a heterosexual one, and with a very different physique, sporting an oversized phallus like that of Priapos.
- 47 Brussels A891, *ARV*² 771,2, BAPD 209537.
- 48 For the stemless cup signed by Hegesiboulos, compare London D6 and D5, *ARV*² 763,1–2, BAPD 209458 and 209459, the former signed [*Sot*]ades *epoiēsen*, the other, [*Sot*]ades. For the tomb and its contents, see Tsingarida 2003; Williams, D. 2006.
- 49 Robertson, M. 1992, 185–186. See also Williams, D. 2006, 296.
- 50 In Attica, it is attested only by the name of the potter. There are two occurrences of the name in *LGPN* 5a (coastal Asia Minor): the name of the father of the pre-Socratic philosopher Anaxagoras of Klazomenai (Diogenes Laertius 2.3.6), and a Hellenistic occurrence. From Thasos in a list of archons spanning 550–520 BC, there is an intriguing occurrence of the name, in which the father of Hegesiboulos is named Lydos. See *LGPN* 1:200 and Pouilloux 1954, 269 no. 31, col. 1, line 7.
- 51 New York 07.286.47, *ARV*² 175, name-vase of the Hegesiboulos Painter, BAPD 201603.
- 52 Furtwängler et al. 1900–1925, 2:182–184. See also Rodenwaldt 1914, 88, who noted that the cup attributed to Skythes, Berlin F4041.1,

- ARV*² 83,10, BAPD 200671, has an offset lip and other similarities in shape to the Hegesiboulos cup. He notes similarities in painting as well. See also Beazley, *ARV*² 175, Moore 2008, 24, and the discussion below. The cup in Athens: Agora P10359, BAPD 9023768. For the attribution to Skythes, see Schulz 2001, 164 S39. For the argument that it is very close in style of painting to that of Euphronios and the Hegesiboulos cup, see Tsingarida 2014.
- 53 Moore 2008, 23. Athens, Agora P32344, BAPD 25976. The cup was discovered in the mid-1990s. The similarities in size: 19.1 versus 18.4 centimeters for the New York cup. It is true that the offset is only on the inside in the case of the Agora cup. For the attribution of the cup in Athens, see Lynch 2011, 228–229, who made the comparisons to Kachrylion in shape, and who reports that its figure-decoration was attributed to Euphronios by Christopher Pfaff and Dietrich von Bothmer.
- 54 Munich 8704 (2620), *ARV*² 16,17, BAPD 200080.
- 55 London, private, unpublished, briefly described by Williams, D. 2006, 296; Palermo 2139, with the inscription *Hegesib[oulos]*, BAPD 9229.
- 56 Malibu 86.AE.313, BAPD 495. For the attribution, see Mertens 1972.
- 57 St. Petersburg O18181, *ARV*² 17,20, BAPD 200083.
- 58 Neer 2002, 202 n. 79, thought the painting of the Agora cup to be close to that of the Hegesiboulos cup.
- 59 Rome, Villa Giulia, once in the Hunt collection, BAPD 7043.
- 60 This link was noted by Moore 2008, 24. See also Cohen 2006, 108.
- 61 Athens, Third Ephoreia (A 5040), BAPD 6101, published by Papoutsaki-Serbeti 1980, illustrated and discussed in Moore 2008, 16–17, 32 n. 47 and 36 n. 106. For the close associations in potting as well as painting between this cup and the work of Euphronios, see Tsingarida 2014.
- 62 For the attribution to Euphronios, see Papoutsaki-Serbeti 1980, 325–327.
- 63 Cohen 2006, 50 with n. 40. For other thoughts on the relationship between the two styles of painting, see also Williams, D. 2006, 296; Moore 2008, 22–25.
- 64 Pfuhl 1926, 42.
- 65 See, e.g., Vatican 16561, cup, *ARV*² 427,2, Douris [early], BAPD 205046. See also Berlin F2309, *ARV*² 373,46, Brygos Painter, BAPD 203944: the spatial relations between the bilious man and the attending boy are exactly as they are on the Hegesiboulos cup, except that the man is standing.
- 66 For the documentary interpretation, see Reinsberg 1993, 203; for the less literal reading, see Topper 2012, 70–71.
- 67 Compare Dover 1978, 96: “the tone of the picture seems to be roguish humour.”
- 68 Topper 2012, 131–132, building on Ferrari, G. 2002, 11–60.
- 69 Cohen 2006, 108. For the possibility that lyres were occasionally decorated with gold in real life, see West 1992, 55.
