

STESICHORUS AT BOVILLAE?

(PLATES II–IIIc)

In memoriam Dionysii Page, praeceptoris optimi

INTRODUCTION

THE term *Tabulae Iliacae* is conventionally applied to twenty¹ low reliefs scattered through museums from Warsaw to New York.² The common name conceals a bewildering artistic farrago: the earliest *Tabula*, the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (1A; PLATE II; FIG. 3), is mid-Augustan (*cf.* p. 48), the latest (19J) late Antonine (Sadurska 94). Five of the *Tabulae* bear the name Theodorus³ and I shall argue (p. 27) that he is the craftsman responsible for their execution.⁴ Where provenance is known, it is always Rome or the Roman Campagna. The materials of the *Tabulae* vary widely: most, but not all, are of some sort of marble, white, yellow, and Giallo Antico (Sadurska 13). Little can be said of their size, for not one survives complete. It would appear, however, that the largest rectangular *Tabula*, the calcite 1A, was originally *c.* 25 cm by 42 cm (Sadurska 14). Two, portraying the Shield of Achilles, were circular (4N and 5O) and 5O may have had a radius of 20 cm (Sadurska 47). The name *Iliacae* is appropriate only in as much as eleven out of twenty *Tabulae* portray episodes from the *Iliad* (Sadurska 15 + 20Par.) and six the Sack of Ilium; others, however, represent (e.g.) Alexander's victory at Arbela and the apotheosis of Hercules. What the *Tabulae* do display in common is a combination of low reliefs in miniature and inscriptions, often extensive and not always on the same topic as the reliefs (see PLATE II). In ancient art, only the Megarian bowls (*cf.* p. 47) stand comparison, and their ratio of text to illustration is substantially lower.

Many of these *Tabulae* had already long been familiar when Michaelis completed and published Otto Jahn's masterly *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (hereafter J.-M.) in 1873. The bibliography is therefore vast and scattered (*cf.* Sadurska 6 for a selection), but the main issues are now less familiar and widely discussed than they were a century ago. While attention has come to be focused on the absorbing question of the importance of the *Tabulae* for the history of book-illustration (*cf.* pp. 44–8), the old patterns of discussion have lain undisturbed and too many unchallenged orthodoxies have arisen. This paper, therefore, attempts not an overall survey, for which there is no need so soon after Mme Sadurska's invaluable work, but a revival of discussion in areas where it appeared that a fresh approach might yield profit.

In the first part, I hope to clarify Theodorus' origins and role and to suggest the distinctive and diverting market at which his works were aimed.

In the second, I shall study the familiar central panel of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, which claims to illustrate Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* and is therefore hailed as testimony to our earliest reference to the presence of the hero Aeneas in the Western Mediterranean. The admirable discussion of this panel by M. Schmidt in his Göttingen dissertation *Troika* (60–90) may have been ignored as a result of the date of publication (1917); I reach a similar conclusion from a fresh study of iconographic details.

In the third, I shall try to apply what has been discovered about Theodorus' aims and methods to the more general questions of his artistic and literary sources and of his possible place in the history of book-illustration.

I should like to thank particularly the Rosa Morison Fund of University College London for a grant towards illustrating this paper, Simon James for his figures, Walter Cockle for his lettering, Armando Petrucci, Jaynie Anderson, Ellen Rice, Carlotta Griffiths and my mother for their assistance in obtaining illustrations and copy-right, the editors of *Röm. Mitt.* and *Mem. Acc. Linc.* for permission to reproduce FIGS 1–3, and Eugenio La Rocca for the new photograph here published as PLATE II.

¹ Most conveniently accessible in A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques* (Warsaw 1964); hereafter Sadurska.

² For locations and for the conventional forms of reference, see appendix, p. 48. 20Par. is published separately: A Sadurska, *Mél. Michałowski* (Warsaw 1966) 653–7.

³ Plin. (xxxv 144) refers to a Theorus who painted a 'bellum Iliacum plurimis tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus'. Sadurska 9–10 rightly insists that Theorus and Theodorus are not to be identified; *cf.* further *EAA* s.v. 'Theodoros' no. 10.

⁴ Sadurska (11) suggests that a further five *Tabulae* may be unsigned products of Theodorus' workshop.

I. ORIGINS AND PURPOSE OF THE *TABULAE*

(a) *Theodorus*. It seems at last generally to be acknowledged⁵ that we know nothing about Theodorus beyond what we learn from the *Tabulae* themselves and that he was not the grammarian who composed the Homeric and Cyclic summaries on the *Tabulae* but the craftsman who in part executed them in person and for the rest caused them to be executed in his workshop. Discussion has been needlessly long and involved; two arguments suffice.

(i) The references to Theodorus on *Tabulae* 1–5, whatever their form (cf. pp. 27–9), are of familiar and distinctive character. Given the artistic context, it is *prima facie* highly likely that they constitute ‘il nome dell’ artista’.⁶

(ii) The inscriptions repeatedly contain the word *τέχνη*, both independently and qualified by *Θεοδώρηος* (cf. pp. 27–9). Those who identified Theodorus as a grammarian supposed that *τέχνη* referred to the *ars* or handbook in which the Homeric cycle was explained.⁷ This view is unacceptable for two reasons: first, it ignores the distinction between *τέχνη* (= *Das systematische Lehrbuch*, as in the title of M. Fuhrmann’s study) and *ἐπιτομή*, the literary form to which the summaries on the tablets incontestably belong.⁸ I refer below (p. 31) to an ancient instance of *τέχνη* used where *ἐπιτομή* would have been correct: this isolated catachresis is no foundation for an alternative interpretation of the *τέχνη* of Theodorus. Secondly, as (e.g.) Michaelis himself (*loc. cit.*) and Michon⁹ observe, we should compare the use of *τέχνη* here with its frequent appearance in Pausanias (e.g. vi 25.2) in the sense of *τέχνημα*, ‘finished product’. Strabo’s reference (xiv 1.14) to art galleries on Samos full of *ἀρχαίων τεχνῶν* is equally relevant.

Sadurska’s interpretation (39) of the epigram on 2NY confuses these two distinct uses of *τέχνη*. It reads:

[– ω – Θεοδώρηον μάθε τάξιω Ὀμήρου
ῥῶρα δαεῖς τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχης σο[φίας]¹⁰

She apparently supposes that *τέχνην* here is used *both* in the sense of ‘a work of art’ *and* as ‘a systematic treatment’: ‘la *τέχνη* de cet artiste grâce aux illustrations systématiques et rangées dans l’ordre “chronologique” se proposait de servir de guide sur les voies fort embrouillées parfois de l’action des poèmes épiques du cycle Troyen’. But this contorted explanation violates the usage of *τέχνη* as explained above. Given that Bulas’ supplement *δαεῖς τ]έχνην* is correct,¹¹ then the epigrammatist of 2NY is inviting the reader or spectator of Theodorus’ finished work of art to learn it (?sc. by heart) or commit it to mind, *ῥῶρα δαεῖς τέχνην*.¹²

(b) *Egyptian connexions*. Either Theodorus himself, or his craftsmen, or quite probably both, were of Egyptian origin,¹³ though not all the arguments hitherto advanced are of equal weight.¹⁴

Alexander’s victory at Arbela is represented on the Chigi *Tabula*;¹⁵ the *Greek Chronicle* refers¹⁶ to *Σ]ώπτηρ ὁ Φύσκων* and may possibly portray on its recto Alexander and Bucephalus (Sadurska 82). But these names and events are part of the common historical heritage of the Hellenistic world, and the *Greek Chronicle* does not anyway belong to the age and workshop of

⁵ Sadurska 9–10. Cf. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* iii 433 (hereafter Guarducci); G. M. A. Richter, *MMA Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* 117; M. Paulcke, *De Tabula Iliaca Quaestiones Stesichorae* (diss. Königsberg 1897) 112 (hereafter Paulcke).

⁶ Guarducci 430. For ‘epigrifi di artisti’ cf. 377–561; G. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr. index* vi s.v. ‘artificis nomen’; M. Bua, *Mem. Acc. Linc.* ser. viii xvi (1971–2) 13 (hereafter Bua).

⁷ J.-M. 92; perhaps most recently, K. Schefold, *Wort und Bild* (Basel 1975) 130 (hereafter Schefold *W.u.B.*). Suda s.v. ‘Palaiphatos’ refers to one Theodorus of Ilium, author of *Troica*; cf. (?) Serv. *ad Aen.* i 28, Schol. A.R. iv 264. All this proves nothing: the name is exceedingly common.

⁸ Thus Aristotle compiles a *Συναγωγή* of earlier *τέχναι* (Fuhrmann *op. cit.* [Göttingen 1960] 124 n. 2) and Cetus Faventinus a *privatis usibus abbreviatus liber* of the *ars* of

Vitruvius (Schanz-Hosius ii⁴ 393).

⁹ DS s.v. ‘Iliacae Tabulae’ 379; hereafter Michon.

¹⁰ For the supplement, cf. K. Bulas, *AJA* liv (1950) 114.

¹¹ τ]έχνην is clearly mandatory. For its use on the *Tabulae* inscriptions, see above. The rest of the supplement appears to follow from the epigram on 1A, p. 31.

¹² Compare, in the 1A epigram *τάξιω Ὀμήρου | ῥῶρα δαεῖς . . .*

¹³ Bua 23; cf. A. Sadurska, *Schr. der Sekt. für Altertums-wiss. der deut. Akad. zu Berlin* xiii (1959) 122.

¹⁴ Sadurska (10 n. 11a) now prefers a (?) Lycian origin for Theodorus, without developing her arguments sufficiently; cf. Bua 23.

¹⁵ Sadurska 8. The ‘apotheosis of Alexander’ to which Sadurska (n. 13) 122 refers is mystifying. There is no reference to it in her book five years later.

¹⁶ b.3; Sadurska 81.

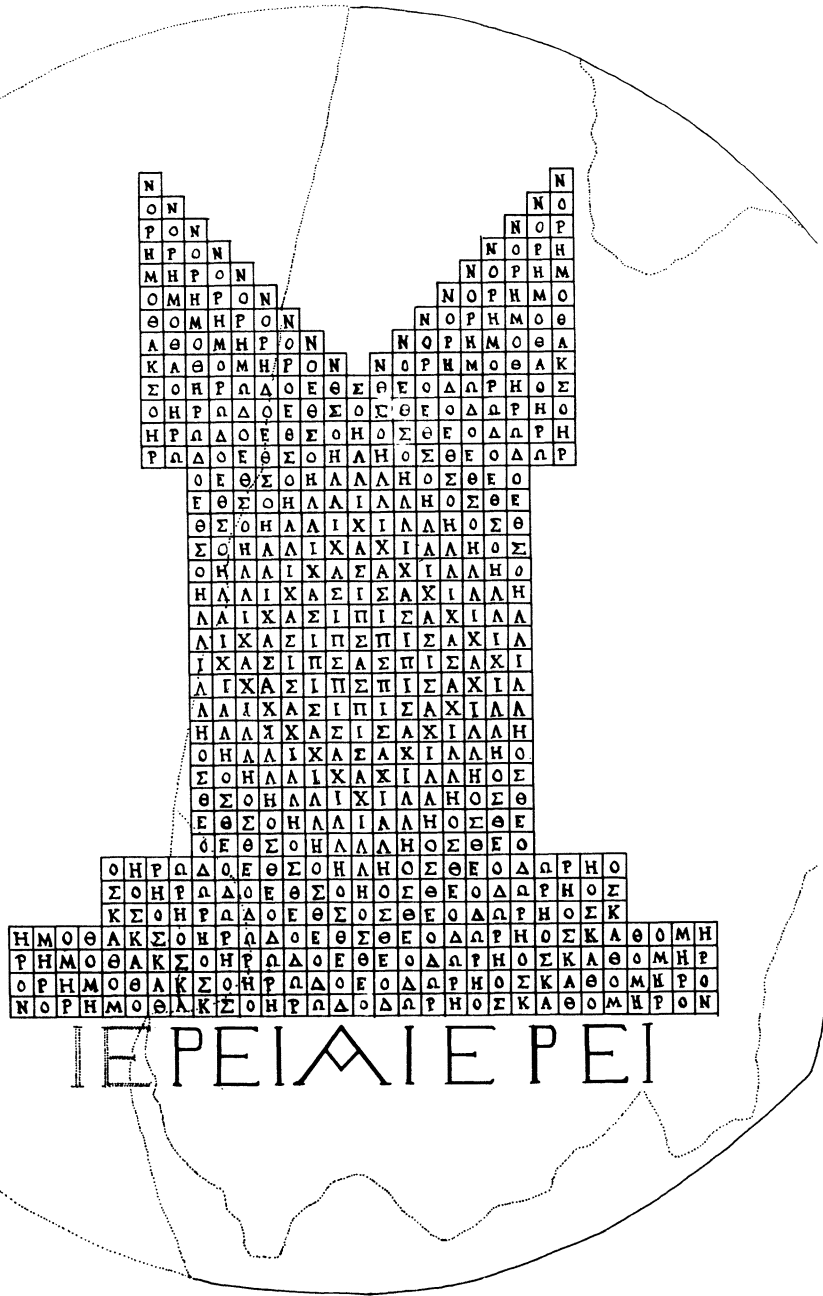


FIG. 1. (After Röm. Mitt. vi (1891) pl. v.)

Theodorus (*cf.* p. 32). Likewise, though the language of the *Tabulae* inscriptions (excepting 19J; *cf.* p. 32) is not incompatible with Alexandrian workmanship, it does not point decisively towards Egypt.¹⁷ The crucial evidence is not, however, to be found in the reliefs or in the main inscribed texts.

I turn first to the words on the verso of 4N: 'IEPEIA 'IEPEI (FIG. 1). They are palindromic.¹⁸ This surprising feature does not, however, point either to mysterious intentions or to high literary culture. Indeed the Italian evidence suggests quite the reverse: the simple inversion of the order of letters in a word or name (e.g. SUILIMEA) is well-attested at Pompeii,¹⁹ and a rather

¹⁷ For linguistic details, see J.-M. 78. The Latin spelling *Πρανεστῶ* (18L; b.27) stands too much in isolation to serve as the basis for hypotheses.

¹⁸ Michon 382; Guarducci 432.

