

if one knew the routines of the business better.<sup>20</sup> Almost the only rule that is too general to be accidental—and a puzzle in itself—is the fact that names with *epoiesen* occur much more often than the painter's signature, with *egrapsen*.

Regarded as practical information, then, the inscriptions suggest a situation where the painter's name was less useful. If the customer's dealings were more often with the painter, the pattern is logical; the opposite applies if the potter was his normal contact. The identity of the person from whom a batch of vases was bought or ordered would be known to the purchaser; not so the identity of the fellow-craftsman who in this case shared responsibility for the goods delivered, and who would no doubt, on his part, be eager to have it known.

Each of the three kinds of evidence that we have looked at—of pictures, of graffiti, and of signatures—is hard to assess; but together they suggest looking more closely at the hypothesis that many vase-painters ran an independent business and had free disposal of their own produce.

My students got a different impression from Beazley's—who spoke of a 'room', and 'out'—of spatial organization in the Komaris Painter's picture. The hanging objects suggest a continuous wall extending to left and right of the pillar. The two walking figures overlap the pillar slightly. We might be looking at an open shed (or simple stoa) from the open space in front, the craftsman at one end, his sales display at the other, and the two cloaked men just emerging. This seems viable, but the picture may not stand up to such minute analysis.

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<sup>20</sup> The former point is well brought out by R.M. Cook, *Greek painted pottery* (2nd ed. London 1972) 256-57; the latter is exemplified by Eisman's (n. 19) guess that signed vases may be identification pieces for shipment. While hard to substantiate, such a theory neatly explains the occurrences of two makers' names on the same vase, indeed one feels there ought to be more such cases. See Cook (n. 19) 137 with n. 2.

### Palamedes seeks revenge

An Attic black-figure neck amphora in the British Museum (PLATE VI *d*) depicts a winged warrior rushing to the right to overtake a ship that is sailing in the same direction. To the left a bird perches on a craggy rock.<sup>1</sup> The winged warrior in this enigmatic scene should, I believe, be identified as the ghost of Palamedes, whose urgency in outracing the ship is dictated by his thirst for revenge.

The name of Palamedes never appears in the Homeric epics. Most people, like Strabo,<sup>2</sup> assume that this is because the story of Palamedes (and of his father Nauplios) was a creation of the poets of the later epic cycle and so was invented only after the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had been completed. Philostratos, however, suggested that Homer *did* know about Palamedes, but suppressed any mention of him because

he wished to glorify Odysseus.<sup>3</sup> For the story of Palamedes shed such discreditable light on Odysseus' character that the stain it left on the wily hero's reputation could never be effaced.

The tale was certainly told in the *Cypria* (if not before) and was then developed, particularly by the great classical tragedians, all three of whom wrote tragedies called *Palamedes*.<sup>4</sup> In fact, during the fifth century BC Palamedes, whose history now seems rather obscure, was vividly alive in men's imaginations:<sup>5</sup> he appeared in Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld,<sup>6</sup> and his fate—unjust execution—made Socrates ready to identify with him<sup>7</sup> and eager to meet him after death.<sup>8</sup> Small wonder: Palamedes was the cleverest of the Greeks<sup>9</sup> and—like Socrates—had to pay for his cleverness with his life.

Proclus, in his summary of the *Cypria*, mentions Odysseus' feigned madness<sup>10</sup> and Palamedes' role in exposing it. The story can be pieced together from various sources.<sup>11</sup> Odysseus was reluctant to join the Greek expedition, knowing that if he went to Troy he would not return for twenty years, and then only after much suffering. Thus when the generals came to summon him he pretended to be insane, putting on the cap worn by madmen, yoking together two ill-matched beasts<sup>12</sup> and sowing his fields with salt. While the other Greeks were baffled by this bizarre performance, Palamedes immediately saw through the ruse. He realised that Odysseus' attachment to his family was what made him unwilling to go to the war and cleverly played on just this sentiment.<sup>13</sup> He threatened the baby Telemachos, and thus forced Odysseus to show his

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* iv 16. In his *Heroikos* (195) Philostratos takes this idea to an absurd extreme, suggesting that Odysseus made it a condition of his confiding to Homer the true story of the Trojan war that Homer would suppress all mention of Palamedes. (G. Anderson, *Philostratos* (London 1986) 245 gives a translation of the crucial passage.) See also F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens* (Paris 1966) 354-56.