- 70 See the figures of Hera and Athena on Euphronios’ lavish cup dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, NM Acropolis 176, *ARV*² 17,18, BAPD 200081. On the reverse of the Hegesiboulos cup are depictions of young men running around in turbans, carrying a drinking vessel, making music with krotala and barbitoi, one or two, it appears, wearing soft boots. Whether or not the picture might have been similarly understood to confound existing pictorial conventions surrounding the komos depends in part on how early it dates in the series of vase-paintings of male revelers wearing turbans, boots, and long-flowing chitons, and carrying barbitoi and parasols. These items of dress and equipment begin to appear regularly in vase-painting very shortly before the likely date of this cup. If they were still relatively unfamiliar to vase-painters, patrons, and other viewers, their presence on the Hegesiboulos cup may have elicited surprise. The most nuanced and informative recent discussion of the elaborately dressed revelers, also known as “Anakreontic” revelers, is Yatromanolakis 2007, 110–140.
- 71 Beazley 1918a, 22. My emphasis.
- 72 Villa Giulia 20760, *ARV*² 83,14, BAPD 200674. Also illustrated in plate XXI.
- 73 Beazley 1918a, 21–22.
- 74 Sydney, University, Nicholson Museum inv. NM97.6, *ARV*² 84,18ter, BAPD 200680.
- 75 Schulz 2001, 82–85.
- 76 Rome, Villa Giulia 20760, *ARV*² 83,14, BAPD 200674. See also Rome, Villa Giulia, *ARV*² 82,1, BAPD 200663; Paris, Louvre S1335+, *ARV*² 83,4, BAPD 200666; Paris, Louvre G12+, *ARV*² 84,17, BAPD 200677; New York, market, BAPD 41871, Hesperia Arts

- Auction, Ltd., Antiquities, New York, November 27, 1990, no. 115. There was a signature on Berlin F4041.1, *ARV*² 83,10, BAPD 200671, but the name is missing.
- 77 Brussels A1377, *ARV*² 134,2, wider circle of the Nikosthenes Painter, BAPD 201117. Though not mentioned by Beazley, the signature is recorded in *CVA* Brussels 2, on pl. 10,2. See Schulz 2001, 106.
- 78 Florence A B 1, *ARV*² 160, AMA Group, BAPD 200056. For the attribution, see Mertens 1987, 174.
- 79 Louvre F129, *ARV*² 84,20, BAPD 200430; Palermo V651, *ARV*² 85,21, BAPD 200431; Basel BS 458, BAPD 4473. On these cups, see Cohen 1977, 513–519.
- 80 Athens, NM Acrop. 2557, ABV 352,1, BAPD 301989: ἡο Σκύθηξ ἔγραψεν; Athens, NM Acrop. 2586, ABV 352,2, BAPD 301990: Σκύθηξ εγγρ[. See also Athens, NM Acrop. 2556, ABV 352, BAPD 301991, with the dedication Σχύθηξ μ'ἀν[έθηκεν]. For the attribution of the plaques to the red-figure vase-painter Skythes, see Mertens 1987, 174; Schulz 2001, 26–27.
- 81 For Skythes as potter, see Schulz 2001, 105–117.
- 82 In this respect, the coral-red cups of Skythes resemble the work of Psiax. But they differ from the coral-red cup of Psiax, and resemble the cups of Euphronios, in having coral-red gloss on the underside of the foot. They also share the unusual feature of coral-red gloss used as an added color within red-figure decoration. See Cohen 1977, 514–515; Cohen 2006, 49.
- 83 Louvre G10, *ARV*² 83,3, BAPD 200665.
- 84 Rome, Villa Giulia plus Toronto 923.13.11, *ARV*² 83,8, BAPD 200669.
- 85 *ARV*² 1578,1–14, plus nos. S10, 13, 37, 42, 43, 45, 47–49, 51, 56 in Schulz 2001.
- 86 On Epilykos the vase-painter, see Pottier 1902; Rizzo 1913.
- 87 See Rodenwaldt 1914 and especially Buschor 1915, 37–38, for the demolition of the hypothesis that Epilykos was an identifiable vase-painter. Beazley (*ARV*² 82–85) reviewed the entire problem and attributed all of the vases in question to Skythes. Schulz 2001, 159, S19, read the inscription on the cup in Paris (figure 56) as [SKYTHES EGRAPH]SEN KALOS EPILYKO[S]. That would have eliminated any possibility of reading Epilykos as the subject of the verb “to paint.” But there is simply not room between the letters “Epilyko” and “sen” for all the letters need to complete that reading. On this point, see Pevnick 2011, 211–213, who includes a drawing of the inscription based on personal inspection.
