us; we know only of donations towards a theatre, the portico of a bath, and the adornment of a sanctuary. But for Opramoas and the Anonymous Benefactor the evidence suggests differences in this as in other aspects of euergetism. Both of them made their largest donations to sanctuaries (at Myra and Xanthos respectively), and both also contributed to various stoas. Both also took considerable interest in baths (three each), which is not surprising given the popularity of such buildings in Lycia. But Opramoas was particularly fond of exedras (three), perhaps because they provided a good opportunity for display at a fairly limited cost, and he also contributed to four theatres but not to any agora; the Anonymous Benefactor, on the other hand, contributed to two agoras but to no exedra or theatre. Thus the record of the anonymous benefactions in Balland no. 67 serves not only to offset the distorting effect of Opramoas's self-advertisement, but also to bring out more clearly than usual how much variation there was, how much scope for personal choice, in the size, spread and destination of benefactions, even when the time, the place, and the amount of money spent were virtually the same.

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Messenger Scenes in *Iliad* xxiii and xxiv (xxiii 192–211, xxiv 77–188)[1]

At *Iliad* xxiii 192–211, Iris carries Achilles' prayer to the banqueting winds, in a passage whose humour offers relief after the funeral of Patroclus. At the same time, both in its immediate context and in its relation to Iris' two missions in Book xxiv, the scene contributes to Homer's presentation of the relation between gods and men.[2]

The passage describes divine aid testifying to that concern of the gods for men which is to be so important in Book xxiv; and it immediately follows the account of another manifestation of divine concern, one which looks forward more directly to the next book—the description, at 184–91, of the protection of Hector's body by Aphrodite and Apollo. The fact that Homer anticipated here the description at xxiv 18–21 of Apollo's protection of the body points to the importance of the concern thus emphasised. In its position preceding the episode of the winds—rather than, for instance, following Achilles' earlier threats of maltreatment at xxiii 21–5—the description seems designed also to underline the fact that the parallel between Hector and Patroclus, most obvious in their deaths, is maintained here: both are the objects of divine aid, which in both cases takes the same form, the warding off of a threat to the hero's corpse, whether it is that of maltreatment by Achilles or the lesser threat of the pyre's failure to burn. This parallel protection is a proper response to the combined equality in death and inequality of treatment conveyed as the two bodies lie side by side, but one face down in the dust (xxiii 24–6). Both the parallel and the sense of divine compassion are enhanced by the introduction of Iris as intermediary, since she, unlike the winds but like Aphrodite and Apollo, gives her aid unasked.

In the very giving of aid, however, the gods reveal their distance from men. This emerges very clearly from the passage following the messenger scene, 212–25, as Boreas and Zephyrus make the pyre burn in answer to Achilles' prayer; the winds are seen in all their superior strength and freedom from human grief. They maintain the pyre παννύχιοι, while πάννυχος, Achilles mourns—ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς able in his grief to move only ἑρπύζων. Similarly at 192–211, the tone in which Iris' help to Achilles is narrated underlines her distance, and that of the winds, from him. In the humour of the winds' invitations to Iris to sit beside them, and her neat evasion, the divine world is contrasted with human suffering even while the gods' actions show concern for that suffering.[3] Iris' excuse, that she must attend the sacrifices offered by the Ethiopians, may be intended by the poet to be seen as a tactful invention enhancing the scene's humour and so its contrast with the world of men. In any case, it contributes also, like Thetis' reference to such sacrifices at i 423–4 and the description at xiii 1–7 of the distant peoples to whom Zeus turned his attention, to the sense of divine detachment.[4] It is appropriate that Iris' speech should end with a reference to the human grief which she cannot share—Πάτροκλος, τὸν πάντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἀχαιοί.

The scene's significance extends beyond its contrast with its immediate context. Repeatedly in Book xxiii

[1] I should like to acknowledge the constant influence on what follows of C. W. Macleod, *Homer; Iliad xxiv* (Cambridge 1982). Specific references to this work are no measure of the extent of my debt to it.