¹⁹ *CIL* iv 2400d-g, etc.; M. Guarducci, *Arch. Class.* xvii (1965) 261-2 with n. 135.

more elaborate expression of the same taste in word- and letter-play is to be found in palindromic word-squares, both the notorious SATOR-AREPO-TENET-OPERA-ROTAS and the less familiar Ostian ROMA-OLIM-MILO-AMOR.²⁰ *Versus recurrentes*, Sidonius' phrase (*Ep.* ix 14) for an entire hexameter which can be read letter-for-letter in either direction, are an extreme case, but they too appear to have seeped into our literary texts from popular culture.²¹ Was 'IEPEIA 'IEPEI then 'un semplice giochetto grafico', which is what Professor Guarducci most persuasively argues as the origin of the word-squares (*op. cit.* [n. 19] 267)? This is not unlikely. It is perhaps also significant that numerous short palindromes derive from Egypt and in particular from the magical papyri.²² This is not to suggest any necessarily religious intent in the workman who inscribed 'IEPEIA 'IEPEI; rather, it was perhaps to an Egyptian craftsman that such a 'jeu de lettres' might most naturally occur.

This possibility receives rapid and striking confirmation: on the versos of six of the *Tabulae* are found 'magic squares' of letters; they work on a rarely-attested principle:²³ γράμμα μέσον καθ[ελών, παρολίσθα]νε οὐ ποτε βούλει²⁴—'grasp the middle letter and turn which way you want'. That is to say, the reader starts from the centre and may proceed upwards, downwards, or sideways, turning 90° where he will; he will ultimately reach an edge, having read the complete message (*cf.* FIGS. 1, 2):

- (4N) ἀσπίς 'Αχιλλῆος Θεοφώρηος καθ' Ὀμηρον.
 (2NY) [Ἰλι]ᾶς Ὀμήρου. Θεοδώρηος ἡ<ι> τέχνη.
 (3C) Θεοδώρηος ἡ<ι> τέχνη.
 (5O) [ἀσπίς] 'Αχιλλείος, Θεοδώρηος ἡ τ[έχνη].
 (7Ti.) [Ἰλίου Π]έρις (Bua 11-12).
 (15Ber.) ἀνά]κτων σύνθεσις or συνθεσία.²⁵

Before considering briefly the origin of these 'squares', it should be noted that only in the case of 2NY and 3C are they definitely square: in 5O the figure was apparently twelve-sided (Bua 11; *cf.* FIG. 2); on 7Ti. and 15Ber. the 'squares' may in fact have been lozenges set within squares (Bua 11-12); most strikingly, 4N carried its inscription within the figure of an altar, carved above the palindrome (*cf.* FIG. 1). Here at least we are on thoroughly familiar ground, for three altar-shaped poems—though lacking equally extravagant tops—are known to us: by Dosiadas, Besantinus²⁶ and Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius (poem 26). It is hard to avoid supposing that Theodorus or one of his workmen here had in mind a verse antecedent of this type, as they may also have done for the twelve-sided figure. Theirs was a workshop endowed with abundant technical skill and flickering *Gelehrsamkeit* which were regularly put to trivial and bizarre uses.

The actual idea of enclosing a message in a 'magic square' of the γράμμα μέσον type is of unambiguously Egyptian origin: these 'squares' are in a sense inheritors of the amazing hieroglyphic crosswords brought to our attention by Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths.²⁷ Analogies could also be drawn with the letter-squares of the Egyptian magical papyri.²⁸ But the crucial parallel is SEG viii 464, where a square of the γράμμα μέσον type contains the message Ὀσιρίδι Μοσχίων ὑγιασθεῖς τὸν πόδα ἰατρείαις.²⁹

(c) *Pap. Louvre 1*. Since Michaelis (91), this text³⁰ has been compared with the Theodorus inscriptions, but its relevance has been exaggerated and should be delimited with care.

²⁰ Guarducci (n. 19) 265; *CIL* iv Suppl. 8297.

²¹ (i) ἦδη μοι Διὸς ἄρα πηγὴ παρὰ σοι, Διομήδη, *Anth. Plan.* xvi 387c1 = *CIL* iv 2400a, iv Suppl. p. 265; PSI 1965, 3.14; *Epigr. Gr.* 1124; Guarducci (n. 19) 254, 261. (ii) Sid. *Ap.* ix 14 'illud antiquum "Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor"': Guarducci (n. 19) 255 quotes a probable instance from Pompeii and (249-56) an example from Hungary of the early second century A.D. (iii) *Anth. Plan.* xvi 387b-c: some of these verses are identifiable as the work of Byzantine men of letters; they are learned curiosities cast in a popular and traditional mould.

²² K. Preisendanz, *PW* s.v. *Palindromos*; *PGM* iii 2. 279-80; F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*² (Berlin 1925) 63.

²³ Bua 3-35; V. Gardthausen, *Gr. Paläographie* ii²

(Leipzig 1913) 64-6.

²⁴ The supplement is Professor Guarducci's (426); *cf.* Bua 8-9. The beginning and end of the line are to be found on 2NY and 3C respectively.

²⁵ Sadurska 71. Bua (13) sees 15Ber. as equally close to the manner of Theodorus.

²⁶ *Bucolici Graeci* (ed. Gow) 182-5; *cf.* Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v 1.511.

²⁷ *CR* xxi (1971) 8.

²⁸ *PGM* iii 2.286; Dornseiff (n. 13) 59.

²⁹ Gardthausen (n. 23) 65; Bua 23. From Xoïs, in the Sebennytic nome.

³⁰ *Not. et Extr.* xviii 2 (1866) 43-76.

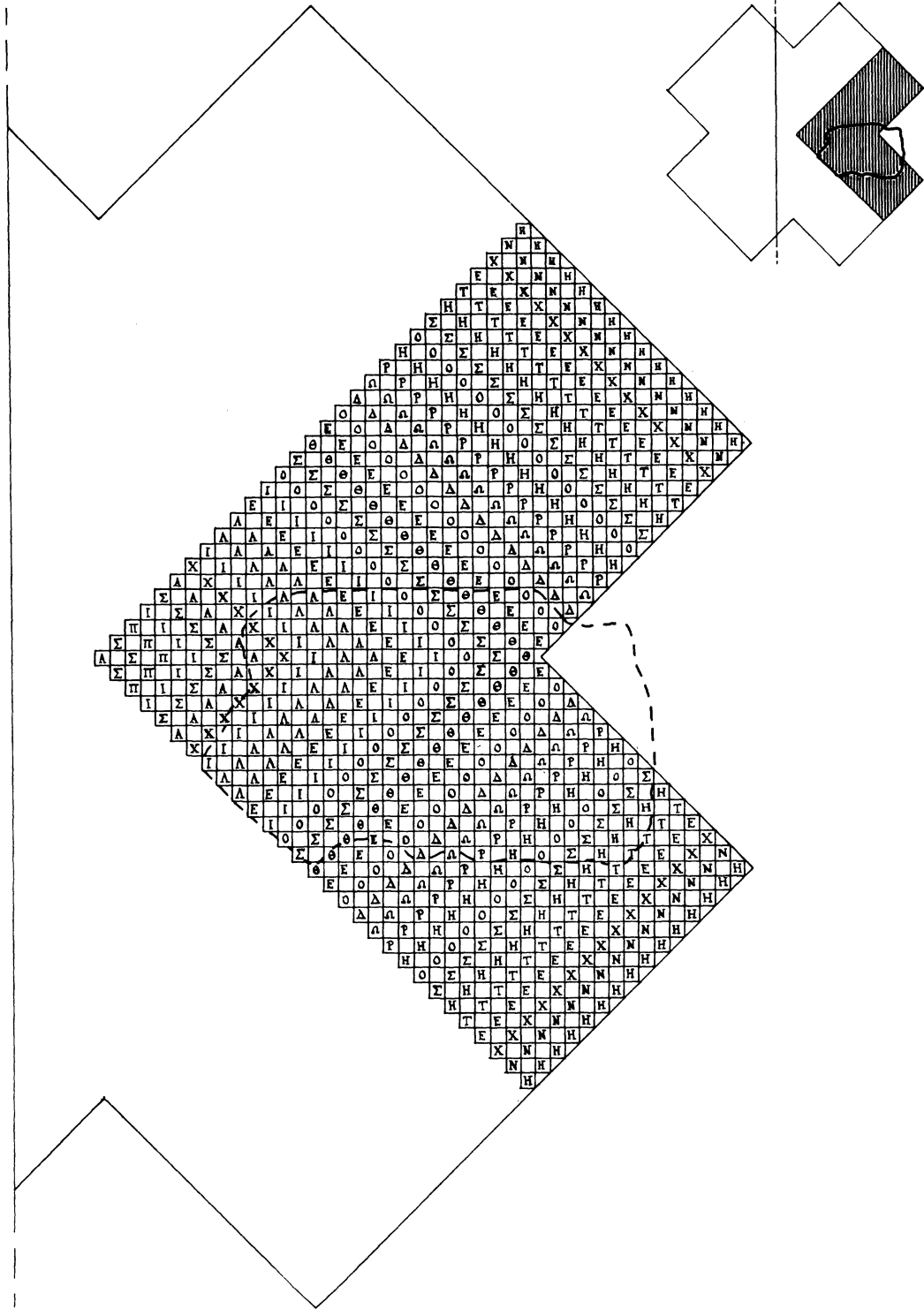


FIG. 2. (After Bua, fig. 3, facing p. 10.)

The recto contains an astronomical treatise attributed to Eudoxus of Cnidus, which is probably to be dated to 193–90 B.C.³¹ This text is illustrated liberally with diagrams of the zodiac and constellations. Such illustrations are not rare in scientific papyri³² and a distinction of genre is to be drawn between them and narrative illustrations of literary papyri such as have been postulated as the antecedents of the *Tabulae* (cf. p. 44). The verso begins with a preface in iambs: there are twelve lines (one per month, as line 6 observes) and 11 × 30 days in the month + 35 = 365 letters (that is, the days in a Great Year, as line 8 observes). Moreover, the initial letters form an acrostic, *EYΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗ*.³³ *Τέχνη*, explains Page, is used by the iambographer in the sense of *ars*, book of rules. This conclusion is inescapable, yet, in a sense, false: the work that follows is not actually a systematic handbook, but, as the iambographer admits (line 2, ἐν βραχεὶ λόγῳ) an epitome to enable readers (line 3) τῆσδε τέχνης (=the science of astronomy) εἰδέναι σαφῆ πῆρι. Ps-Eudoxus' original may indeed have constituted an authentic τέχνη; in the acrostic, the word is employed either for convenience or from pretentious ignorance. At all events, there is no parallel with its use on the *Tabulae*.

But it remains illuminating to compare at least the more complete epigram on 1A,

τέχνην τὴν Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε, τάξι' Ὀμήρου
ῥφρα δαεὶς πάσης μέτρον ἔχης σοφίας

with the iambographer's opening lines:

Ἐν τῷδε δείξω πᾶσι ἐκμαθεῖν σοφὴν
Ἵμῖν πόλου σύνταξι, ἐν βραχεὶ λόγῳ
Δοὺς τῆσδε τέχνης εἰδέναι σαφῆ πῆρι.

We observe (cf. Bua 19–20) the parallel adjurations to learn and suggestions of wisdom to be gained; the heavens have their system (σύνταξις) and Homer his sequence of books and events (τάξις).

How far should the similarities between papyrus and *Tabulae* lead us? They do not of themselves prove that Theodorus was using an illustrated papyrus epitome of Homer and it is in fact most unlikely that he will have done so (cf. p. 47, *pace* Bua 20). Nor need we infer (*pace* Bua 22–3) that the idea of signing his *opus* with a *jeu de lettres* came to Theodorus from the verso of his papyrus source; the widely diverse characters of acrostic and 'word-square' have already been noted. Above all, Ps-Eudoxus' catachrestic use of τέχνη as 'epitome' should not lead us to suppose that the inscriptions on the *Tabulae* used it in the same sense and that Theodorus was therefore a grammarian. Though these inscriptions are no literary masterpieces, we are under no obligation to suppose that their authors consistently misused the word τέχνη, above all when the artistic context points so clearly to its employment in a correct and widely attested sense (cf. p. 27).

(d) *Purpose of the Tabulae*. It is perhaps more profitable to consider the inferences to be drawn from the tone of the Theodorus epigrams, and indeed from his inscriptions in general, regarding the purpose and readership of the *Tabulae*.

(i) *The schoolroom*. Once Mancuso had disposed of the old supplements to the epigram on 1A, ὦ φίλε παῖ, Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε τάξι' Ὀμήρου, no textual evidence remained for the well-established view³⁵ that the *Tabulae* represented classroom visual aids: the didactic tone of the epigram does not of course of itself presuppose a juvenile audience. There is no secure and independent evidence earlier than *Pan. Lat.* iv 20 for the use of such visual aids.³⁶ It has, moreover, been urged

³¹ Pack² 369; Hultsch, PW s.v. 'Eudoxos' §24.

³² V. Bartoletti, *EAA* s.v. 'Papiro' 945–6; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton 1947) 47–50 (hereafter Weitzmann *IRC*); *id.*, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge 1959) 5–30 (hereafter Weitzmann *ABI*).

³³ Acrostics are in fact not nearly so rare or arcane as word-squares in the ancient world: Gardthausen (n. 23) 63; Page, *Gk. Lit. Pap.* 469; Cic. *Div.* ii 111 with Pease's note. Examples of authors' signatures, probably contemporary with Ps-Eudoxus, but non-Egyptian are provided

by Nic. *Ther.* 345–53 and (?) *Alex.* 266–73; see E. Lobel, *CQ* xxii (1928) 114.

³⁴ Supplement Mancuso, *Mem. Acc. Linc.* xiv 8 (1909) 730 (hereafter Mancuso). Cf. p. 27.

³⁵ Discussion and bibliography, Sadurska 18. The supplements have been proposed by Welcker, *Sylloge epigrammatum* (Bonn 1828) 239, ὦ φίλε παῖ, and Lehrs, *RhM* ii (1843) 354 Θεοδ].

³⁶ Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben der Römer* 109–10. *CGI* iii 56.48–57 may attest the use of such aids; the wording is unclear and at least 200 years later than Theodorus.

against the use of the *Tabulae* in the classroom that (e.g.) they were themselves too fragile, though clearly more robust than papyrus, and that their script was often too small, that teachers would have rejected the trite and often inaccurate summaries,³⁷ the errors of spelling,³⁸ the widespread use of *κοινή* forms (cf. p. 28) and indeed of Doric on the late Albani *Tabula* (J.-M. 84 n. 435) in recounting the labours of Heracles, and finally that the epic cycle narrated on several *Tabulae* was outside the school syllabus.

Arguments enough: it will become increasingly clear that the trivial yet bizarre erudition that the *Tabulae* display—at times on both sides—is most unlikely to have belonged in the school-room.³⁹

(ii) *Votive offerings*. Another familiar explanation of the purpose of the *Tabulae* is that they were votive offerings, perhaps in some way connected with the imperial cult, especially in view of the emphasis laid on the ‘national’ legend of Aeneas on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*.⁴⁰ Two arguments have been advanced in support of this view.