- 88 Ephorate of Paleoanthropology and Speleology, BAPD 9026229, Zampitē and Vasilopoulou 2008, 453–455. In decoration, the cup is special, because it features three images that appear to be representations of the choruses of satyr-play. The pottery from the cave was studied by Zampitē in a 2012 University of Ioannina dissertation, “Leibethrion Cave on Mount Helicon, Boiotia: A selection of the pottery of archaic and classical times” (in Greek), the publication of which is in preparation. Zampitē intends to publish this cup fully in a separate article. I thank her for providing a drawing of the potter’s signature and permission to reproduce it.
- 89 Rhodes 10527, *ABV* 162,1, BAPD 310544.
- 90 Kachrylion: Florence 91456, red-figure cup with coral-red ground, *ARV*² 108,27, BAPD 200931. The inscription was recently discussed by Iozzo 2012, 57–58. As can be seen in the excellent photograph in that essay, the word *kalos* is close enough to the verb *epoesen* that someone might have taken the word *kalos* as an adverb modifying the verb. Priapos: Athens, NM, Acrop. 833, black-glaze olpe fragment, ABV 170,2, BAPD 301083. Similar inscriptions employing the word εὔ encourage reading *kalos* as an adverb: e.g., Civitavecchia, lip-cup fragment, ABV 83, BAPD 300773: Νέαρχος [ἐποίησεν] εὔ, [Νέαρχος ἐπ]οίησεν[εὔ], “Nearchos made me well.” Cf. Torlonia, lip cup, ABV 161,1, BAPD 310536; Boston 61.1073, band cup, Para 69–70,1, Neandros, BAPD 350341; Louvre F54, lip-cup, ABV 146,2, BAPD 310406. See also Basel, Herbert Cahn collection, HC 695 and 696, BAPD 45604 and 45603, two red-figure cup fragments that probably come from the same cup, Mertens 1987, 173, figs. 4a and b. On the latter fragment are the letters [A]ΜΑΣΙΣ. Schulz 2001, 157, S6 reads all of the letters on the former fragment [KA]LO[S] [AMASI]S EPOIE[SEN]. Perhaps significantly, the cup has been attributed to Skythes.
- 91 Aside from the two dozen vases attributed to Skythes, the *kalos*-name Epilykos occurs on two cups attributed by Beazley to the Pedieus Painter, which he considered to be so close in style to those of Skythes as to be perhaps the late work of the latter. Apart from those, there

- are just two vases bearing the *kalos*-name of Epilykos not attributable to Skythes or a follower: Louvre G11, fragmentary cup, *ARV²* 180, manner of the Carpenter Painter, BAPD 201649, which Beazley thought may have been shaped in the workshop of Skythes; Philadelphia, University Museum 3499, cup, *ARV²* 134,10, wider circle of the Nikosthenes Painter, BAPD 201125: for the inscription, *Eppilykos kalos* (not in CAVI), see Ferrari and Ridgway 1979, 70.
- 92 Amasis, the potter with the name of an Egyptian king, is a special case: see Boardman 1987.
- 93 See Fraser 2000, 152–153.
- 94 See Williams, D. 1995, 142–143, 151–152 and *passim*.
- 95 Rome, Villa Giulia 84466, BAPD 6247, published by Canciani and Neumann 1978. My text is after Guarducci as reproduced in CAVI. The inscription continues but becomes increasingly illegible. See also Immerwahr 1990, 31 n. 3 no. 126. There is general agreement that the vase is so late in date, and so different in style, from the vases signed by or attributed to the well-known mid-sixth-century Lydos, that it cannot have been his work. The signature has been taken at face value, as that of another Athenian artist who happens to have been called Lydos, this one more forthcoming about his social status: see, e.g., Robertson, M. 1992, 137; Williams, D. 1995, 143. The inscription seems, however, almost too good to be true. It calls to mind the question that Kritias implicitly posed to Archilochos (see chapter two): if you were in fact the child of a slave woman, why would you reveal this embarrassing detail in your poetry? Because it occurs in a signed dedication on the Athenian Acropolis, the name of the mid-sixth-century ceramic artist who called himself “the Lydian” would have been familiar to anyone who was allowed to see the pottery dedications in the sanctuary. Perhaps the name of the artist who painted and signed the vase in Rome was not really Lydos at all. In writing the inscription, perhaps the artist adopted the name of the well-known earlier Athenian artist, and explicitly drew out an implication of slavery from the ethnic character and definite article of the name, for comic effect. If only the remainder of the inscription were easier to read.