<sup>4</sup> There was also a tragedy called *Palamedes* by Astydamos the Younger, and tragedies on related themes (*Odysseus Mainomenos*, *Nauplios Pyraeus* and *Nauplios Katapleon*) by Sophokles. Gorgias composed a *Defence of Palamedes*.

<sup>5</sup> D.F. Sutton, *Two lost plays of Euripides* (New York 1987) 111-51 (esp. 111-13, 129, and 153) argues that Euripides' *Palamedes* was intended to allude to the achievements and fate of Protagoras. He claims that 'In the dramatic and rhetorical literature of the fifth century BC Palamedes was firmly established as a mythological archetype of the the creative intellectual ...' 112.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. x 31.1.

<sup>7</sup> Xen. *Ap.* 26.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. *Ap.* 41 b.

<sup>9</sup> His cultural contributions in many instances overlap those attributed to Prometheus (and occasionally others, e.g. Kadmos in the invention of writing) cf. E. Wüst, *RE* xviii<sup>2</sup> (xxxvi<sup>1</sup>) 1942, s.v. Palamedes 2511-2512. W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses theme* (Oxford 1968) 257, n. 8 remarks that he seems to be 'a superfluous Prometheus in inventiveness and a superfluous Odysseus in his prudent counsel.'

<sup>10</sup> In his summary of the *Cypria*, Procl. *Chrest.* also refers to the death of Palamedes.

<sup>11</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 95; Lucian *de domo* 30; Apollod. *Epit.* iii 7; Serv. Schol. *Aen.* ii 81.

<sup>12</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 95 and Plin. *HN* xxxv 129 specify an ox and a horse.

<sup>13</sup> Stanford (*supra.* n. 9) 83.

<sup>1</sup> B 240. Height 37.2 cm. CVA British Museum 4 pl. 58 (203) 4a.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 8.6.2 (C 368).

hand.<sup>14</sup> Once Odysseus had been tricked into admitting that he was not mad, he was forced to join the other Greeks in the expedition against Troy. Odysseus never forgave Palamedes.

Many sources give hints about other manifestations of Palamedes' extraordinary intelligence and imagination, the range of his inventions (which included the invention of writing) and the aid he was able to furnish the Greeks when they were perplexed or in difficulties.<sup>15</sup> Even if Odysseus had not had an initial grudge against Palamedes, it is easy to imagine how keenly he would have resented having so formidable a rival among the Greeks.

Odysseus was both ingenious and spiteful; it did not take him long to find a way to encompass the death of his enemy.<sup>16</sup> As to the actual mode employed in his treacherous murder of Palamedes, there appear to have been three schools of thought in antiquity: the earliest, the one that appears in the *Cypria*,<sup>17</sup> is that Odysseus and his companion Diomedes took Palamedes out fishing with them<sup>18</sup> and then drowned him.

In the fifth century BC a more complicated scenario, one which implicated all the Greeks in a judicial murder, was invented. It was supposed to have been Odysseus' creation. He contrived that some gold was hidden in Palamedes' tent (unknown to Palamedes) and that a forged letter purporting to be from Priam to Palamedes was discovered. The letter assured Palamedes of payment in gold—the exact quantity corresponding to the amount that had been secreted in Palamedes' tent—in return for a promised betrayal of the Greeks.

Several versions of the details of this intricate scheme exist. According to one,<sup>19</sup> Odysseus persuaded Agamemnon (on the pretext of a warning dream) to move the

camp for one day. During that day he buried the gold in the place where Palamedes' tent had been. After the return to their former locations, Palamedes was accused of treachery on the grounds of the forged letter, his tent was searched and the gold was found. According to another version,<sup>20</sup> a Phrygian captive, who was later killed, was forced to forge the letter (so that it acquired the spurious authenticity of being written in Phrygian letters) and a slave of Palamedes' was suborned to hide the gold under his master's bed. There were also different versions of how it was arranged that the letter should be found, either that it was hidden in an arrow (which conveniently fell into Odysseus' hands)<sup>21</sup> or that it was planted on a Trojan captive, on whose dead body it was discovered.<sup>22</sup>

Although scholars speculate on which of these versions was devised by which fifth century poet, it is generally agreed that this chilling plot with all its variations was the creation of the tragedians of the classical period.<sup>23</sup> The conclusion of the story was as inevitable as it was cruel: once the treasonable contents of the forged letter appeared to be confirmed by the discovery of the planted gold, Palamedes was found guilty by a majority of the Greeks and executed by stoning. The irony of a written message being so ingeniously turned against Palamedes, himself the inventor of writing,<sup>24</sup> obviously provided a tragic theme of great power.