(1) As stated, for example, by Schefold (*W.u.B.* 40): ‘Die T.I. sind vermutlich Weihgeschenke, wie die Fundort der besterhalten nahelegt.’ He (cf. *ibid.* 130) and many others (even J.-M. 2) have supposed that 1A was found at Bovillae in or near the *Sacrarium gentis Iuliae*. It was not.⁴¹

The *tabula* was found in 1683 in the same spot as a bust of the Divine Claudius (now lost in Madrid) and a relief representing the apotheosis of Homer (now in the British Museum), that is, not in Bovillae itself, where the *sacrarium* was located (Tac. *Ann.* ii 41, xv 23), but in the ruins of a villa known in the Middle Ages as Tor Ser Paolo, 1¼ km to the north-east.⁴² There is nothing to suggest⁴³ that the villa once belonged to Mamurra and passed into the hands of the emperor Claudius.⁴⁴ Nor does the discovery in one and the same villa of a relief (our *Tabula*) and a bust, both with dynastic associations, argue, in the early or middle first century A.D., any particularly ardent loyalty on the part of its owners.

The proximity of the find-spot to Bovillae has allured scholars for another reason too: the events in the *Greek Chronicle Tabula* (18L) are dated back from A.D. 15/16⁴⁵ and this was the very year in which the Bovillae *sacrarium* was founded (Tac. *Ann.* ii 41). The coincidence is illusory and inconclusive,⁴⁶ for the *Tabula* was not found in the *sacrarium*, though the theme of its central panel could indeed have graced such a *sacrarium*, nor was the *Greek Chronicle Tabula* a product of Theodorus’ age and workshop, belonging as it does in all probability to the reign of Tiberius (Sadurska 83). The archaeological context in which the *Tabula* was found contributes nothing, therefore, to its dating: that must be determined on the basis of style and identifiable sources. Thus Mme Sadurska’s stylistic arguments point to the reign of Augustus (37) and I offer the publication of the *Aeneid* after Virgil’s death in 19 B.C. as a firm *terminus post quem* (*infra* p. 38).

(2) *‘IEPEIA ‘IEPEI* (cf. *supra* p. 28). A certain reluctance to take this inscription (= ‘The priestess to the priest’) seriously is to be observed.⁴⁷ Its palindromic character of itself suggests that this may be an appropriate attitude. We are certainly not here in the dignified world of the *Musarum sacerdos*, nor, *pace* Sadurska 9, in that of the pontifical colleges. However, the words are

³⁷ For the use of *ὑποθέσεις*, see Plut. *Mor.* 14c; J.-M. 86; *CGI* iii 56–69, 383–4. Reifferscheid’s suggestion (*Ann. Inst.* xxxiv [1862] 107) that *CGI* iii 56.48–57 (third century A.D. at the earliest) is evidence for illustrated compendia is not convincing; see J.-M. 90 and Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig 1907) 303–4 for the suggestion that the passage refers to the classroom use of mythological illustrations. Miss E. H. Scheuer’s London M.A. thesis (1976) has made the study of the *Hermeneumata Pseude-Dositheana* substantially simpler.

³⁸ Mancuso 693–4; J.-M. 78.

³⁹ Most of the above arguments of course apply against their use (suggested by Marquardt *ibid.*) by tutors coaching individual children. On the suggestion that they were employed as school prizes (E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild* [Leipzig 1945] 77; hereafter Bethe), see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten 1955) 26–7 (hereafter BB) and U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher* (Stuttgart 1959) 51 (hereafter Hausmann).

⁴⁰ Cf. further, p. 38. Sadurska’s suggestion (19, cf. 32) that at least the signed Theodorus tablets and perhaps too the more miscellaneous ‘fourth group’, which ‘représente les héros très populaires à Rome’ (12) were presents to the emperor or to courtiers does not convince.

⁴¹ Most of the evidence is set out, though not as clearly as one might wish, by Thomas Ashby in *PBSR* v (1910) 282–3.

⁴² See R. Lanciani, *Abbozzo della Carta Archeologica di Roma al 25000; Zona Ciampino-Lago Albano-Frascati-Monte Porzio Catone* = A. P. Frutaz, *Le Carte di Lazio* iii (1972) no. 411.

⁴³ *Pace* Lippold, *PW* ivA (1887) 15–16.

⁴⁴ For the correct interpretation of *CIL* xiv 2431, cf. Th. Mommsen, *CIL* x p. 617 and O. Hirschfeld *Klio* ii (1902) 65 = *Kl. Schr.* (Berlin 1913) 539.

⁴⁵ Sadurska 80, with further bibliography.

⁴⁶ So Michon 380–1; *contra* (e.g.) J.-M. 81–2.

⁴⁷ Not so Lippold (n. 43) 1893; cf. Sadurska 45.

carved with particular skill and elegance. They are not, therefore, an idle workshop doodle, but it is possible that their presence was prompted merely by the existence of a tempting empty space below the altar-shaped 'magic square', to be filled in with a comparable, if less exacting and less striking 'jeu de lettres' (cf. FIG. 1), perhaps prompted by some association between 'altar' and 'priest'.

It seems therefore that the interpretation of some or all of the *Tabulae* as votive offerings has little if anything to recommend it. I shall suggest shortly the social context to which I take the *Tabulae* to belong. But first certain general characteristics must be defined more precisely.

(a) *Technical virtuosity*. It is above all in his choice of medium and his scale of execution that Theodorus works to surprise.⁴⁸ Notable skill is displayed by those responsible for executing the actual lettering. The extreme case is provided by the outer edge of 4N: the whole was 17.8 cm across and 4.2 cm high and incised round the outer edge were 126 lines of Homer (*Il.* xx 483–608) in ten columns. They do not provide a particularly careful or accurate text,⁴⁹ but are easily legible with a magnifying glass. The lettering on 1A is somewhat larger, yet even the smallest letter can be read without trouble with the naked eye (cf. PLATE II, which is slightly enlarged).

The ingenuity displayed by 'magic squares' and palindromes has already been discussed. A comparable talent, probably deriving from a written source available to Theodorus' workshop and comparable in character to *A.P.* ix 385 (cf. *J.-M.* 85 n. 438), is displayed by the verses on the left margin of 6B:

[Δέ]λτα ∪ – | – ∪]ύσιν θ' ὄρκων· ἐπιπωλείται δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
 Εἰ Διομήδης μὲν ἀριστεύει...⁵⁰

The hexameters on the Albani relief (=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 1082b) are by comparison neither technically ingenious nor metrically striking.

(b) *Erudition—of a kind*. The *Gelehrsamkeit* of the inscriptions is intermittently distinctive.⁵¹ In 10K we find discussion of the stichometry of certain cyclic poems⁵² and of questions of authorship in scholiastic language (*ὑποθήσομεν*), along with a possible attempt to synchronise Argive and Theban myths by reference to the Priestesses of Hera (Sadurska 59). The inscriptions of 9D (*ad fin.*; Sadurska 57) and 19J, which probably uses the same method (Sadurska 89) to date the exploits of Heracles are to be compared, as indeed is the derivative but striking chronological system of 18L (*supra* p. 32).

On 19J, at the base of the tripod (cf. Sadurska 88) is the dedication: Ἀμφιτρώων ὑπὲρ Ἀλκαίου τριπόδα Ἀπόλλωνι, with the explanation (=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 1082, etc.): τοῦτο[ν] ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέ[ο]υς φασὶν δαφνοφορήσαντος ἀ[ν]ατεθῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐ[ξ] ἀρχῆς οὐχ Ἡρακλῆ ἀλλ' Ἀλκαίου αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι. A learned periegesis of Thebes may lie ultimately behind this pedantic flourish (Sadurska *loc. cit.*).

Perhaps most interesting is the Zenodotus *Tabula* (8E) which is concerned with the chronology of the action in the *Iliad* (largely book i) and cites Zenodotus by name in a mutilated epigram. The text probably summarises an actual work by Zenodotus or a pupil on this subject.⁵³

(c) *Faulty and jejune explanatory texts*. A combination of error and erudition is characteristic of the *Vulgarerzählung* of ancient myth: Wilamowitz, in a most illuminating discussion,⁵⁴ compares Hyginus and the *Epitome* of Apollodorus. Detailed study of the *Iliou Persis* on 1A will show just how unreliable both inscriptions and pictures can be.

Whatever the sources Theodorus' workshop actually used (cf. *infra* pp. 43–8) the products are

⁴⁸ Schefold *W.u.B.* 40; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentliche . . . Sammlungen . . . in Rom* ii⁴ (1963–) 116; V. Spinazzola and S. Aurigemma, *Pompeii alla Luce degli Scavi Nuovi* i (Roma 1953) (hereafter S.-A.). Professor Jane M. Cody prompted my own studies in the Sala delle Colombe, which led to similar conclusions; I am most grateful for her support and encouragement.

⁴⁹ P. Bienkowski, *Röm. Mitt.* vi (1891) 202 ff.

⁵⁰ *Epigr. Gr.* 1095; A. Ludwich, *RhM* xxxii (1877)

10–11; H. Schrader, *Jhb. kl. Phil.* xxxiv (1888) 577–609. The lines quoted should not be dismissed as unmetrical; see Kaibel *ad loc.*

⁵¹ *J.-M.* 82; Michon 382.

⁵² Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i 126–7 (hereafter Pfeiffer).

⁵³ Sadurska 54; Pfeiffer 126–7.

⁵⁴ *Kl. Schr.* v.1 497–501; hereafter *W.-M.*

aimed, for the most part, very low. It can hardly be restrictions of space alone that determine the minimal standards set. I quote a very few examples.

On 1A, *Il.* xiii, xiv and xv are summarised with the words *τῆκλις δ' ὀμαλῆς γιγνομένης* and xvii with *[Μά]χη[ς δ] ἐπερὶ τ[οῦ] νεκ[ροῦ] [γενομένης]*. These summaries do not suffice to explain the scenes illustrating those books. In xvii, moreover, the names identifying the characters are missing. But we should note that the individual books in question are not particularly important for the 'story of the poem' as a whole, and we may contrast the singularly full summary (80 words) of the crucial xvi. Clearly Theodorus had access to one or more of the many already extant sets of Homeric *hypotheses*.⁵⁵

Again on 1A, for the *Aethiopsis*, *Little Iliad* and 'Iliou Persis according to Stesichorus', there are only labelled figures, not summaries. Indeed, of the panels (1A, 2NY, 3C, 7Ti, 8E, 9D) which do, or may, contain cyclic scenes, only one (9D, an unsigned product of Theodorus' workshop) carries any summary of events (*cf.* p. 37). Paradoxically, even the relatively learned Zenodotus *Tabula* gives the spectator no help at all with the *Iliou Persis* scenes. At Theodorus' date, cyclic summaries definitely did exist,⁵⁶ and an explanation of this omission must be sought elsewhere (*cf.* p. 47): lack of space is not an argument that can be advanced convincingly all the time. We are driven to a conclusion that is crucial for the nature and function of the *Tabulae*: the workshop must have contemplated with equanimity a clientèle which either knew the cyclic poems so well that it did not need summaries, which is highly unlikely at this date, or was content with a few names of participants and a confused visual impression of what the cyclic poems had recounted. A similar conclusion follows from the texts attached to scenes from the *Iliad*.

On 2NY (*cf.* 14G) the surround of each panel carries laconic summaries (e.g.):

*Ἰλιάδος Τ. Θετίδος παρ(ουσία), Ἡφαίστου πα(ρουσία)
Θέτις, Ἀχιλλέως . . .
Ἰλιάδος Υ. Ἀχιλλέως ἄθλος, [Αἰ]νῆας, Ποσειδῶν, Ἀχιλλεύς.*

The origins of such terse book-labels are to be found in the ways in which authors from Herodotus on referred to individual books or episodes from the poems: the addition of book-numbers may have been a relatively new development at the time of Theodorus (Pfeiffer 195). The concise book-labels then reappear in our MSS,⁵⁷ as indeed do those in hexameters. But without the comfort of a complete text to follow they are of limited utility. For the simple illustrations of xx, xxii, xxiii, and xxiv on 1A they do indeed serve as captions; for xix, the reference to Hephaestus could be confusing, as he is not illustrated; and for the three scenes from xxi, the inscription *Παραποταμία μάχη* is not explanation enough.

Texts aside, can the true lover of Homer 'eine so schwache Phantasie gehabt haben, um solche Bildchen als Lesehilfe zu Brauchen'?⁵⁸ Clearly not: text and illustration alike suggest a clientèle unacquainted with Homer himself. For some of the most familiar scenes in Greek mythology these users regularly required an explanatory text, and one that was itself restricted to the barest sequence of characters and events—short enough, that is, not to strain their attention! Their eyes might rove over the generous provision of illustrations (*cf.* n. 182), but these were equally simple and so small that the artist could add little if anything of his own emotions and interpretations to the narrative. This clientèle was not so ignorant of Greek that it could not cope with the simple linguistic demands made by Theodorus' texts,⁵⁹ but its general cultural level was not high. However, the minuteness of the craftsmanship of the *Tabulae* makes it unthinkable that they could have belonged to any sort of mass market.

The clientèle of Theodorus' workshop is now close to identification. It has often been suggested that the panels constituted some form of library decoration.⁶⁰ But it has become clear

⁵⁵ Pfeiffer 195; A. Ludwich (n. 50) 11–12; Pack² 1185, 1190, 1208, etc.

⁵⁶ W.-M. 499; J.-M. 87; E. Bethe, *Homer* ii².2 208–9.

⁵⁷ Pfeiffer 116; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*³ (Leipzig 1923) 579–80; P. Bouquiaux-Simon, *Les Lectures Homériques de Lucien* (Bruxelles 1968) 46–7.

⁵⁸ Schefold *W.u.B.* 135.

⁵⁹ Contrast certain Homeric scenes at Pompeii, labelled in Latin, S.-A. 579. *Cf.* Smith on Petron. 48.8 for

the knowledge of Greek in Petronius' circle; note his use of a Latin translation when following the *Homeristae* (59.3).