- 96 Robinson et al. 1937, 4, 66 (quotes). See also p. 11.
- 97 Robinson et al. 1937, 3–4. A short list of *kalos*-names of ceramic artists was provided by Buschor 1915, 39–40. Tellingly, he believed that praise of a painter or potter actually occurred only on Palermo V655, *ARV²* 113,3, Thalia Painter, BAPD 200960: Χαχ[χρὸλ]τον κάλ[ο]ς. But there are other possibilities, such as Andokides (*ABV* 664 + *ARV²* 1), Nikosthenes (*ABV* 671 + *ARV²* 122), and Megakles (*ARV²* 1555, 1598–1599). A fuller and more interesting list, concerning inscriptional references to Pioneers, may be found in Neer 2002, 133–134.
- 98 See Davies 1971, 296–298; Shapiro 1983, 305–310.
- 99 Berlin 1966.20, *Para* 508, BAPD 340207. For the attribution to Euphronios, see Ohly-Dumm 1974, 25 n. 55.
- 100 Robinson et al. 1937, 1–2. See also pp 10–11: “when the inscriptions are in praise of a woman, she is always known to have been a hetaira.”
- 101 Munich 2421, *ARV²* 23,7, BAPD 200126. For the inscription, see Immerwahr 1990, 67 no. 389.
- 102 The identity of the object of the compliment as a producer, rather than consumer, of vases—as a member of the “support staff” that facilitates symposia, rather than a participant in them—complicates the reading of this vase offered by Kurke 1997, 136. There it is identified as a manifestation of an “ideal of the aristocratic symposium, which unites its participants [i.e., male symposiasts and female courtesans] while excluding all others.” It is true that the object of the woman’s desire is identified pictorially as a young man participating in elite musical pedagogy. But the name of the young man assures us that, for the painter, his fellow ceramic artisans, and anyone familiar with their names, he is nothing but a vase-painter. Knowledge of the occupation of “Eutymides,” like a little ticking time-bomb, exposes the picture as a fiction. See also the thorough discussion of Neer 2002, 102–106. Steiner, A. 2007, 206–211, nicely brings out the parodic qualities of the decoration of the vase as a whole.
- 103 St. Petersburg 644, *ARV²* 16,15, BAPD 200078.
- 104 See Ar. *Peace* 896–904 and Peschel 1987, 78.
- 105 Brussels R351, *ARV²* 31,7, Dikaiois Painter, BAPD 200192. On the occasional suggestion that *Seklinē* is an abbreviation of Σηκυλίνη, an ethnic name, see Frel 1996, 51 n. 24.

- 106 See, e.g., Peschel 1987, 27, 74–79. Compare Reinsberg 1993, 112–114.
- 107 Louvre G 114, *ARV*² 257,14, BAPD 202932. For the reading, see the thorough study of *kottabos* toasts by Csapo and Miller 1991, 373, 375 fig. 2, and *passim*. See also the cup in London, 1895.10–27.2, BAPD 11911. On the game generally, see Lissarrague 1990a, 80–86.
- 108 Csapo et al. 1991, 374–380. A slightly different reading of the inscription from Immerwahr’s text.
- 109 Csapo et al. 1991, 380.
- 110 For the numbers, see Shapiro 2000, 27–30. For the quasi-legendary status of this *kalos*-name, see Shapiro 2004.
- 111 On this complex set of questions, see Dover 1978, 117–119; Slater 1999; Lissarrague 1999.
- 112 Athens, NM 1357, BAPD 9534, unattributed. For the vase, see Lissarrague 1990a, 132. For the pederastic character of *kalos*-names generally, see Robinson et al. 1937, 10–45. Another instance of the *performance* of the expression, “so-and-so is beautiful,” may occur in the bowl of a cup in London signed by Epiktetos as painter (London E37, *ARV*² 72,17, BAPD 200461). A mature man reclines against a cushion, dressed in a mantle and a festive crown. He fingers the strings of a lyre as sings, mouth open wide. Immediately above is the inscription $\text{Ηυππαρχ}[\chi]\text{o καλ}[\lambda]$, “Hippar[ch]o[s] kal[os],” “Hipparchos the beautiful.” This cup is also of interest because the signature, *Epiktetos egral[ph]sen*, appears to be emerging from the mouth of a drinker (who happens to be peeing into an oinochoe): another type of writing often understood to be “extrapictorial” is here uttered by one of the figures within the pictorial world. See Steiner, A. 2007, 200–201.