[2] J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric researches* (Lund 1949) 75–83 argues that the scene could not have originated in its present context; no aspect of Patroclus' funeral makes intelligible the need to persuade the winds to give their help. Rather, he suggests, the scene is explicable only as being derived, with the account of the funeral as a whole, from the description in the *Aethiopis* of Achilles' burial; there, the need for Iris' visit to Boreas and Zephyrus would arise out of their reluctance to assist in the burning of the killer of their half-brother Memnon. (*Cf.* S. L. Schein *The mortal hero* [Berkeley 1984] 166 n. 44.)

The theory that the description of Patroclus' funeral is based on a pre-existing account—whether or not that in the *Aethiopis*—of that of Achilles (Kakridis 75–95) is attractive in suggesting a further element in Homer's presentation of the inevitable sequence in which Achilles' death follows Patroclus'. It is, then, possible that the episode of the winds did not originate in the context of Patroclus' funeral. However, this need not mean that the poet mechanically reproduced the scene, rather than choosing to retain it because he could so treat it as to give it significance in its new context—turning to advantage even the apparent lack of necessity, in this context, for the introduction of Iris (see below). The passage is intelligible in its own right, not simply as being inherited from an earlier narrative. (*Cf* W. Kullmann, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias* [Berlin 1956] 22 n. 2.)

[3] Compare, for example, xxiv 19–20, φῶτ' ἐλεαίρων καὶ τεθνηότα περ, combining with an account of divine pity a sense of the distance between gods and men created by human mortality.

I disagree with Kakridis' (n. 2) denial that the scene is humorous in intention; the detail of the invitations to Iris from all the winds—dismissed by Kakridis as 'general kindness to a woman who has come from a long distance and consequently must sit down'—seems to distinguish this scene from those which he cites in support of his belief that the winds are simply showing Iris the respect due to a goddess greater than themselves. (For a similar scene, this time with an explicit comment on its humorous aspect, compare Pl. *Charm.* 155b9–c4.)

[4] *Cf.* Σ bT on 206, where Iris is first said to be inventing the sacrifices, (πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ψεύδεται), but an alternative comment is offered—χάριεν ἐν παρέργῳ δεδήλωκεν ὅτι ἀπαλλάγησαν οἱ θεοὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς φροντίδος κατέστησαν; also Eustathius 1296.24–28. Contrast xi 645–654, Patroclus' reason for his refusal—expressed, like Iris', with the words οὐχ ἕδος—of Nestor's invitation to be seated.

Homer treats in a lighter tone themes which appear in all seriousness elsewhere in the *Iliad*.[5] Such appearance in a different tone can enhance a reader's awareness of a theme, just as recurrent short references give it added resonance. It may be the more clearly perceived for being recognised in differing treatments; while the contrast in tone deepens our sense of pity at its more sombre development. Homer has prepared for such an effect in Book xxiii with the comparisons at xxii 158–66. The contrast in seriousness between Achilles' pursuit of Hector and the contests to which it is compared is there underlined; and it is natural that when in the following book Homer comes to describe actual funeral games, the comparison should be recalled and the contrast keenly felt—all the more so given the similarity between the course of the foot race, with Athena's intervention, and the pursuit and duel of Book xxii. The quarrel over prizes after the chariot race is another obvious example of the recurrence of a theme in a lighter tone. Similar is the treatment of Nestor, whose expressions of regret for his lost youth reflect the idea of the pathos of age, while the more particular theme of an aged father's relationship with his son, his warnings to him and attempts to protect him, which reached a climax at xxii 25–77, appears in Nestor's advice to Antilochus at 304–48. (The reflection in lighter tone of a serious theme is here given an added poignancy by our knowledge that Nestor himself will later be a bereaved father, losing the very son to whom he is here seen giving advice.[6])