⁶⁰ One has probably to suppose that those panels where both recto and verso are inscribed were suspended from hooks, hinged, or placed on mounts so that both sides could be read; Sadurska 18–19. Their presence is also together compatible with that we know (Marquardt [n. 36] 615) of ancient library decoration.

that the educated owner of a library could not have derived much joy from the possession of any of the *Tabulae*. There were others. As Seneca complains (*Tranqu. An.* 9.5):

sicut plerique ignaris etiam puerilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt . . . apud desidiosissimos ergo videbis quicquid orationum historiarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa locamenta: iam enim, inter balnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur. ignoscerem plane, si studiorum nimia cupidine erraretur; nunc ista conquisita, cum imaginibus suis⁶¹ discripta, sacrorum opera ingeniorum in speciem et cultum parietum comparantur.

Lucian similarly writes a most diverting tract *πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον*.⁶²

The *Tabulae* would not have been out of place in the house of Calvisius Sabinus, who forgot the names of Ulysses, Achilles and Priam and needed a slave to remember his Homer for him—along with ten others for Hesiod and the *novem lyri*ci (Sen. *Ep.* 27.6). But above all, the *Tabulae* belong *chez* Trimalchio: ‘et ne me putes studia fastiditum, II bybliothechas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam’ (48.4). He has Homeric pictures on the walls;⁶³ he listens to Homeristae (59.3; cf. p. 45); he owns cups bearing Homeric scenes, but they can scarcely have borne the helpful inscriptions of the ‘Homerische Becher’ (cf. *infra* p. 47), for their subject matter quite defeats him, notably (52.2) ‘ubi Daedalus Niobam in equum Troianum includit’. No one needs a mythological prompt-sheet more urgently: this his ‘boyhood memories’ of Homer make plain, for his Odysseus twists the Cyclops’ thumb (48.7)! But he struggles on: ‘oportet etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse’ (39.3). There is indeed a long discussion (55.4) regarding *Mopsus Thracem*,⁶⁴ before Trimalchio turns the conversation to a comparison between Cicero and Publilius Syrus (*ibid.* 5). That is to say that even the synchronic, stichometric and chronological ‘erudition’ of the *Tabulae* will have had its uses in such quarters.

When Theodorus’ workshop displays its *Gelehrsamkeit*, we might seem at first sight a little closer to Tiberius than to Trimalchio:

maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis usque ad ineptias atque derisum; nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum, praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur, quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae (Suet. *Tib.* 70).

But however trivial such extremely fashionable questions may appear⁶⁵ they did at least depend on a detailed reading of the text and the systematic misapplication of a trained memory. That is precluded by the very nature of the *Tabulae*. We are thus brought firmly back to the world of Trimalchio, to the libraries and dining rooms of the new rich, where ignorance is to be hidden and memories have to be jolted at every step. Not all the *Tabulae* are equally suitable as vehicles for elementary adult education, but the needs of this curious market are met sufficiently. The eager delight with which a Trimalchio might have explained the ‘magic squares’, the palindrome, or the miniature writing on the *Shield of Achilles* to his guests is not hard to imagine.

II. STESICHORUS?

The left-hand part of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* is missing, but it is possible to recover the structure of the entire *Tabula* with complete confidence (FIG. 3). A series of small panels surrounds a large central scene. This arrangement is also found on 6B, 16Sa and perhaps also 20Par.⁶⁶ The sack of Troy is therefore, in Saxl’s terminology (*loc. cit.*), the *Hauptzerzählung* and the small panels

⁶¹ ‘Mit ihren bildern kopiert’, Birt [n. 37] 285.

⁶² Cf. Aus. *Epigr.* 7 (44) p. 313 Peiper; C. Wendel–W. Gröber, *Hdb. der Bibliothekswissenschaft* iii 116.

⁶³ 29.9; perhaps with labelled figures. Cf. 29.4 with Smith’s note.

⁶⁴ That is, presumably, Orpheus and Mopsus: see Smith *ad loc.*

⁶⁵ Sen. *Apoc.* 5.4; Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 11; Juv. vii 232–6 (with Mayor’s notes); Quint. i 8.18 (with Colson’s notes);

K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*³ (Leipzig 1882) 210–15; J. E. Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i 202; J. Marache, *La Critique Littéraire* . . . (Rennes 1952) 259.

⁶⁶ Sadurska (n. 1) 653. Compare K. Weitzmann, *AJA* xlv (1941) 166–81. A similar arrangement is to be observed in reliefs in honour of Hercules, Cybele and, notably, Mithras: cf. F. Saxl, *Mithras* (Berlin 1931) 38–9; E. Will, *Le Relief Cultuel* (Paris 1955) 432–7 *et passim*.

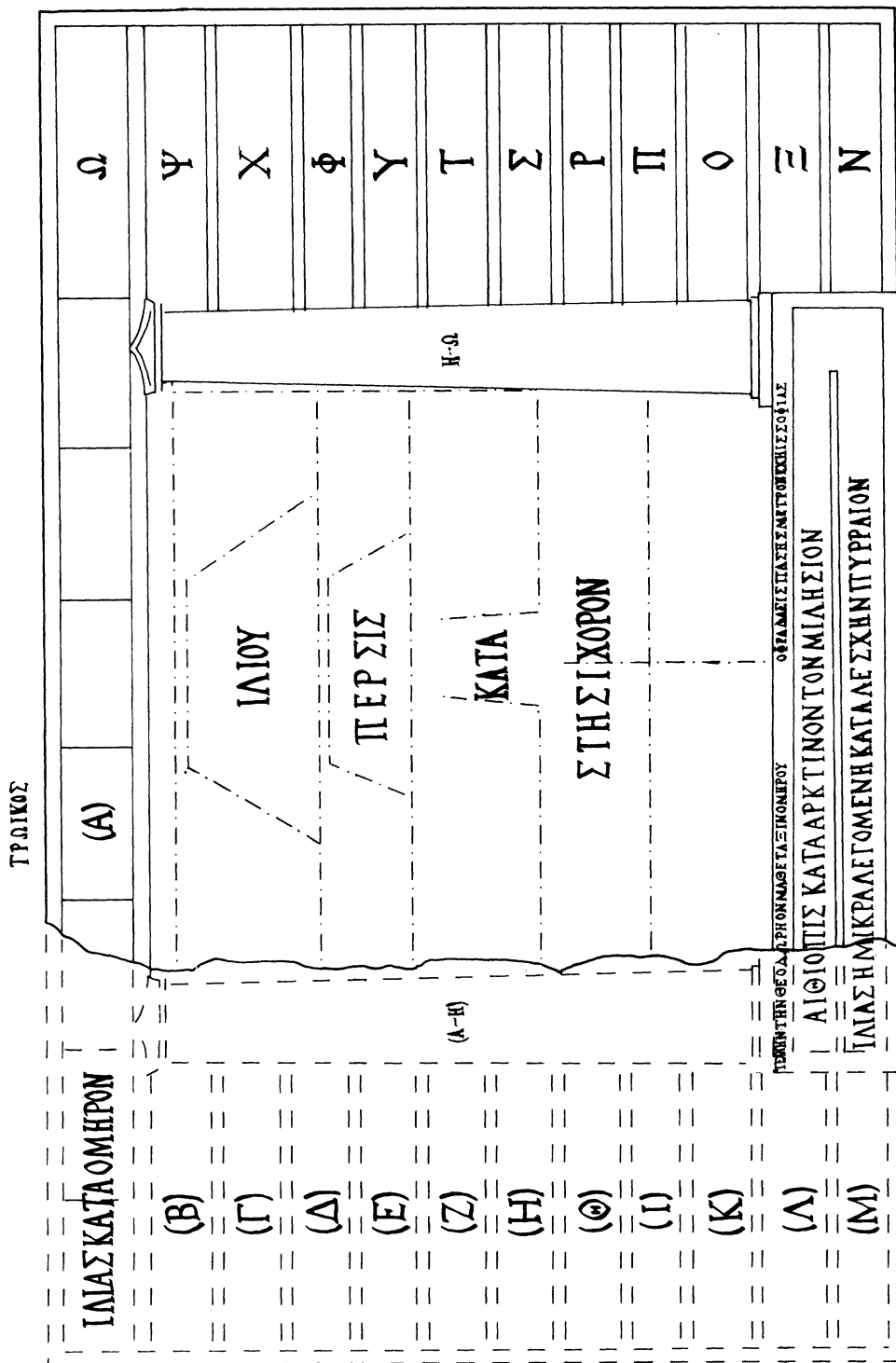


FIG. 3. (After Mancuso, 669.)

Nebenerzählungen: this is (*pace* Will 433) a valuable distinction. It was clearly the artist's intention to focus our gaze on the departure of Aeneas from Troy. The very centre of the *Tabula*, when complete, showed him passing through the gate (PLATE II) and the whole relief is given thereby an evident contemporary purpose. The *Tabula* as a whole is labelled *Τρωικός* (*sc. κύκλος*):⁶⁷ that is to say, the cycle of antecedent events and poems 'encircles'—and here Theodorus *may* be perpetrating a minor verbal/visual pun—the climax, that is, Aeneas' departure. At the date of production, the significance of this arrangement cannot have been other than dynastic⁶⁸ and the centrality of Aeneas must be Theodorus' own doing, independently of his primary artistic source.⁶⁹

Directly below the gate scene, the panel is labelled *ἸΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ*. There follows:

Ἰλιάς κατὰ Ὅμηρον
Αἰθιοπὶς κατὰ Ἀρκτῖνον τὸν Μιλήσιον
Ἰλιάς ἢ μικρὰ λεγομένη κατὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον.⁷⁰

Though Mme Sadurska⁷¹ suggests that Stesichorus' name is put first to signify that *his Iliou Persis* is not part of the traditional epic cycle, the reference to Stesichorus is divided from the rest of the list by the word *ΤΡΩΙΚΟΣ* (see PLATE II) and by part of the illustration of the *ΝΑΥΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ*. Below the gate of Troy there is a little empty space and the craftsman has thoughtfully identified the author—as he imagines—of the original narrative of the actual sack directly below Troy's main gate. The rest of the authors illustrated on the *Tabula* are therefore listed further on, as convenience dictates. J. Schmidt⁷² questions whether *ἸΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ* can refer not merely to the scenes within the walls, but also to the four scenes outside and below the walls. The point is well taken, but there are far stronger arguments against the application of Stesichorus' name to the scenes in question.

Our enquiry may be extended to the other *Tabulae* which illustrate the sack of Troy,

2NY: Ἰλίου πέρσις
6B: Ἰλίου πέρσις
7Ti.: Ἰλίου π]έρσις

3C and 8E both carry unlabelled sack of Troy scenes.⁷³ On 6B there will have been enough room⁷⁴ for the author to be named but there is nothing else in its inscriptions to suggest whether or not a name is likely to have been given. 7Ti. was in bad condition: since the author of the *Little Iliad* was given on the recto⁷⁵ it is at least possible that on the verso the literary source of the sack of Troy was named. On 2NY, on the other hand, the supplement [*Ἰλιάς κατὰ Ὅμηρον*] is highly persuasive and after *καὶ Ἰλίου πέρσις* the stonemason had but to turn 90° had he wished to continue *κατὰ Ἀρκτῖνον, κατὰ Στησίχορον* or even *κατὰ Ἀγίαν* down the right-hand margin of the central (sack of Troy) panel. He did not do so, for whatever reason. Whether therefore 6B, 7Ti., 2NY, 3C and 8E all, in Theodorus' mind, purported to represent Stesichorus has been a matter for untrammelled speculation, to which I do not propose to add.

Theodorus' workshop could certainly have acquired a text of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*: Pausanias cites it three times, Athenaeus twice, and a papyrus⁷⁶ from the second/third century A.D. survives, without assisting this argument. Perhaps most important, as we shall see (p. 43), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in Rome as a contemporary of Theodorus, refers to Stesi-

⁶⁷ Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884) 333, 360; Sadurska 31.

⁶⁸ E. Strong in H. Stuart Jones, *Catal. Mus. Capit.* (Oxford 1912) 169 (hereafter Strong); J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Some notes on artists in the Roman World' in *Coll. Latomus* vi (1951) 22; etc.

⁶⁹ Cf. Sadurska 35; Mancuso 721; Schmidt 82 ff.; G. Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 107 (hereafter Galinsky).

⁷⁰ It is in no way unusual for Hellenistic works of art to cite literary sources in such detail; see Guarducci 433 *et passim* and T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Art* (London 1967) 102. I am grateful to Miss D. Quare for the latter reference

and for much valuable discussion.

⁷¹ *Eos* liii (1963) 36–7.

⁷² *PW* xv 2042; cf. Sadurska 33–4.

⁷³ The case for including 9D and 14G in this argument rests on tendentious hypotheses (cf. Sadurska 57, 70). I do not take them into account.

⁷⁴ Sadurska pl. 9 and K. Weitzmann, *AJA* xlv (1941) 168, fig. 3.

⁷⁵ *κα* is preserved after the title.

⁷⁶ One, rather than two. For P. Oxy. 2803, see D. L. Page, *PCPS* n.s. xix (1973) 64–5; *contra* Haslam, *Quad. Urb.* xvii (1974) 57.

chorus repeatedly in the rhetorical works.⁷⁷ But are we to believe Theodorus' claim to be following Stesichorus? To question whether all or part of the central panel of 1A is indeed Stesichorean is no novelty.⁷⁸

It should in the first place be stressed that where a comparison between the *Tabula* and the fragments is possible⁷⁹ it does nothing to increase Theodorus' credibility. Indeed analysis of *fr.* 201 goes far toward shattering it.

(i) *PMG fr.* 197 (=Paus. x 26.1): Clymene (a servant of Helen) was one of the captives (likewise in Polygnotus' Lesche). She is not on the *Tabula*, but this omission is clearly not significant.

(ii) *fr.* 198 (=Paus. x 27.2): Hecuba was conveyed to Lycia by Apollo (*cf.* PW xix s.v. 'Hekabe' 2655). On the *Tabula* she is shown within the walls with Priam and with Polyxena at the tomb of Hector.

(iii) *fr.* 199 (=Athen. xiii 610c, Eust. *Od.* 1698.2): Stesichorus said that a hundred Greeks filled the horse, but he did not name them. Though the illustrator of *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3325 (f. 69) fastidiously delineated thirty piglets with the portentous sow, five score warriors were of course too many to ask of Theodorus.

(iv) *fr.* 200 (=Athen. x 456 f.): Epeius carried water for the Atridae. Clearly there was no need for him to be portrayed.

(v) *fr.* 202 (=Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 10): the death of Astyanax was narrated; it is not portrayed. However, the two representations (see PLATE II) of Andromache at the Tomb of Hector, first with her son and then alone in gloom, carry (*pace* Schmidt 70) a sinister hint of imminent infanticide.

(vi) *fr.* 204 (=Paus. x 26.9): there was a daughter of Priam named Medusa. Clearly she did not have to be portrayed and indeed she is not (*cf.* *fr.* 197).