- 113 The reality of Euphronios’ picture (figure 54) is also called into question by the dialect in which the toast to Leagros is spoken. It is Doric and not Attic. It does not appear that Doric was the commonly used dialect for the toast in Athenian sympotic circles (pace Beazley 1943), for the other known “*kottabos*-toasts,” including the one on Phintias’ hydria, are Attic in dialect (see Csapo et al. 1991, 377–378). Gloria Ferrari 2002, 19–20 compared the image on Euphronios’ psykter to Athenian stereotypes about the manly lifestyles of Spartan women, who spoke a Doric dialect. The vase-painting, she suggested, may be an imaginary scene of Spartan women. This would explain why not only the toast, but also the name of the girl who utters it, Smikra (see below), can be understood to be Doric.
- 114 In addition to the references already given, see Shapiro 2000, 28.
- 115 Compare Ferrari, G. 2002, 19, Bothmer 1990, 39, and Robertson, M. 1992, 27.
- 116 Berlin 3251, *ARV*² 113,7, Thalia Painter, BAPD 200964.
- 117 For the identification of the girl’s activity, see Greifenhagen 1967, 25 n. 82; Brendel 1970, 24 n. 22; Peschel 1987, 52; Kurke 1997, 134.
- 118 My reading of the name on the Berlin cup is after *ARV*² 113. Smikkē is attested in a third-century list of dedications to Asklepios (*IG* II² 1534B) according to *LGNP*. Mika is a well-attested Attic name, e.g., Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai* 760.
- 119 For many years, the surviving traces of the retrograde inscription were understood to include the letters E[. .]kos, which Griefenhagen (*CVA* Berlin 2, 14) restored as E[un]ikos, and Peschel 1987, 53, as E[lpini]kos. But Frel 1996, 48 n. 6 reported that Robert Guy identified a fragment in the Villa Giulia (*ARV*² 440,169, BAPD 205214) as completing the letters, E[. .]kos, written on the Berlin cup. The fragment reportedly contains the letters ILL (retrograde), and the name of the male figure was thus restored by Guy as Epilykos. Judging from the photograph available at BAPD, the sherd corresponds in outline to the appropriate lacuna. The sherd shows that Epilykos carried a short knobby stick, and the girl in front of him, a kylix.
- 120 Frel 1996, 38. The name “Epilykos” also appears to identify a bearded trainer on a psykter attributed to Phintias: Boston 01.8019, *ARV*² 24,11, BAPD 200134. For the problem of identifying the bearded figures labelled Epilykos, and the Epilykos praised as *kalos*, with a single historical individual, see Beazley, CB 2, 3–4; Shapiro 1983, 308.
- 121 For a good discussion of parody and vase-painting, see Steiner, A. 2007, 194–195 and *passim*.
- 122 E.g., Paris, Cab. Méd. 509, plate, *ARV*² 77,91, signed by Epiktetos, BAPD 200618. On the association of this sort of utilitarian modification of the penis with silens rather than mortal men, see Lissarrague 1990b, 58.
- 123 Hedreen 2006, 277–284. See especially Lissarrague 1990b, 56. Within the imaginary realm

- inhabited by silens, the females in question are nymphs.
- 124 Malibu 85.AE.188, Kleophrades Painter, BAPD 43417.
- 125 For occurrences of the motif in Athenian vase-painting, see Boardman 1976, 286–287. For the deployment of the motif on the neck pelike attributed to Euphronios, Rome, Villa Giulia 121109, *ARV²* 15,11, BAPD 200073, see Shapiro 2000, 29; Venit 2002, 321–322.
- 126 For the interpretation of the action, see Brendel 1970, 23–24; Peschel 1987, 53. The reservations of Dover 1978, 102, seem motivated by the idea that the practice was held in such contempt in Old Comedy that its occurrence in art is inherently unlikely; but he does not offer any alternative explanation of what the man is doing to the woman.
- 127 On this form of headgear, see Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 50–56.
- 128 Brussels R253, *ARV²* 64,104, Oltos, BAPD 200540; Compiègne 1093, *ARV²* 64,105, Oltos, BAPD 200541. Thaleia is attested seven other times in the *Lexicon* for Attica, in addition to the cup in Berlin, all much later in date.
- 129 For the reading, see Greifenhagen, *CVA* Berlin 2, 14.
- 130 Shapiro 2004, 8–9.