The same may be true of the description of Iris' mission. Twice in Book xxiv (77–96, 159–88), Iris is sent with messages, and on both occasions, as at xxiii 192–211, she finds the person to whom she is sent in the midst of others. The parallel seems designed to direct attention, through the recurrence in contrasting tone, to the significance of the scenes. Solemn in themselves, as Iris enters the scenes of mourning for Achilles and for Hector, the messages to Thetis and to Priam are also essential to the development of the book and its conclusion of the tragedy which began with Thetis' supplication of Zeus and the sending of the false dream to Agamemnon, which they echo and reverse.[7] It would therefore be natural that attention should be drawn to them. This end could be achieved through the creation of the parallel with the scene in Book xxiii—a parallel the more noticeable for there being no obvious necessity for Iris to intervene in the earlier passage rather than the winds hearing Achilles' prayer themselves, as prayers elsewhere are heard by the gods to whom they are addressed.[8]

A detail in the comparison of the two scenes in Book xxiv contributes to the same impression, of divine distance from men combined with compassion, as is given by the scene in Book xxiii. Thetis is unique among the gods in her close bond with her son and her grief for him, as is brought out in her response at 90–1 to Zeus' summons. When she reaches Olympus, Zeus can express awareness of her grief (104–5), but does not himself feel it; and the Olympians show their sympathy not by sharing her sorrow but by urging her for a while to share their happiness (note εὔφρην' ἐπέεσσι, 102).[9] Now when Iris takes Zeus' message to Priam, she finds him in the middle of a scene of general mourning (160–8); and at 36–7, Apollo's words underline the idea that the loss of Hector is a shared calamity. Priam's outbursts against the other Trojans and against his sons at 237–64 are an expression of the peculiar intensity of his grief, but do not alter the fact of this community in loss. Iris finds Thetis in a similar setting, surrounded by the Nereids; but there of Thetis alone is it said that she was weeping.[10] Pointing as it does to Thetis' uniqueness, this contrast suggests the distance from men of the gods, most of whom cannot experience human suffering, while none can experience the community in suffering from which men can draw some understanding and acceptance, if not comfort.

Between these two scenes stands another messenger scene, and one which appears to introduce an exception to this contrast, as Thetis carries Zeus' commands to Achilles, and finds him, as Iris found her, surrounded by his companions but isolated from them in his grief (122–5). His isolation has, moreover, been strongly emphasised in the opening lines of the book. (See the contrasts δόρποιο μέδοντο ὕπνου τε γλυκεροῦ . . . φίλου ἑτάρου μεμνημένος, 2–4; ταρπήμεναι . . . κλαῖε, 3–4; sleep does not subdue Achilles although it is πανδαμάτωρ, 4–5.) This isolation differs from that of Thetis, however. Thetis' reluctance to join the gods springs from recognition of an existing difference from them: she experiences grief, as they do not. Zeus, in welcoming her, states the fact of her sorrow and acknowledges it as a reason for her reluctance (104–5); in contrast, Thetis asks Achilles how long he will continue in his mourning to cut himself off from normal life (128–30). This contrast reflects the difference between them, the deliberate character of Achilles' isolation in mourning, which, unlike that of Thetis, does not correspond to a unique experience of grief. Achilles is not separated from others by the experience of sorrow, but rather shares it with them; he isolates himself deliberately through the extremity of his mourning. This deliberate character emerges through the contrast between Achilles' unchanging mourning—expressed through the use of frequentatives at xxiv 12–17, and through the similarity of the scenes at xxiii 58–61 and xxiv 1–12,

[5] *Cf.* Macleod (n. 1) 28–32.

[6] For an argument to the effect that the story of Antilochus' death would have been familiar to the audience of the *Iliad*, see M. M. Willcock, 'Antilochus in the *Iliad*', *Mélanges Edouard Delebecque* (Aix-en-Provence 1983) 477–85 and 'The funeral games of Patroclus' *BICS* xx (1973) 1–11. The theme of fathers and sons has been brought to our attention already in this book, in the simile at 222–5, making it seem more likely that the exchange between Nestor and Antilochus is designed to continue it.