(vii) *fr.* 201 (=Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1287). Of crucial importance, as Bowra (*loc. cit.*) trenchantly insists. On the *Tabula* Menelaus pursues Helen with a sword: this was the version of Ibycus (*PMG fr.* 296 = Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 631) and Euripides (*Andr.* 629, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσειδες μαστὸν ἐκβαλῶν ξίφος...). Stesichorus on the other hand related that at the sight of Helen, stones fell from the hands of the Achaeans.⁸⁰ The actual citation of *fr.* 201 does not state explicitly that Menelaus was himself armed with a stone, but the Euripides scholiast draws so marked a contrast between the Euripidean version of the story and Stesichorus' that we can hardly suppose the Stesichorean Menelaus to have been wielding a solitary sword.⁸¹

We are compelled to infer that Theodorus, even if he did have access to a text or epitome of Stesichorus (which is now evidently far from certain), had no scruple about abandoning it and betraying his own *Quellenangabe*. The point will emerge as being of crucial importance (p. 42).

Many of those committed in general to giving at least a measure of credence to *KATA ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ* readily acknowledge that in two respects Theodorus does seem to have strayed. First, the presence of Aeneas at the very centre of the central panel (*vide supra*) will have been an emphasis given by the Augustan artist, not the Himeran poet.⁸² Secondly, certain details on the *Tabula* do look very much as though they derive from the *Aeneid*.⁸³

Close study of the three scenes actually depicting Aeneas will lead us to a significantly different formulation.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Cf. (e.g.) K. Seeliger, *Die Überlieferung der gr. Helldensage bei Stes.* i (progr. Meissen 1886) 33; hereafter Seeliger.

⁷⁸ F. G. Welcker, *Ann. Inst.* i (1829) 234 n. 10; L. Preller, *Röm. Mythologie*² 670; H. Nissen, *Jhb. kl. Phil.* xi (1865) 379; etc.

⁷⁹ C. Konstas, *Iliupersis nach Stesichorus* (diss. Tübingen 1876) 41 ff. (hereafter Konstas); C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² 105–6, against F. G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler* ii 193.

⁸⁰ Mancuso (709) tries valiantly but altogether unconvincingly to wriggle out of the trap.

⁸¹ Though Athen. iv 172d hesitates between Stes. and Ibycus as authors of the ἄθλα ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ, there is no trace

of confusion when it comes to the episode in the story of Helen.

⁸² Mancuso 721; Seeliger 34; Paulcke 106; Sadurska 35; Galinsky 107; etc.

⁸³ Schmidt 84; Galinsky 109; A. Brüning, *Jdl* ix (1894) 163; B. G. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome* i (Eng. tr.) 179; J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Légende Troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942) 113 (hereafter Perret).

⁸⁴ Three scenes, not four. *AINHΑΣ* in the scene of Demophon and Acamas helping their grandmother Aethra is far from being a certain reading, *pace* Sadurska 30; see *IG* xiv 1284 (p. 330). Nor is it easy to see how Aeneas could have been relevant to this scene.

(i) *Within the walls, low on the left* (PLATE I): Aeneas, clearly labelled, takes a large cylindrical box from the hands of a kneeling Trojan, who is turning towards a warrior who is running up. The kneeling figure was identified as Anchises,⁸⁵ but the fact that Anchises is himself carrying the cylindrical box in the second and third Aeneas-scenes does not encourage us to suppose that he surrenders them temporarily to Aeneas in this first scene. It has been argued most plausibly⁸⁶ that the scene actually illustrates *Aeneid* ii 318–21:

ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,
Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem
ipse trahit. . . .

These *sacra* are the penates themselves (*cf.* p. 40) which Hector held out to Aeneas in a dream (293–7) and which are at Anchises' house by 717; the coherence of Virgil's narrative requires us to infer that Panthus gave the *sacra* to Aeneas, who took them to his father's house.

(ii) *The group of figures*⁸⁷ at the bottom right of the panel:⁸⁸ 'to the right of a pilaster which marks the Sigean promontory (. . . ΕΙΓΑΙΟΝ) Aeneas, holding Ascanius by the hand, is seen embarking (ΑΠΟΠΛΟΥΣ ΑΙΝΕΙΟΥ); he partly supports Anchises, who steps on the ship and hands the sacred objects to a man (ΑΓΧΙΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ); to the left is seen the pilot Misenus (ΜΙΣΗΝΟΣ) with his trumpet and oar,⁸⁹ and over the whole scene is inscribed ΑΙΝΗΑΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΙΔΙΟΙΣ ΑΠΑΙΡΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑΝ' (Strong 169). This scene presents two chief problems.

First, the use of ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑΝ in the superscription. The word first appears as an adjective, 'western', at A.R. iii 311 *ἑσπερίας εἴσω χθονός*:⁹⁰ it is not clear that it is used as a proper name. It appears first as such in the Latin poets: Ennius⁹¹ and Virgil⁹² both use the word in a carefully mannered way, as though unveiling a piece of Alexandrian erudition.⁹³ It cannot be excluded that *ἑσπερία* was a word inherited by the Alexandrians from early elegy, but the word's attested history does nothing to encourage that view.⁹⁴ Any argument, moreover, that rests upon the authenticity of the wording *εἰς τὴν ἑσπερίαν*, whether it concerns the Aeneas-legend or the *Tabula*, must be acknowledged as containing an element, potentially at least, of fallacy, for the assumption that the inscriptions on the central panel of 1A follow the actual wording of its literary original is alarmingly unsupported. The independence of the Homeric scenes and inscriptions from the *Iliad*'s plot, let alone its exact wording (*cf.* pp. 34, 46) should indicate extreme caution before we claim *εἰς τὴν ἑσπερίαν* as reproducing authentically any literary source whatsoever. We cannot be certain either that Stesichorus narrated in the *Iliou Persis* a voyage of Aeneas towards the West, or what the destination of that voyage, supposing he did include it, was called.

Secondly, Misenus: on the *Tabula*, he is probably the trumpeter and certainly the companion of Aeneas, as indeed he is in Virgil (*Aen.* vi 164–5). In Timaeus, however,⁹⁵ he is a companion of Odysseus and is not described as a trumpeter. He first appears as he is presented by Virgil and on

⁸⁵ By Mancuso 714; Sadurska 29. *Cf.* Paulcke 70; 'a kneeling Trojan', Strong 169.

⁸⁶ Schmidt 84 f.; Austin on *Aen.* ii 320; R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*³ 33–5.

⁸⁷ PLATE II; the drawings of details from the *Tabula* which go back to J.-M. pl. i and which have been reproduced widely, are not reliable.

⁸⁸ A case in point: the J.-M. drawing (=Galinsky, pl. 86b) so reproduces the *Tabula* as to lead us to suppose that Polyxena and Odysseus have some part in this scene!

⁸⁹ Misenus bears a single burden, not easily identified, but it is (*pace* Sadurska 29) in all probability a trumpet, since (*cf.* J. Hubaux, *Ant. Class.* ii [1933] 161, followed by Perret 111) Misenus will neither have required his oar in battle nor have had time to fetch it. Note above all that the ship's oars are already in place.

⁹⁰ *Cf.* Agathyllus Arcas, *incertae aetatis elegiacus* (*ap.* D.H. i 49.2): *αὐτὸς* (*sc.* Aeneas) *δ' ἑσπερίην εἴσυτο χθονά.*

⁹¹ *Ann.* 23 'est locus, Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant'.

⁹² *Aen.* i 530 (=iii 163) 'est locus Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt'.

⁹³ See P. Wülfing-von Martitz in *Ennius, Entr. Hardt* xvii (1971) 271 f. *Cf.* further Galinsky 108; Seeliger 32–3; Schmidt 73. D.H.'s statement (i 35.3) that the Greeks called Italy Hesperia/Ausonia before the time of Heracles is a corollary of his *Italia/vitulus* etymology and should not be taken as testimony of the word's antiquity.

⁹⁴ Contrast *Ἰταλία*: a name of great antiquity; see Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 111; Antiochus, *FGrH* 555 F 5. The initial letter could easily have been lengthened for convenience in dactylic verse earlier than Callimachus; see Norden on Virg. *Aen.* vi 61.

⁹⁵ Geffcken p. 145.19; Strabo i p. 26. *Cf.* Plb. xxxiv 11.5 = Strabo v p. 242. See too Perret 109; C. Robert, *Gr. Heldensage* ii⁴ (1894–1921) 152 (hereafter Robert).

the *Tabula* in the *Pontificalia* of L. Julius Caesar.⁹⁶ The only economical explanation of these attestations⁹⁷ is that Misenus was not named in Stesichorus and that he was first described as a trumpeter and a companion of Aeneas in the Roman antiquarians. If, moreover, Theodorus has indeed represented Misenus as a trumpeter, then another formal difficulty may be raised: as a *μμητήρ* 'Ομήρου⁹⁸ Stesichorus would have been unlikely, so it has been argued (Perret 111), to endow a figure in a Trojan scene with a burden so notoriously not borne by Homer's heroes.⁹⁹

(iii) *The scene in the gateway*: 'The central episode takes place outside the gate: here we see Aeneas (*ΑΙΝΗΑΣ*) as he sallies forth from the Scaean gate [it is not so labelled] bearing on his left shoulder his father Anchises (*ΑΓΧΕΙΣΗΣ*) [who is holding a casket in his hands] and leading his boy Ascanius (*ΑΣΚΑΝΙΟΣ*) by the hand; Hermes (*ΕΡΜΗΣ*) shows the way. Behind Ascanius is an indistinct form who has been interpreted as Creusa' (Strong *ibid.*). Regarding the female figure (*cf.* p. 41) I would add that Mrs Strong's caution (contrast Sadurska 29) is altogether appropriate.¹⁰⁰

In two major details Theodorus departs from the Greek iconographic tradition to follow Roman artistic models.

First, the casket which Aeneas receives from Panthus (*vide supra*) and which Anchises is carrying both here in the departure scene (*cf.* *Aen.* ii 717–20) and in the embarkation. In terms of the literary tradition, it is no more than possible that Stesichorus might have represented Aeneas and Anchises as rescuing the Trojan *sacra*. I share the widely held belief that D.H. i 69.3 does not faithfully represent Arctinus' *Iliou Persis*¹⁰¹ and that no legitimate inferences are possible regarding Aeneas and the Trojan *sacra* in the epic cycle. The earliest certain reference to Aeneas' rescue of those *sacra* does not occur till Hellenicus' *Troica* (*FGrH* 4 F 31=D.H. i 45.4 ff.) and the first unambiguous statement that he carried them to Italy not indeed until Varro.¹⁰² The depictions of the casket on the *Tabula* permit of far more decisive inferences.

On an Etruscan RF amphora (*c.* 470) in Munich,¹⁰³ Creusa (?) carries a large object on her head (PLATE IIIa). It has been hailed as a *doliolum*, such as that in which the penates were stored during the Gallic sack of Rome.¹⁰⁴ But it is clear from W. Hilgers' *Lat. Gefässnamen* (Düsseldorf 1969) 58, 171 that *dolia* or *doliola* do not in the least resemble Creusa's burden, which is shaped rather like a fine large ham, whereas they are round, fat and squat. What Creusa (?) carries is in fact a piece of soft luggage and the straps are indeed visible in Galinsky's fine pl. 45b.

Quite another matter is an Etruscan scarab of *c.* 490 in the de Luynes collection (PLATE IIIb).¹⁰⁵ There Anchises bears delicately on his upturned right palm an unmistakable *cista* or *pyxis*.¹⁰⁶ Aeneas' rescue of the sacred objects of Troy is probably next portrayed in art on the denarii of Julius Caesar in 47/6,¹⁰⁷ where Anchises' hands are brought together in front as though steadying a small object on his knees (PLATE IIIc). So too here. For this detail, therefore, and above all for the thrice-repeated emphasis upon it, a Greek source, whether literary (Stesichorean lyric!) or artistic (presumably Hellenistic) seems in the highest degree unlikely.

⁹⁶ *Origo Gentis Romanae* 9.6; see Schanz-Hosius i⁴ 600. *Cf.* D.H. i 53.3: Misenus as a distinguished follower of Aeneas.

⁹⁷ Schmidt 73–4; Perret 109; Galinsky 108.

⁹⁸ Dio Chrys. *Or.* ii 33=PMG fr. 203.

⁹⁹ See (e.g.) scholia to *Il.* xviii 219.

¹⁰⁰ Contrast J.-M. fig. 1 (=Galinsky fig. 29, enlarged) with the excellent photograph, Guarducci 427, fig. 161a and with PLATE II.

¹⁰¹ Austin on *Aen.* ii 163; Bethe, *Homer* ii² 2, 254 f.; E. Wörner in Roscher, iii 1302, etc. Discussed fully by Horsfall, *CQ* xxix (1979).

¹⁰² K. Gross, *Die Unterpfeiler der röm. Herrschaft* (Berlin 1935) 69–70.

¹⁰³ Galinsky 156; see W. Fuchs, *Aufstieg u. Nied. d.r. Welt* i 4.617 n. 10 (hereafter Fuchs).

¹⁰⁴ Livy v 40.7–8. See P. Riis, *Entr. Hardt* xiii (1966) 70–2; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965) 284–7; K. Schauenburg, *Gymn.* lxxvii (1960) 191; etc. On luggage, *cf.* Fuchs, *loc. cit.*; B. B. Shefton, *Wiss. Ztschr. Rostock* xvi (1967) 534 n. 25. I am grateful to Miss

M. Loudon for much helpful discussion of this problem; she informs me that the rectangular case carried by a woman in the Departure of Aeneas scene on a BF hydria, Orvieto (Faina) 2198 (=Schauenburg [n. 104] no. 42; Brommer³ 388 no. 44) is overpainted. A nearly identical case on a BF kalpis, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts 33Cb1 (=Schauenburg no. 39 with pl. xiv 2, Brommer no. 46), is securely to be identified as a piece of hard luggage; see further, Horsfall, *Ant. Kunst* xxii 2 (1979).

¹⁰⁵ Fuchs 617 n. 9; Alföldi (n. 104) 286; P. Zazoff, *Etr. Skarabäen* (Mainz 1968) 42 (hereafter Zazoff).

¹⁰⁶ Zazoff 44; A. Alföldi, *Die Trojanische Urnen der Römer* (Basel 1957) 16.

¹⁰⁷ Crawford, *RRC* no. 458; *cf.* Fuchs, 425. Perhaps earlier: Crawford no. 307=*id.*, *JRS* lxi (1971) 153. C. seeks to identify a *doliolum* on a denarius of *c.* 107 B.C.; the correlation of (obverse) *P(enates)P(ublici)* and heads of Dioscuri with (reverse) a (slightly) jar-shaped object is striking. But the object should not be identified as a *doliolum*, whose shape is known and distinct (*cf.* above) and a comparison of the Munich holdall is misleading.