- 131 Munich 2309, *ARV²* 27,4, BAPD 200157.
- 132 For the interpretation, see Linfert 1977, 21–22; Giuliani 1992, 118–119; Frel 1996, 38–39, with earlier bibliography. Interpretation of the writing on the vase is divided. Some scholars have offered the familiar explanation employed so often when pictures do not conform to expectation—that the vase-painter made a mistake. See Beazley, *ARV²* 27,4. Meaning to identify the victim as Helen, he unintentionally labelled her as Korōnē. What are the chances, however, that the painter not only mistakenly identified the victim as a mythological nobody, but also mistakenly identified the supernumerary woman as Helen, and identified yet another supernumerary as Antiope?
- 133 See Rusten 2011, 485 no. 15.
- 134 Archilochos frag. 331W, quoted in Athenaios 594c-d: συκῆ πετραίη πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας, εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλη, “[l]ike a fig tree on rocky ground that feeds many *korōnas*, ‘crows,’ good-natured Pasiphilē [lit., loved by all] takes on strangers.” The fragment is listed as dubious by West 1974, 139–140, partly because of its style and partly because Athenaios connects the reference to a fourth-century courtesan named Plangon. But see Dover 1964, 185 n. 1: “I suspect that κορώνη must be added to Archilochos’ numerous terms for ‘prostitute.’” The fragment is also treated as genuine by Rosen 1988b, 30. Several phrases of the fragment recall, like genuine fragments of Archilochos discussed in chapter two, passages of the *Odyssey*: *sukeē petraīē* calls to mind *Odyssey* 12.231, *Skullēn petraīēn*; *pollas boskousa* recall *Od.* 12.127, *pollai boskont’*.
- 135 The lekythos: Lyon 75, *ABL* 229,2, *ABV* 677,2, BAPD 305516. The reading is according to Haspels, *ABL* 229. The *kalē*-name Korōnē also occurs on New York 1971.258.2, plate, *ABV* 677,1, BAPD 306481, related in style perhaps to the work of Euphronios (Frel 1996, 48 n. 9). On the plate, the placement of the inscription suggests that it identifies one of the Amazons by name.
- 136 For the occurrence of very similar lamp-stands here and on the Munich krater attributed to Euphronios (figure 4), for the likelihood that the painter meant to write Melas, and for the possibility that the cup was potted by Kachrylion, collaborator of Euphronios, see Vermeule 1965, 36 (and see her pl. 13,1 for an excellent photo of Ekphantidēs). For the attribution of the shape to Kachrylion, see also Bloesch 1940, 45; Tsingarida 2009, 187. For the several rows of raised blobs that represent the curls of hair of the forelocks and (on the man) the “backlocks,” compare Louvre G103 (plate VIII), signed by Euphronios as painter. For the woman standing on one foot, presenting her body frontally to the viewer, compare the very similar pose of the silen named Nanbos on the krater in Paris attributed to Euphronios (figure 10). For the arrangement of Smika’s legs, with bent right leg parallel to the picture plane and bent left leg perpendicular, allowing the viewer to see the bottom of her foot, compare the figure of Kyknos, who is posed in exactly the same way, on the krater in New York signed by Euphronios BAPD 7501. For the similarities between the forms taken by gamma and lambda on some vases, see the chart on Immerwahr 1990, xxii. For Melas, see also the psykter in Malibu bearing the picture of Euphronios (plate XII) and Louvre G103 (figure 21).
- 137 On Onetorides, see Webster 1972, 65–66. For Leagros, see Langlotz 1968, 48–54.

- 138 Paris, Louvre C11187 and New York 1985.228.8, *ARV*² 18, BAPD 200094. For the attribution, see Dietrich von Bothmer in Goemann 1991, 142–144 no. 16.
- 139 London B400, *ABV* 163,1, BAPD 310551, Munich 2243, *ABV* 163,2, BAPD 310552, and Berlin 1761, *ABV* 164,3, BAPD 310553. This would not be the only occurrence of the *kalos*-name of Glaukytes, for it occurs on a beautiful white-ground plaque from the Athenian Acropolis related in style to the painting of Euphronios' fellow Pioneer, Euthymides (Athens, NM Acropolis 1037, *ARV*² 1598,5, BAPD 46837). At some point, the *kalos*-name Megakles was partially erased, Glaukytes written in its place. For discussion, see Bothmer in Goemann 1991, 142. In *LGN*, there are twenty-four names that end in *-utēs*. All are rare, fewer than half known from Attica, and none is attested for the sixth or early fifth century apart from Glaukytes.