[7] ΣA on 174 comments on the formula used truly there by Iris and disingenuously by the dream at ii 27; *cf.* Macleod (n. 1) 33. Iris' use of the phrase ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς at 88, and Thetis' words at 92, enhance the sense that the scene is an essential part of the working of the plan of Zeus.

[8] *Cf.* ΣbT on xxiii 199, οὐκ ἐποίησε δὲ ἐκείνους ἀκούοντας, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο κατὰ δόξαν ἦν, (an explanation in terms of Homer's avoidance of the obvious, or simply a comment on the unexpected nature of the introduction of Iris?) Eustathius too felt that the intervention called for explanation; see his suggestions at 1296.1–10. For the idea that a god can hear prayers from a distance, so that Iris need not have intervened, see especially xvi 514–16.

[9] *Cf.* J. Griffin, *Homer on life and death* (Oxford 1980) 190–1.

[10] Against this must admittedly be set xviii 35–69, *Odyssey* xxiv 47–59, where the Nereids mourn with Thetis. It may still, however, be significant that of these scenes of mourning, it is in that which is close to a contrasting scene of human grief that Thetis is represented as alone in weeping.

before and after Patroclus' funeral—and the cessation from mourning which he envisaged as natural for the army in general at xxiii 52–3, 157. Such isolation from his fellow Greeks does not reflect the true nature of his bereavement, which rather unites him, as he comes to acknowledge, even with his enemy. For the parallel between Hector and Patroclus extends also to the anguish felt at the death of each; and Achilles must come to recognize this community in loss, already expressed by the poet as he compares Achilles mourning Patroclus to a father mourning his son (xxiii 222–4).[11] Until he acknowledges this, Achilles' extreme mourning, with its implied claim that he is unique in his grief, fails to reflect the fact of the shared human experience of suffering, and to show the endurance which, as Apollo says (xxiv 46–9), is the characteristic human response.[12]

The isolation in which Thetis finds Achilles, then, is one which is inappropriate, and which he comes to recognise as such. In fitting contrast to the scene with Thetis, he expresses this insight to Priam, who comes, like Thetis, at Zeus' command, but also driven by the suffering which Achilles recognises as a bond between them.[13] Men, unlike the goddess Thetis, are not isolated in their grief. The relation between the messenger scenes in the last books of the *Iliad* can be seen as forming part of the presentation of this contrast; and the scene at xxiv 120–5, which presents an apparent exception, points ultimately to the contrast's validity, as Achilles' isolation there is seen to be brought necessarily to an end. Rather than introducing an exception, the passage completes the contribution made by these related scenes to the sense of divine concern for men combined with an immeasurable distance from them.[14]

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[11] *Cf.* C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric poems, Hypomnemata* xlix (Göttingen 1977) 106: 'The vehicle fits no one more than the Priam of xxiv, in whose grief for a married son there will be, paradoxically, a ground for a new understanding and humane respect on the part of the sorrowing hero.'

[12] It may, in view of this, be an argument in favour of the authenticity of xxiv 6–9 that these lines introduce early in the book the notion of endurance which is prominent in it. Endurance is a quality of heroes, typically required of them in circumstances such as Achilles is said in these lines to recall; but the requirement is seen in xxiv to extend beyond such circumstances to life as a whole. The notion of heroic fortitude is thus introduced in the context of an extremity of mourning which it is the part of such fortitude to control. (Compare the new form of κῦδος given to Achilles—xxiv 110, Macleod [n. 1] 27, 99.)

[13] See especially xxiv 194–99. Thetis, at 128–37, does not tell Achilles that Zeus will send Priam to him, nor does Achilles (139) seem to know who it is that will come. This allows greater emphasis to fall on Priam's own wishes as his reason for coming himself, both for the reader and especially for Achilles, who responds to Priam's suffering before mentioning his divine escort.

[14] I owe valuable comments on this note to the Editor and two unnamed readers; I am also grateful to Dr. R. B. Rutherford for help and encouragement.