The same conclusions will be found to follow from the *Tabula's* representation of Aeneas carrying Anchises on his left shoulder.¹⁰⁸ In vase-paintings, Anchises clings improbably and uncomfortably¹⁰⁹ to his son's back, in various postures.¹¹⁰ There is a single exception, a bizarre experiment on a hydria by the Priam painter,¹¹¹ where Anchises sits on Aeneas' right shoulder, obscuring his face and blocking his weapon-arm.

But Greek art had once known an alternative: Anchises is found sitting upon Aeneas' left shoulder on a coin of Ainea c. 490–80¹¹² and this same representation is also found on the de Luynes scarab (PLATE IIIb), on the Etruscan RF amphora at Munich (PLATE IIIa), on the substantially later terracotta statuettes from Veii,¹¹³ and thereafter on the Caesarian denarii (PLATE IIIc) and in Roman monumental art (Fuchs 624). It emerges that the Ainea coin and the early fifth-century Etruscan representations are likely to have had a common sixth-century Greek artistic source, which proved unattractive or inconvenient to the vase-painters and fell out of fashion in classical and Hellenistic Greek art. It is conceivable, therefore, that Stesichorus himself—in keeping with the schema in archaic art—might have specified that Anchises sat on Aeneas' left shoulder, but it will by now be clear that Theodorus must have derived the figures of Anchises and Aeneas in the gate from contemporary Roman art, whether from a monumental original of the Caesarian denarii¹¹⁴ or from the famous group of the Forum Augustum, displayed perhaps well before the dedication in 2 B.C. (Fuchs 628), possibly with a little help from Virgil himself.¹¹⁵

I add hesitantly a few words on the 'indistinct form', supposedly Creusa. That there was once a further figure in the gate scene is not in question, for traces of a head are visible directly above Ascanius' and it is equally not in question that this figure is not present in the embarkation scene. Does Theodorus have in mind, therefore, the Virgilian narrative (ii 735–95), in which, of course, Aeneas' wife gets lost in between?¹¹⁶ The suggestion is highly ingenious and attractive, but is far from proved;¹¹⁷ possibly, however, Virgil and the *Tabula* do stand together in conflict with a widely attested but untidy tradition, both literary and artistic, which represents Aeneas' wife, whatever her name, following him into exile.¹¹⁸

There is, indeed, but a single detail in all three Aeneas-scenes which prevents us from regarding them simply as illustrations of the newly famous *Aeneid* ii. That is, the figure of Hermes. Only in two places is he connected with the flight of the Aeneadae:¹¹⁹

(1) In Marcellus of Side's poem on the death (probably in A.D. 161) of Herodes Atticus' wife Regilla (24–6):

(sandals) τὰ λέγουσι καὶ Ἐρμάωνα φορῆναι
ἦμος ὄτ' Αἰνείαν πολέμου ἐξῆγεν Ἀχαιῶν
νύκτα διὰ δνοφερῆν . . .

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Aen.* ii 721; Virgil does not specify a shoulder, but Aeneas would not have had to cover his *latos umeros subiactaque colla* with a lionskin, had Virgil envisaged him as carrying his father in the posture familiar from classical Greek art.

¹⁰⁹ I refer particularly to Anchises' extraordinary posture on a Nikosthenes cup, Louvre F. 122 (= Schauenburg [n. 104] no. 52), Beazley, *ABV* 231.6, *CVA* Louvre 10.III.He, pl. 99.1. There Anchises sits with his back to Aeneas' back and with no visible means of support.

¹¹⁰ Fuchs 616–18; Zazoff 41–3; K. Schauenburg, *Röm. Mitt.* lxxi (1964) 62–3.

¹¹¹ *Röm. Mitt.* lxxi, pl. 4; Beazley *Paralipomena* 147.

¹¹² M. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage, The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975) 43 f., Pl. B no. 194: this is the best-preserved specimen of the coin and no earlier photographs are to be trusted.

¹¹³ On which, see now T. J. Cornell, *Liverpool Class. Month.* ii (1977) 78, with further bibliography. On the (irrelevant) acroteria of the Portonaccio temple at Veii, cf. *id.*, *PCPS* n.s. xxi (1975) 11 n. 5.

¹¹⁴ Fuchs 625; cf. Schmidt 84.

¹¹⁵ Note *Aen.* ii 723–4 'dextrae se parvus Iulus impli-

cuit'; so too on the *Tabula*.

¹¹⁶ Heinze (n. 86) 58 n. 2; Robert 1518.

¹¹⁷ The parallel manner in which the death of Astyanax is implied (*supra* p. 38) may be compared. With Virgil's account of Cybele's role in the rescue of Creusa from slavery (ii 788) cf. Paus. x 26.1; this version is later than the Epic Cycle (Austin on *Aen.* ii 788) but clearly need not (*pace* Austin on ii 795) be Stesichorean.

¹¹⁸ Austin on *Aen.* ii 795; Schauenburg (n. 104) 183; Robert 1516–17.

¹¹⁹ It is curious that all three instances do not seem to have been discussed together. The lines of Marcellus have been compared with the *Tabula* at least since J.–M. 36: cf. (e.g.) Schmidt 90; Paulcke 76. The painting was published in 1953 (S.–A. ii 955) and its connexions with the *Tabula* have been noticed by (e.g.) S.–A. i 577, ii 955–6; Galinsky 31; Scheffold *W.u.B.* 129; Sadurska, *Eos* liii (1963) 35–6. I am not sure that the reference to Hermes building a ship for Aeneas in Naevius (*Bell. Pun.* fr. 7 Strz. = Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* i 170) is—*pace* Galinsky 106—of any relevance for this discussion. Texts of Marcellus' poem are to be found at (e.g.) *IG* xiv 1389, *Epigr. Gr.* 1026.

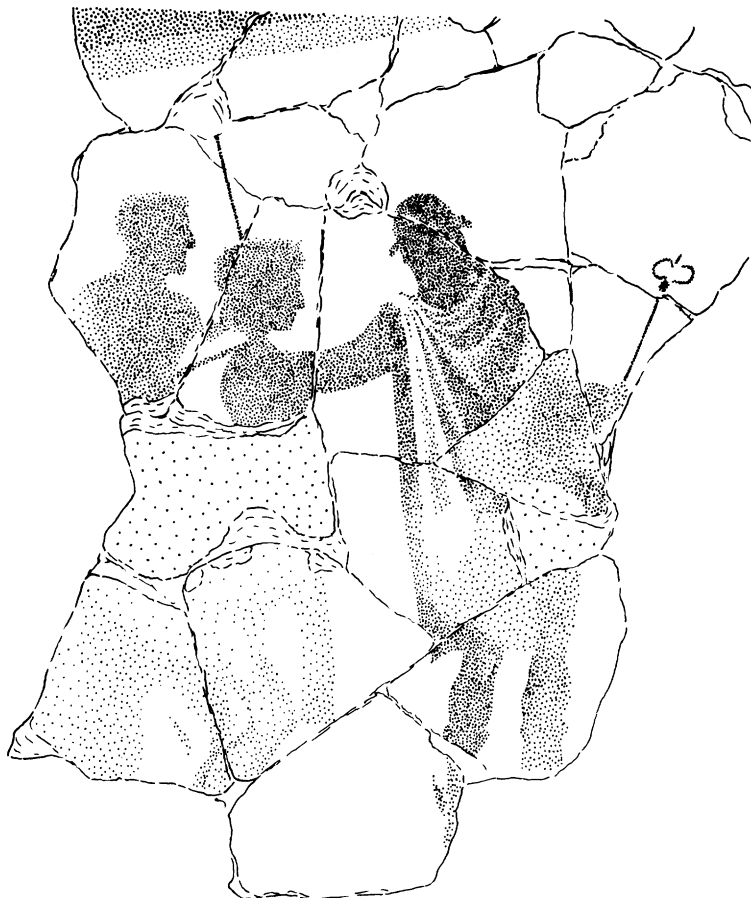


FIG. 4. (After S.-A. i 593 fig. 644.)

(2) On a painting (fragmentary; FIG. 4) from the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii.¹²⁰ Galinsky's suggestion¹²¹ that 'it is located on the South wall [*sc.* of the West wing of the Cryptoporticus] right next to the exit to the street and thus provides an ennobling mythological parallel to the ordinary, everyday act of leaving the house' has considerable appeal. The painting's date is not in serious doubt,¹²² but its iconography is—as has apparently not been observed—very remarkable, for, unlike the workshop of Theodorus, its painter ignored contemporary models for the Aeneas–Anchises group and reverted to the classical Greek schema of Anchises clinging piggy-back to Aeneas. That is to say that the Cryptoporticus painter and the *Tabula* are most unlikely at this point to have had a common artistic source,¹²³ though it is of course highly likely that the *Tabula* did have a painted (or indeed sculpted or mosaic) antecedent which depicted Hermes helping the Aeneadae escape and which may have been inspired by Marcellus of Side's literary source (*cf.* λέγουσι, 24); that source was of course not necessarily Stesichorus, though it has been suggested, indeed by the ultra-sceptical Max Schmidt,¹²⁴ that Theodorus might at least have derived Hermes from an actual poem by Stesichorus.

But detailed study of a mere three scenes has encouraged neither credulity nor optimism: we have learned that Theodorus is likely on occasion to have used unabbreviated literary sources, in Latin if not in Greek (for if 'Creusa' does not prove the point, then 'Panthus' and perhaps even ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑΝ surely do), and that his artistic models could at times be authentically and unambiguously Roman, unindebted to any Greek works of art which might have purported to

¹²⁰ S.-A. i 593 fig. 644=ii 955 fig. 971=Galinsky fig. 28.

¹²¹ 31 f.; *cf.* Schefold *W.u.B* 129.

¹²² K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 18, followed by Sadurska 19 n. 24: c. 30 B.C. Beyen, *EAA* vi

358: 40–25. Donald Strong, *Roman Art* (Harmondsworth 1976) 34: a little after 40.

¹²³ For the relationship of the two works *cf.* further p. 48.

¹²⁴ 90, *cf.* R. Texier, *Rev. Arch.* cxv (1939) 19–20.

illustrate a literary *Iliou Persis*, whether cyclic or Stesichorean. If these are Theodorus' habits, then we cannot hope to isolate with certainty any genuine relic of Stesichorus' narrative of Aeneas' flight, for there is simply too much that cannot be genuinely Stesichorean on the *Tabula*. Details on the *Tabula* which can (Bowra 106) be paralleled in Stesichorus' poem (Andromache losing Astyanax, the wooden horse within the walls) are details which will have been common to any two accounts of the fall of Troy; they have no significance for this argument.

What we have gained from the preceding analysis is good reason to view the words *KATA ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ* with deepest scepticism. An ostentatious but confused display of *Gelehrsamkeit* is precisely what Wilamowitz¹²⁵ showed to be so characteristic of the authors of mythological epitomes, such as Theodorus must have studied and indeed himself provides. Between inability to determine truth and intent to purvey falsehood we do not have to determine.¹²⁶ According to the 'rules' which obtained in this underworld of scholarship, to cite the more obscure Stesichorus in place of the conventional Arctinus as the author of an *Iliou Persis* was but to score a good point, though (H)agias of Troezen might have scored yet higher!¹²⁷ What was actually portrayed did not, of course, have to be either cyclic or Himeran in origin. There is really nothing to prove what the source of the several *Iliou Persis* panels to derive from Theodorus' workshop actually was: a farrago of names and sources in a mythological handbook—including the unexpected and impressive Stesichorus—is, I suspect, the likeliest hypothesis.

There is, moreover, an *argumentum ex silentio*, well-worn but still powerful, to reinforce scepticism. Dionysius of Halicarnassus knew his Stesichorus (p. 37), scoured the sources for references, however obscure, to the legend of Aeneas in the West¹²⁸ and did not come up with Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*. Had he not known the poet and had he not read so widely in both prose and poetry¹²⁹ for the material in *Antiquitates Romanae* i, then the argument might seem feeble; as it is, his silence commands our respect and attention.

What we have now lost is one of the pillars which supported the traditional reconstruction of how the Aeneas-legend developed. I have discussed elsewhere the consequences of our loss of this and certain other pillars of comparable durability.¹³⁰

III. SOURCES

Recent discussion of the *Tabulae Iliacae* has been concerned chiefly with two related questions: their sources, and their place, if any, in the pre-history of illustrated literary texts.¹³¹ The quest for simple and all-embracing answers has gone on too long and close analysis of the *Tabulae* should lead us to the conclusion that Theodorus' *modus operandi* was complex and unsystematic.

It is in itself highly likely, as Schefold has maintained¹³² that there existed in the Hellenistic period (and indeed earlier) books of pictures with labelled figures¹³³ but probably lacking any continuous text, which served as models for artists. If, for example, the main source of the Homeric scenes of the Casa del Criptoportico (*supra* p. 42) was, as has plausibly been suggested, a cycle of c. 320 B.C.,¹³⁴ the Pompeian artists will have required some form of working copy of manageable size as their direct original, and particularly when, as in this case, there were

¹²⁵ W.-M. 498. Cf. E. Schwartz, *De Dionysio Scytobrachione* (diss. Bonn 1880) 5–10 for some similar bad habits.

¹²⁶ For an introduction to the world of bogus sources, cf. R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) 118–25, A. Momigliano, *JRS* xlvi (1958) 67 n. 42 and particularly W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im Altertum* (München 1971) 75–8.

¹²⁷ (H)agias as the possible author of an *Iliou Persis*: cf. E. Bethe, *Homer* ii².2 225–6, highly sceptical, but providing the main references. Add C. Robert, *JdI* xxxiv (1919) 72 and A. Severyns, *Le Cycle Épique* (Liège 1928) 403.

¹²⁸ Konstas 66; Seeliger 33; A. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* i (Tübingen 1853) 299–300; W. Hoffmann, *Rom u. die gr. Welt*, *Philol. Supplbd.* xxvii.1 (1934) 109 n. 245.

¹²⁹ Homer: i 46.1, *et passim*. Soph. *Laoc.*: i 48.2; cf. i 12.2, i 25.4. Aesch. *P.V.*: i 41.3 Agathyllus: i 49.2. Alcaeus:

v 73.3. Arctinus (*sic*): i 68.2. (Cf. further p. 37.)