- 140 London 1847.8–6.44 (B417), *ABV* 162,2, BAPD 310545, and Berlin F1756, *ABV* 162,3, BAPD 301089.
- 141 Rhodes 10527, *ABV* 162,1, BAPD 310544.
- 142 Vatican (no number), *ABV* 163, BAPD 310549. It is even possible that London E718, alabasteron, *ARV*² 306, BAPD 203141, is the work of an even younger member of the family: see Webster 1972, 43–44.
- 143 See also a fragment of Aristotle, according to which Eucheir invented painting or brought it to Greece from Egypt. The reference is in Schaus 1988, 113.
- 144 Blakeway 1935, 147–148. For Diopos, see Schaus 1988, 114 n. 56.
- 145 Ure 1951, 201–202.
- 146 For the name of Ekphantos and its relation to Ekphantidēs, see Dow 1967, 204 and *passim*. For the Corinthian painter, see Schaus 1988, 112–117.
- 147 It appears that Ekphantos originated within in the same narrative tradition as Eucheiros, the other celebrity within early art or ceramic history. See Pliny, *Natural History* 35.5 [16]: an artisan named Ekphantos was included among the workers in clay who accompanied Demaratos to Etruria in at least one narrative tradition.
- 148 Munich 2619A, *ARV*² 146,2, Epeleios Painter, BAPD 201289. It reoccurs as the name of a Dionysiac nymph on three mid-fifth-century Athenian vases, and then as the name of a (otherwise unattested) Muse on a vase of the end of the fifth century. See *LIMC* 3, pp. 274–275 s. v. Choro I–III. See also Mulgrave Castle, Whitby, Normanby, skyphos, *Para* 353,1, BAPD 352513, discussed earlier in this chapter. Beazley records the inscribed name of one of the women at a fruit tree as *Choro*.
- 149 Louvre G43, *ARV*² 20,2, Smikros, BAPD 200103.
- 150 Rhodē is slightly better attested than Chorō. In BAPD, there is one attestation of “Rhodē” besides this vase, a fragment from the Acropolis at Athens with the *kalē*-inscription, *Rhode kalē*: Athens NM, Acrop. 557 (E73), BAPD 46737. In *LGN* for Attica, there are 10 entries. The first is the vase in Brussels; the second is a roughly contemporary black-figure hydria, on which one of the women (nymphs?) picking fruit in an orchard is named ΠΟΔΕ: Munich 1702A, *ABV* 334,6, A.D. Painter, BAPD 301819. Three others are fourth century. There are also three fictional occurrences of the name in fourth-century Comic poetry. Although this is a transparent name, there are enough fourth-century occurrences of it to suggest that it was a real if uncommon personal name. It is also, however, obviously a *stock* comic name, used in fiction. One wonders how early that practice is.
- 151 It occurs in one dedicatory inscription from the Athenian Acropolis from the second quarter of the fifth century: *IG*³ 825=*DAA* 126. All that is preserved is the personal name. The name is also attested by a dedicatory graffito on the handle of an Attic kantharos dated to 520–510 BC: Εὔαρχος μ'ἀ[νέθεκε τοῖ Ἀπόλλο]νι. It is published by Torelli 1977, 405. See now Johnston and Pandolfini 2000, 25 and no. 54, who believe the script to be Aiginetan. It also occurs as the name of a komast on a contemporary cup by the Ambrosios Painter: Munich 2614, *ARV*² 173,2, BAPD 201566. It is worth noting that another figure on this cup is labelled “Kydias,” the name of an obscure poet: see Yatromanolakis 2007, 111 for details.
- 152 Florence, BAPD 30407. Published by Marzi 1975.
- 153 London E 438, stamnos, *ARV*² 20,3, Smikros, BAPD 200104, *CVA* London 3, pl. 19,2; Munich 8952, neck amphora fragment, BAPD no. 6204, Ohly-Dumm 1974, 13–16 with fig. 8.
- 154 *IG* I³ 708=*DAA* no. 208.
- 155 Iozzo 2014, 90.

EPILOGUE: PERSUASION,
DECEPTION, AND ARTISTRY

- 1 Berlin F2279, *ARV*² 115,2, BAPD 200977.
- 2 Compare Davidson 2007, 535–536. A nice appreciation of the compositional emphasis on interlocking in Diepolder 1947, 39–41. Davidson’s lengthy discussion of the cup, pp. 528–546, is the most interesting discussion of the cup I have read, even though its conclusions are not entirely in agreement with my own. On the picture of Peleus and Thetis on this cup, see Krieger 1973, 85–86 and *passim*.