Menelās
(PLATE IV)

In 1949 Jeffery wrote of the Proto attic stand from Aegina once in Berlin, A 42: '. . . the dialect and letter-forms used by the painter of the stand indicate that he was himself an Aeginetan.'[1] Her suggestion was taken up by scholars who favored the idea of an immigrant painter in Athens,[2] and eventually led to the hypothesis that a group of vases in the Black and White style—namely the ones by hands represented in the treasure-trove bought by the Berlin Antiquarium in 1936—were made in a workshop on the island.[3] Since it is the one apparently sound piece of evidence that at least one painter of the Black and White style was Aeginetan, the stand and its painted inscription deserve another look.

A few words first about the 'non-Attic' lambda: Λ (Λ) is now found not only in the graffito on the Dipylon oinochoe, but also on at least one, and possibly three, votive inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos.[4] However its appearance in Attica is to be explained—fluctuation of letter-forms at an early stage of the Attic alphabet, an Ionic loan—the lambda with corner above can no longer be taken as proof that the writer was foreign.[5] There remains the foreign spelling of Menelaus' name, and for that an explanation can be given only after re-examining the scene to which the inscription belongs.

The conical portion of the stand is divided into two zones (PLATE IV*a*). The narrower, above, carries a file of horsemen in patterned tunics who spur their horses with goads. These are jockeys, rather than horsemen or knights.[6] The taller lower section has a procession of five men with whitened arms and faces and black feet. All hold the same pose and wear the same dress, a black mantle with white dots over a long decorated dress, and a band on their elaborately coiffed hair; each carries a spear. Between two of these figures, and above a large bird of which only the feet remain, the painter wrote *Menelas*. Without exception, the inscription has been taken as a label referring to the figure it precedes; this

I wish to thank Mabel L. Lang and Richard Hamilton for discussing some aspects of this interpretation with me.

[1] L. H. Jeffery, *JHS* lxix (1949) 26. The stand: *CVA* Berlin i (Munich 1938) 24–5, pls. 31–3.

[2] J. M. Cook, *Gnomon* xxiii (1951) 213; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung. Handbuch der Archaeologie* vi, 4.1 (1953) 25; E. Vanderpool, *AJP* lxxiv (1953) 322. See also S. P. Morris, *The black and white style*, Yale Classical Monographs vi (1984) 91–2 n. 2 for a review of opinions. The notion of an Aeginetan painter is resisted by K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* vi 2 (Berlin 1970) 328 n. 92, and by J. Boardman, *BSA* xlix (1954) 185–6.

[3] E. T. H. Brann, *Agora* viii (Princeton 1962) 20, 24; Morris (n. 2) *passim*. The alleged provenience from Aegina of the Berlin vases—G. Karo, xxvi. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm* (Halle 1928) 10; *CVA* Berlin i (n. 1) 5—seems confirmed by joins with excavated sherds, Morris (n. 2) 7, 41.

[4] M. K. Langdon, *A sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos. Hesperia* Suppl. xvi (1976) 43. On the Dipylon inscription, L. H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 76 no. 1.

[5] The possibility that it may be an alternate form is put forward by M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I (Roma 1967) 133, who cites R. S. Young, *AJA* xlvi (1942) 125. Karo (n. 3) 13 reports F. Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestion that the painter might have been Ionian. Morris, (n. 2) 34–5 admits that the epigraphic evidence is here inconclusive.

[6] The diagnostic elements are the pose and the goad, which find good comparisons in the horse-race on the MacMillan aryballos, British Museum 894–18.1, H. G. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin 1933) pl. 22, and, among later vases, on the neck amphora Louvre E 866, *ABV*, 100 no. 68. S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, *Angeia tou Anagyrountos* (Athens 1963) 88–92 lists and discusses seventh century BC representations of the race, in reference to the krater Athens, National Museum 16383, *ABV*, 7 γ *Paralipomena*, 3 no. 12, which has an animated race, perhaps the event at the old Panathenaia.