¹³⁰ C.Q. xxix (1979). Cf. Galinsky 108–13, who examines the inferences to be drawn from the 'facts' of a sixth-century Himeran poet who refers to a trumpeter whose *patria* was the Bay of Naples (Misenus) and to Trojans in Hesperia (wherever that was; Campania and Sicily are the two most popular identifications).

¹³¹ Bibliography, Schefold *W.u.B.* 197 n. 209.

¹³² From *Orient, Hellas und Rom* (Bern 1949) 212–16 ff. (after Bethe 75–83). Cf. Hausmann 43.

¹³³ Polygnotus generally labelled his figures in the Lesche (Paus. x 25.3, Guarducci 433); given the cramped scale on which Theodorus was working, the extra explanation provided by the *ὑπόθεσις* was clearly desirable.

¹³⁴ Schefold *W.u.B.* 40, 129; Hausmann 43.

numerous scenes to be executed, this copy will most conveniently have been in roll form.¹³⁵ If Theodorus used such books too, then we would have a neat explanation of the more obvious parallels between the Casa del Criptoportico scenes and the *Tabulae*,¹³⁶ and it will emerge that such a picture-book (or books) is likely to have served as the chief visual source of the non-Homeric scenes on the *Tabulae* (*infra* p. 46). It has indeed been suggested¹³⁷ that such books constituted Theodorus' sole artistic source, but the multiplicity and variety of his iconographic models, already noted in passing (p. 40), will emerge sharply from the following discussion.

Between different *Tabulae*, even when both are signed products of Theodorus' workshop, there are both similarities and divergences in the treatment of identical scenes.¹³⁸ Equally suggestive of a plurality of artistic sources is an analogous fluctuation in the relationship between the Casa del Criptoportico paintings and the *Tabulae*: there are striking parallels in the choice of scenes¹³⁹ and even¹⁴⁰ striking iconographic parallels, and yet it is as easy to record the divergences.¹⁴¹ The same plurality of sources is suggested by the striking independence of the second century B.C. Megarian bowls with Homeric and cyclic scenes in relief and copious inscriptions (*cf.* further p. 47). This is of course precisely what you would expect from the universal and old-established popularity of Trojan (and particularly Iliadic) scenes.¹⁴²

Clearly we cannot be certain that the numerous artistic sources which the plurality of relationships just outlined presupposes were all artists' pattern-books. That Theodorus may also have used one or more literary papyri is a suggestion¹⁴³ which deserves serious consideration. No such text of the pre-Christian era actually survives. That is no surprise. Overall, there are few enough Hellenistic literary papyri,¹⁴⁴ and elaborate and expensive illustrated literary texts are not what we might reasonably expect to find in a provincial centre such as Oxyrhynchus. Our earliest papyrus illustrations to a Greek text are scientific in character¹⁴⁵ and literary *testimonia*¹⁴⁶ only demonstrate the existence of illustrated texts in certain specific contexts.¹⁴⁷ However, the papyrological evidence does suggest that not long after Theodorus' time some literary texts might be illustrated even in little Egyptian townships.

(i) Papyri of Menander were certainly illustrated by the second/third century A.D.¹⁴⁸ Professor Kahil argues cogently that the third-century A.D. Mitylene mosaics of Menandrian scenes reflect not merely contemporary productions (as the dress suggests) but also a well-established tradition of papyrus illustration, of which pictures in the texts themselves formed a part if not the whole.¹⁴⁹

(ii) Crude verses on the deeds of Heracles (third century A.D.) with up to two illustrations per column (P. Oxy. xxii 2331).¹⁵⁰

¹³⁵ *Cf.* Martin Robertson, *History of Greek Art* i 574–5.

¹³⁶ S.-A. 577; Weitzmann *ABI* 37–8; Sadurska 17, 34 and 96–9.

¹³⁷ Sadurska 17, citing Schefold *W.u.B.* 125–6 and Will (n. 66) 418.

¹³⁸ On 1A and 2NY, *cf.* K. Bulas, *AJA* liv (1950) 112–13 and Sadurska 40; on 6B, *cf.* Sadurska 50, J.-M. 26, etc.

¹³⁹ Bua 23; Sadurska, *Eos* liii (1963) 35–6.

¹⁴⁰ Particularly in the case of *Il.* xxi, Weitzmann *ABI* 37–8.

¹⁴¹ *Cf. supra* p. 42 for Aeneas himself, and see further Schefold *W.u.B.* 129 with n. 636.

¹⁴² For Rome, *cf.* Sadurska 19 n. 24, *Vitr.* vii 5 and *Petr.* 29. At *Aen.* i 454 Virgil begins to describe if not actual paintings, then paintings of a very familiar type. For the Portico of Philippus, see n. 3.

¹⁴³ Sadurska 17. The indebtedness of the *Tabulae* to such papyri has been championed most eloquently by Kurt Weitzmann: *AJA* xlv (1941) 180–1; *ABI* 31–51, *IRC* 40–4.

¹⁴⁴ O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (Torino 1973) 359–94.

¹⁴⁵ Montevecchi 61; V. Bartoletti, *EAA* s.v. 'Papiro' 945–6; Weitzmann *ABI* 5–30; those of Pap. Louvre I (p.

29) are probably the very earliest.

¹⁴⁶ H. Gerstinger, *Die gr. Buchmalerei* (Wien 1926) 10–11; G. Thiele, *De antiquorum libris pictis* (diss. Marburg 1897); Th. Birt, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des ant. Buchwesens* (München 1913) 305–7; Bethe 75–83; C. Wendel, *Die gr.-röm. Buchbeschreibung* (Halle 1949) 96–7; S. J. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie* (Krakow 1928) 12–15; BB 31–2; K. Dziatzko *PW* s.v. 'Buch' 963.60–965.43 and notably Th. Birt (n. 37) 309.

¹⁴⁷ Notably collections of Roman *imagines*, *Plin.* xxxv 8, 11; also works of geography and botany, *id.* xxv 4; authors' portraits at the beginning of rolls, *Mart.* xiv 186; possibly fable: *CGI* iii 39.49–56 with Birt (n. 37) 304–5. It is hard to know quite what to make of Seneca's comment on illustrated books in the libraries of the rich (*Tranqu. An.* 9.7; see p. 35).

¹⁴⁸ P. Oxy. xxxii 2652, 2653; *cf.* PSI vii 847.

¹⁴⁹ L. Kahil, *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1969) 248–51 and (with S. Charitonidis and R. Ginouvès) *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mitylène, Antike Kunst, Beiheft* vi (1970) 102–5. See too A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1971) 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Cf.* further W. Binsfeld, *Grylloi* (diss. Köln 1956) 29; here we are at the level of poor childrens' comics.

(iii) Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Gr. 1294: fragment of a novel of the first/second century A.D., three columns, each with a picture. Compare PSI viii 919 (second century A.D.), Cupid and Psyche.

(iv) PSI xiii 1368 (? second century A.D.): illustration of Hermes Psychopompos without a secure literary context.

(v) P. Oxy. xlii 3001. Homeric verses: 'the composer shows no obvious parodic intention; his work is apparently a straight-faced half-cento'. Professor M. L. West (*ad loc.*) suggested a possible connexion with the Homeristae: 'these groups wore armour, and recited and enacted Homeric scenes' (*cf.* p. 35).

These examples belong to a restricted range of genres, excluding epic. In terms of hand and format, they are in no sense luxury texts; their illustrations are crude and simple, containing no more than three figures (*cf.* Weitzmann *IRC* 47–57). That is appropriate to the rubbish tips of the *chora*.¹⁵¹ We may reasonably suppose that higher standards prevailed in the libraries of Alexandria and in Augustan Rome, with its wealthy patrons and booming book-trade, where the wide diffusion of massively illustrated texts lies firmly in the realm of fact.¹⁵²

The earliest extant papyrus of Homer belongs to the fourth century A.D. (Pap. München 428). A century later¹⁵³ occur the numerous illustrations of the fragmentary Ambrosian codex of Homer, whose choice of scene and iconographic detail¹⁵⁴ is often identical to that of Theodorus.¹⁵⁵ One only of the arguments¹⁵⁶ which led Weitzmann to postulate the existence of illustrated *Iliads* in classical antiquity requires repetition here and that is his inference from the principles of selection to be discerned in the *Tabulae*. Thus (*IRC* 41), of the seven scenes across the top of 1A which illustrate *Il.* i (FIG. 3), the first four cover only lines 22–84, in roughly the ratio to be expected with one or two illustrations per column, and parallel closely (*vide supra*) the illustrations of the Milan codex, whereas the remaining three are widely dispersed; 'in other words, while the first half of the frieze is a *section of a cycle*, the other half is an epitome of it'. Similarly, on 11H, three scenes cover a mere hundred lines of *Od.* x;¹⁵⁷ on the other hand, 16Sa merely picks one or two scenes from the beginning of each book of the *Odyssey*.¹⁵⁸

Whatever Theodorus'—or his workshop's—actual source for these illustrations, the point at which they were transferred from that source to accompany an *ὑπόθεσις* can be established with confidence. Because the seven scenes which illustrate *Iliad* i¹⁵⁹ occupy the whole of the upper band of the Capitoline *Tabula* and are therefore integral to its structure as a whole, and since it is inconceivable that that whole bizarre structure, made up as it is of *ὑποθέσεις*, starkly abridged in proportion to the texts illustrated, and of illustrations which are sometimes scanty and sometimes copious in proportion to those same texts, was the product of any mind other than Theodorus' own, we must conclude that Theodorus himself excerpted the pictures from a complete sequence and linked them with the *ὑποθέσεις*.¹⁶⁰ It is his combinations, his juxtapositions and his craftsmanship that make his products so unique.

The relationship between illustrations and *ὑποθέσεις* that I have just proposed is confirmed by a brief survey of the relationships between Homer himself and the *Tabulae*. There are both close

¹⁵¹ *Cf.* E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1968) 50.

¹⁵² So Plin. xxxv 11: 'M. Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fecunditati etiam septingentorum illustrium aliquammodo imaginibus, non passus interciderere figuras... quando immortalitatem non solum dedit verum etiam in omnes terras misit.' On the survival of these *Imagines*, see H. Gerstinger, *Jhb. öst. byz. Gesell.* xvii (1968) 269–77, Weitzmann *ABI* 122.

¹⁵³ Or perhaps slightly later: for the dating of *Cod. Ambros. F.205 P. Inf.* to c. A.D. 500, see BB 156, 163–5.

¹⁵⁴ Weitzmann *ABI* 34–5, *IRC* 43–4; BB 114–5.

¹⁵⁵ Note also a striking parallel with the Munich papyrus: BB 118; Weitzmann *ABI* 32, *IRC* 54–5.

¹⁵⁶ *ABI* 31–9, *IRC* 37–44. *Cf.* BB 26–7; Robertson (n. 135) 575.

¹⁵⁷ The same principle of concentration is to be observed in Megarian bowls illustrating *Od.* xxii: Weitz-

mann *IRC* 37–8, *ABI* 40; C. Robert, *Homerische Becher*, 50 *Winckelmannsprogramm* (1890) 8–20 (hereafter Robert *Becher*).

¹⁵⁸ K. Weitzmann, *AJA* xlv (1941) 180.

¹⁵⁹ Five are extant on 1A; the left-hand edge is missing and it is completely legitimate to supplement our information from 6B.

¹⁶⁰ This argument disposes of Mme Sadurska's chief objection (17) to Weitzmann's conclusions: the problem of how illustrations deriving from a full text came to be linked with the briefest of summaries. Theodorus may not, of course, have had equally full sequences of illustrations, of whatever kind, for all parts of the Epic Cycle. Mme Sadurska's own explanation of Theodorus' primary artistic source as monumental (17) does not take sufficient account of the highly complex relationship of *ὑποθέσεις*, literary original and illustrations on the *Tabulae*.

parallels¹⁶¹ and striking divergences.¹⁶² The *ὑπόθεσις* are yet more wayward. We have seen¹⁶³ how independent those on 1A are of Homer himself; frequently they are just as independent of the reliefs.¹⁶⁴ For a striking example, we may cite the lying-in-state of Patroclus in xviii, which is depicted on 1A but omitted in the text.

These fluid relationships confirm that Theodorus is likely to have derived texts and reliefs from distinct and independent sources. The discrepancies between texts, reliefs and the text of Homer have long vexed scholars, but they are easily explained if we suppose that before Theodorus selected an *ὑπόθεσις* of suitable length—or perhaps mangled one to suit the area available—to accompany a series of reliefs, the reliefs and texts had no connexion with each other. Theodorus was concerned not with concinnity but with convenience.

It has long been suggested¹⁶⁵ that the key to solving the problem of Theodorus' sources was to postulate that he had access to an illustrated epitome of Homer and the epic cycle. In the context of the preceding discussion, it will appear that this solution is unacceptable. For one thing, it fails altogether to provide an account of why the relationships between the different elements in the *Tabulae* are so variable. Secondly, we have to bear in mind that Theodorus had access not to one but to numerous *ὑπόθεσις*, of varying length and character, some of which were so starkly abridged that it would be grotesque to suppose that they had been thought worthy of illustration.¹⁶⁶ In relation to the scale and quality of his texts, Theodorus' illustrations are positively lavish; it is not easy to visualise any *ὑπόθεσις*, however fine, with illustrations that dwarfed the text. After all, the *ὑπόθεσις* was by its very nature a *pis-aller* and as such is most unlikely to have received 'luxury-edition' treatment in the matter of pictures.

To suppose an integral link between the origins of Theodorus' text and reliefs has admittedly, as Jahn saw,¹⁶⁷ one advantage, in that it accounts for those few places where obscurities and indeed divergences from Homer on the *Tabulae* are neatly to be explained on the supposition that the sculptor was working from an *ὑπόθεσις* similar in character to one of those still extant. However, it is surprising neither that *ὑπόθεσις* author and sculptor should have chosen the same striking moments to commemorate, nor that in the case of *Il.* xiv, for example, the sculptor of 1A should have confused the two Ajaxes at just the point where the author of the *ὑπόθεσις* in *Parisinus* 2690¹⁶⁸ lapses into terse obscurity.¹⁶⁹ Natural interest, obvious areas of likely confusion and mere coincidence are explanations enough of these links between Theodorus' reliefs and non-Theodorean *ὑποθέσεις*. That Theodorus used an illustrated *ὑπόθεσις* as his primary source is an explanation that creates far more problems than it solves.

In previous discussions of Theodorus' sources, one crucial distinction has only been noticed in passing.¹⁷⁰ The discussion so far has been concerned with Iliadic scenes. The conclusions reached may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the much rarer scenes from the *Odyssey*, but those from the Epic Cycle and 'Stesichorus' are quite another matter.