- 3 Junker 2012, 12: “the images . . . both inside and outside, are entirely concerned with the bringing about of love affairs.”
- 4 For a perceptive analysis of resistance and submission, see Dover 1978, 95.
- 5 Compare Lefkowitz 2002, 341. Many of the relevant stories are told in Pindar: *Nemean* 5.25–34, in which Hippolyte tries to seduce Peleus, and Zeus rewards him with Thetis for his piety. *Isthmian* 8.26–47 explains why it was vital to the immortals to marry Thetis, though a goddess, to a mortal. *Pythian* 2.21–41 tells the story of the mortal Ixion attempting to rape the goddess Hera.
- 6 Keuls 1993, 218.
- 7 Reeder 1995, 342–343.
- 8 For a detailed discussion of the many problems entailed in the interpretation of the scenes offered as parallels for the cup, with respect to both the identity of the female figures and the contents and purposes of the bags, see Ferrari, G. 2002, 11–35.
- 9 Davidson 2007, 537.
- 10 For the gesture, see Hedreen 2001, 51–52.
- 11 Stewart 1997, 157. See also Brendel 1970, 32.
- 12 Shapiro 1981, 136 n. 29.
- 13 Shapiro 2000, 14–15.
- 14 Oakley et al. 1993, 10.
- 15 Compare New York 59.11.17, black-figure olpe, *ABV* 698,3 bis, *Para* 66, Amasis Painter, BAPD 350472, which is also difficult to pin down with respect to the status of the courting male and female couple. Are they mortals or immortals? See Bothmer 1985, 147–149.
- 16 It is worth noting that the lexical formation, *peithinos*, appears to be the earliest known example of this type. In Homeric epic, there are no adjectival derivatives of the verb *peithō* in any form. The closest parallel for the form and meaning of the name of the painter is *pithanos*, meaning “persuasive,” especially of speakers, in Thucydides. See *LSJ* s.v. Stewart 1997, 157, argued that Peithinos was the given name of the artist, and that the painter chose the scenes on this vase to “illustrate his personal credo” and did not adopt a nickname to fit them, because the name of Peithinos occurs in another painter’s signature (see below). I suggest below, however, that “the persuader” is arguably understandable in relation to the rhetoric of vase-painting, as well as the theme of seduction.
- 17 Berlin F2278, *ARV*² 21,1, BAPD 200108. For the attribution to Peithinos, see Hartwig 1893, 241–247. Although the cup seems unlikely to have been painted by Peithinos, there are striking affinities between the two cups in size, provenance, spotted lion skins, swallow-tail sleeves, and importance of the story of Achilles, all of which suggest that the two cups might have been made as pendants to each other: see Davidson 2007, 538. See also Junker 2012, 12.
- 18 New York 1981.11.9, BAPD 9988. The vase is discussed by Cohen 1991, 63–64.
- 19 Basel, Cahn HC 52, *ARV*² 115,1, BAPD 200976.
- 20 Reproduced by Adolf Greifenhagen in *CVA* Berlin 2, p. 18.
- 21 Beazley 1922.
- 22 The inscription occurs on a fragment of the vase that was, and perhaps still is, in a private collection. It is illustrated in Shapiro 1993, 189 fig. 122: [*P*]eitho.
- 23 Boston 13.186, *ARV*² 458,1, BAPD 204681.
- 24 Hedreen 2001, 204–205, and chapter six generally.
- 25 Shapiro 1986, 10 and *passim*, discusses the appearance of Peitho on the oinochoe in New York and other vases in detail. There he arrives at a slightly different conclusion. In his more recent monograph on personifications, however, he appears to be more open to the idea that rhetorical persuasion is semantically relevant to the narrative unfolding on the oinochoe. See Shapiro 1993, 188–189. My interpretation rests in part on a particular reading of an important representation of the recovery of Helen in which Peitho is present: see Hedreen 2001, 33–37, and chapter one generally.

- 26 Zimmer 1982; Stissi 1999; Meier 2003; Chatzēdēmētrīou 2005.
- 27 Beazley 1989, 47. An exception to the tendency to overlook the subjective presence of the artisan in vase-painting is the very interesting third chapter of Neer 2002.
- 28 Davidson 2007, 532.
- 29 On this point, see Pratt 1993, 79. On the importance placed on persuasion in Gorgias, see also Buxton 1982, 31: “Peitho is a continuum within which divine and secular, erotic and non-erotic come together.”

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