Papyrus fragments of the Epic Cycle, at least as it was understood by Theodorus, are not with certainty attested,¹⁷¹ nor are papyri of *ὑπόθεσις* of all or part of it, though such *ὑποθέσεις* did exist perhaps as early as the fifth century.¹⁷² The point at which full texts of the Epic Cycle ceased to be generally available is still very much a matter for dispute.¹⁷³ It remains, for example, far

¹⁶¹ As in the depictions of *Il.* xxii 396 ff. and xxiv 509 ff. Cf. further Paulcke 13 *et passim*.

¹⁶² For example, the Cyclopes helping Hephaestus in *Il.* xviii on 1A; cf. Konstas 17 ff.; Schmidt 61 ff.; Bulas 131. Compare too Schefold *W.u.B.* 79 on the relationship of the Casa del Criptoportico to Homer.

¹⁶³ *Supra* p. 34; cf. Sadurska 32.

¹⁶⁴ Mancuso 694; Bulas 131; Lonstas 33 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Since J.-M. Cf. W.-M. 500-1; Bua 20; Sadurska 17 n. 6 for further bibliography.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. p. 33 and Pack² 1157 and following, *passim*.

¹⁶⁷ 26, *et passim*. It is no more than an interesting accident and one, perhaps, of importance in tracing the interrelationship of the ancient *ὑποθέσεις*, that the *ὑπόθεσις* of *Il.* i on 6B coincides quite closely with that

found in *Parisinus* 2690; cf. n. 168 and J.-M. 87, Michon 377-8.

¹⁶⁸ Printed as an appendix to Bekker's edn of the Homer-scholia (1825).

¹⁶⁹ J.-M. 26; Michon 378.

¹⁷⁰ W.-M. 499-500; Bethe 76.

¹⁷¹ P. Par. 2 = Pack² 246 = *SVF* ii (p. 57) 180.20 = Bethe, *Homer* ii.² 192, and P. Oxy. xiii 1611, 148-9 = Bethe 169 are utterly inconclusive. Stesichorus is of course another matter.

¹⁷² W.-M. 500; certainly by the beginning of the third century; Bethe 169.

¹⁷³ Bethe 204-11; F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomériques de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1959) 88.

from clear whether Virgil, surely the best-read Roman of Theodorus' day, read the poems.¹⁷⁴ That Theodorus, therefore, should have had access not merely to a text but to an illustrated text,¹⁷⁵ even if not illustrated quite so copiously as his *Iliad* may well, and his *Odyssey* might possibly, have been, is asking rather too much for us to believe. It is surely significant that only once does a *Tabula* present an *ὑπόθεσις* of a cyclic poem.¹⁷⁶ That may merely be the result of accident or of the exigencies of space. More probably it is the result of the rarity of such *ὑποθέσεις* and of a feeling that clients would not particularly want to have the plots of the cyclic poems set out in detail; that is to say, if my identification of the clientèle of the *Tabulae* is correct, that they were not expected to know the plot of the non-Homeric poems.¹⁷⁷ It is therefore perhaps significant that the 'Homeric bowls' which derive from the Epic Cycle never bear very full inscriptions; the six fragmentary lines of text on a *Cypria* bowl are not (*pace* Weitzmann *ABI* 43) hexameters.¹⁷⁸

The 'Homeric bowls'¹⁷⁹ which show the last scene of the *Iliad* (Priam–Hector–Achilles) and the first two of the *Aethiopsis* (arrival of Penthesilea; Penthesilea versus Achilles) give no support to Weitzmann's argument (*ABI* 41–51) that texts of the Epic Cycle might on occasion contain the regular illustrations he rather more credibly ascribed to luxury texts of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is difficult enough to suppose that Theodorus had access to any complete texts of the Cycle without the additional complication of regular illustration. The *Iliad*–*Aethiopsis* bowls may derive from a pattern-book, but in this particular case a more likely source may be an illustration in the last column of an *Iliad* text, not necessarily one with illustrations throughout, which ended thus:

ὦς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἔκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμάζων
Ἄρης θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.¹⁸⁰

Theodorus is equally unlikely to have had a continuous illustrated text of *Cypria* and *Iliad*. The first two scenes on 3C show respectively (i) Diomedes and Achilles dividing the spoils (*Cypria*) and (ii) Agamemnon and Chryses (*Iliad*.) As Sadurska observes (43), the *Tabulae* avoid mixing poems within a single line of panels and Theodorus is thus far likelier here to be following a picture-book than an illustrated edition of *Cypria* + *Iliad* which would have made it completely clear that he was changing poems.

We have also to consider the possibility, which was rejected in the case of the *Iliad* (*supra* p. 46), that behind Theodorus' illustrations of the Epic Cycle there lay one or more sequences of *ὑποθέσεις* with pictures.¹⁸¹ It has already been noted that there are grave difficulties in supposing that any *ὑπόθεσις* will have been illustrated (p. 46 and n. 166). If, moreover, we set side by side the scale of illustration of the Epic Cycle that we find on the *Tabulae* and the fullest *ὑπόθεσις* of the Cycle that we have (i.e. Proclus') we discover a grotesque surplus of pictures in proportion to text.¹⁸² This surplus is particularly hard to accept in view of the suggestion above (p. 46) that in Theodorus' world a cyclic *ὑπόθεσις* was something of a learned rarity. It is, I suppose, conceivable that the one cyclic *ὑπόθεσις* that Theodorus cites was abbreviated by him or by a source from one much grander and more worthy of illustration, but that supposition has nothing to reinforce it, and I prefer to suggest that both the artists of the originals of the Megarian bowls and Theodorus

¹⁷⁴ A. Rzach, *PW* s.v. 'Kyklos' 2349; Heinze (n. 86) 198; W.-M. 499; Teuffel–Schwabe–Kroll⁶ §228.6; E. Fraenkel, *Philol.* lxxxvii (1932) 247–8 = *Kl. Beitr.* ii 178; A. M. Assereto, *Mythos, Scripta in honorem M. Untersteiner* (Genova 1970) 51–8; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Vergil's Troy* (Oxford 1932) 77.

¹⁷⁵ As Weitzmann supposes, *ABI* 44 *et passim*.

¹⁷⁶ That of the *Aethiopsis* on 9D, whose analogies with Proclus' version have often been noted: J.-M. 83; Bethe, *Hom. ii*². 2 167, nos. 3, 9. But if both texts are concerned to reduce the same story to the very simplest language, then similarities are hardly to be wondered at and should not be viewed as particularly significant.

¹⁷⁷ Note that 10K is no basis, as Sadurska 59 and even Weitzmann *ABI* 42 with n. 28 acknowledge, for arguing that an illustrated *Thebaid* once existed. The Theban

myths on the verso of 9D have nothing to do with the texts or reliefs on the recto.

¹⁷⁸ Robert *Becher* 47; there is no trace of metrical structure in the lines.

¹⁷⁹ Hausmann 52 no. 5; Robert *Becher* 26–9; Weitzmann *ABI* 43–4.

¹⁸⁰ τινὲς γράφουσιν.

¹⁸¹ Hausmann 45; Bethe 76; Bua 20; W.-M. 497–501; Sadurska 17.

¹⁸² In a ratio of, roughly, one illustration to every three lines of text. Contrast Weitzmann *ABI* 35–7, who argues for an illustrated *Iliad* with a ratio of one picture to every 28–30 lines of text. The Ambrosian *Iliad* will originally have contained 240 pictures (so Weitzmann *ABI* 33, *IRC* 42), or perhaps 180–200 (BB 157) to some 15683 lines.

likewise were using picture-books of scenes from the Cycle and occasionally supplemented the information provided by labels and captions by reference to conventional, independently transmitted, unillustrated *ὑποθέσεις*.

All the above difficulties apply with redoubled force in the case of Stesichorus: no *ὑπόθεσις* of the longer narrative lyric poems appears to be attested.¹⁸³ It is the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* that is our one solitary piece of evidence that an illustrated edition of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* might possibly once have existed. Even Weitzmann (*ABI* 48–9) makes no attempt to argue that such an edition did exist, despite the *KATA ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ* label, and prefers to suppose that Theodorus was using an illustrated Arctinus. It is optimistic to discern on the central panel of the *Tabula* a coalescence of three distinct book illustrations from a text of Arctinus (Weitzmann *loc. cit.*); that panel has been revealed to be a disreputable iconographic *satyra*.

It was noted above (p. 43) that the Casa del Criptoportico paintings and the *Tabulae* exhibit at times a close parallelism, both in the selection of scenes and in iconographic detail. The inference may be drawn with some confidence that the artists of both used on occasion the same, or closely similar picture books. These books may have represented a visual tradition of some antiquity, if it was indeed through their intermediacy that the Pompeii paintings were linked to an artistic original (p. 43) of the late fourth century B.C. The picture-book that Theodorus is likely to have used for the Sack of Troy may therefore derive ultimately from an age and an artist to whom the Cycle was slightly less remote and inaccessible, but will surely, in view of the limitless possibilities of confusion between the fourth century and the age of Augustus, have acquired all manner of accretions in the course of transmission, even before Theodorus—and of this at least we may be certain—superimposed unmistakable contemporary Roman elements.

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APPENDIX

It would be cumbersome to refer to the *Tabulae* except by the system of abbreviated titles, numbers and letters which has grown up between J.-M. and Sadurska:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 1A | <i>Tabula Iliaca Capitolina</i> : Roma, Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe 83 |
| 2NY | <i>New York</i> : MMA 24.97.11 |
| 3C | <i>Veronensis I</i> : Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Méd. 3318 |
| 4N | <i>Shield of Achilles</i> : Roma, <i>ibid.</i> 83a |
| 5O | <i>Fragment of Shield of Achilles</i> : <i>ibid.</i> 83b |
| 6B | <i>Sarti</i> : <i>Ann. Inst.</i> xxxv (1863) pl. N |
| 7Ti. | <i>Thierry</i> : <i>Mém. Soc. Ant. France</i> xliii (1882) 17 f. |
| 8E | <i>Zenodotus</i> : Paris, <i>ibid.</i> 3321 |
| 9D | <i>Veronensis II</i> : Paris, <i>ibid.</i> 3319 |
| 10K | <i>Borgia</i> : Napoli, Mus. Naz. 2408 |
| 11H | <i>Rondanini</i> : Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, 147975 MN |
| 12F | <i>Tabula Iliaca</i> —ransom of Hector: Paris, <i>ibid.</i> 3320 |
| 13Ta. | <i>Tarentina</i> : London BM 2192 |
| 14G | <i>Tabula Iliaca</i> : Berlin, Staat. Mus., Ant. Samml., Sk. Inv. 1755 |
| 15Ber. | <i>Dressel</i> : <i>ibid.</i> , Inv. 1813 |
| 16Sa. | <i>Tomassetti</i> : Roma, Bibl. Vat., Museo Sacro, Inv. 0066 |
| 17M | <i>Chigi</i> : Roma, Pzo. Chigi |
| 18L | <i>Greek Chronicle</i> : Roma, Museo Capitolino, <i>ibid.</i> 82 |
| 19J | <i>Albani Heracles</i> : Roma, Villa Albani, Inv. 957 |
| 20Par. | Paris, <i>ibid.</i> Coll. Fröhner, unnumbered |

Texts of most of the inscriptions are also available in *IG* xiv 1284 ff.

¹⁸³ Used here only in the sense of 'summary of contents'; cf. Pfeiffer 193. The *ὑποθέσεις* preserved among the Pindar-scholia are of a fundamentally different character.

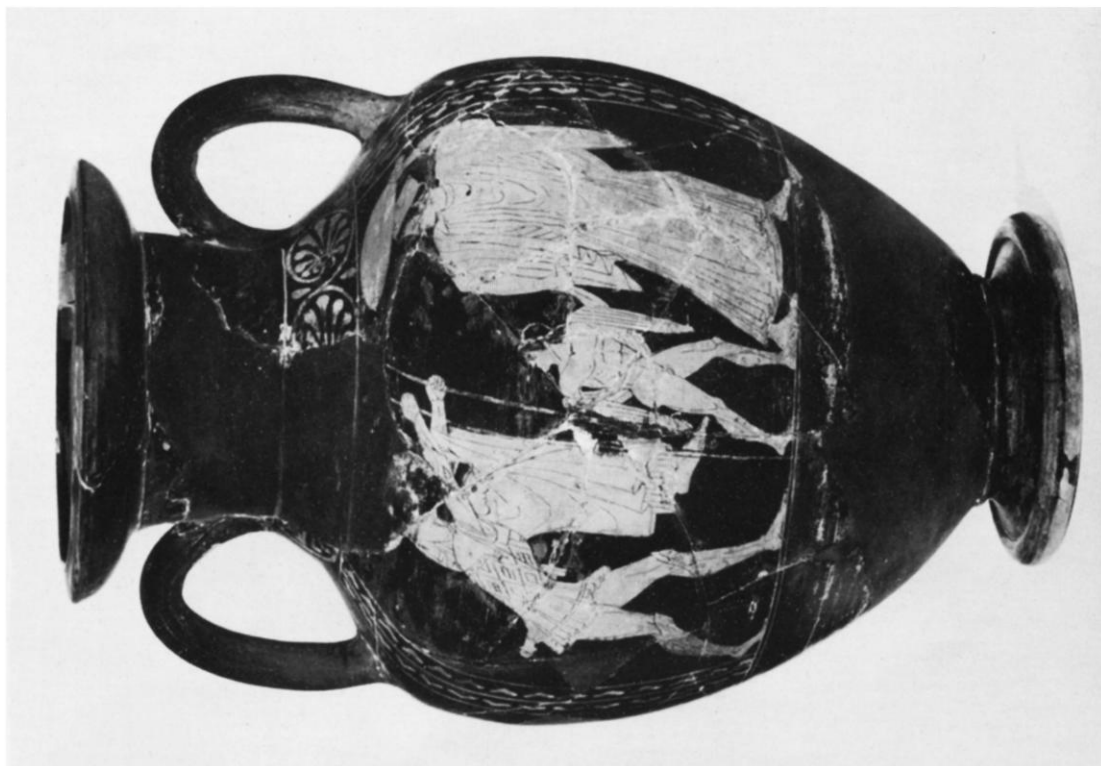


Detail of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*. (Courtesy, Musei Capitolini, Rome.)

STESICHORUS AT BOVILLAE:



(b) Etruscan scarab, de Luynes 276. (Courtesy, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



(a) Etruscan Red-figured amphora, München 3185. (Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, Munich.)



(c) BMCRR East 31 = Crawford RRC 458. (Courtesy, British Museum.)

STESICHORUS AT BOVILLAE?