The latest surviving tradition about the treacherous murder of Palamedes is the one recorded (or invented) by Diktys.<sup>25</sup> He says that Odysseus and Diomedes tempted Palamedes to descend into a well, claiming that there was treasure at the bottom, and then hurled stones down upon him.

Palamedes' father Nauplios<sup>26</sup> was deeply angered when he heard about his son's shameful and unjustifiable death. In Aeschylus' tragedy Nauplios came to Troy to protest to the Greeks about the killing of his son.<sup>27</sup> He received no satisfaction and went away, embittered, to scheme his revenge. This was probably an elaboration of a much older tradition in which Nauplios, learning of his son's murder, without any further contact with the

<sup>14</sup> Either by seizing the infant from his mother's arms and threatening him with a sword, as in Apollod. *Epit.* iii 7, Plin. *HN* xxxv 129 and Lucian *de domo* 30 or by placing him in the way of the plough as in Hyg. *Fab.* 95 and Serv. *Aen.* ii 81.

<sup>15</sup> Palamedes' contributions to civilised life seem to be chiefly of an intellectual nature and many appear to deal with establishing an order or system, e.g. ordering letters, numbers, hours, seasons, meal-times, weights and measures and armies, and systematising the mixing of wine and water, the rotation of guards and the recording of laws. Other contributions have to do with astronomy, rhetoric, music, fire signals and the invention of money, writing, board games and dice. The totality is something of a hodge-podge elaborated in the course of time. Lewy *ML* s.v. Palamedes 1268-1271 and Wüst (supra n. 9) 2505-2509, give a good compendium with sources; see also Jouan (supra n. 3) 346. As early as Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes*, the sophist has Palamedes claim that he invented letters, the writing down of laws, numbers, weights and measures, military equipment, beacons and the game of draughts. (Fragment 11a, [30] R.K. Sprague (ed.), *The older Sophists* (Columbia, SC 1972) 61, trans. G. Kennedy). Palamedes was also reputed to have alleviated one or more of the famines that beset the troops (see A.C. Pearson, *The fragments of Sophocles* ii (Cambridge 1917) 133-134).

<sup>16</sup> So it is agreed in antiquity by all but Dares (28) who says he was killed in battle.

<sup>17</sup> Paus. x 31.2-3.

<sup>18</sup> According to Jouan (supra n. 3) p. 357, C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage* iii (Zurich 1967) 1130 and Wüst (supra n. 9) 2505 this may have been a sign of famine, as Homeric heroes would not normally eat fish. Odysseus' resentment of Palamedes may have been exacerbated by Palamedes' success in ending a famine after Odysseus had tried and failed (Serv. *Aen.* ii 81).

<sup>19</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 105.

<sup>20</sup> Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432.

<sup>21</sup> Pseudo-Alcidas (text in F. Blass, *Antiphon* (Leipzig 1881), see R. Scodel, *The Trojan trilogy of Euripides* (Göttingen 1980) 46-7.

<sup>22</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 105.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Pearson (supra n. 15) 132 and Robert (supra n. 18) 1133, n. 2. On the scholars' debate as to which version was used by which poet, see most recently Scodel (supra n. 21) 43-63, with bibliography.

<sup>24</sup> On Palamedes' invention of writing see Jouan (supra n. 3) 249-250. The tradition goes back at least as far as Stesichoros, see *PMG* 213 (from Stesichoros' *Oresteia* infra n. 60).

<sup>25</sup> Dictys ii 15.

<sup>26</sup> Nauplios was generally believed to be his father, cf., for instance, Apollod. *Epit.* vi 8 and *Bibl.* ii 1.5; Hyg. *Fab.* 116, 277; Ov. *Met.* xiii 34-62; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* i 133-138 distinguishes an earlier Nauplios from a later one. His mother was generally believed to be Clymene, but according to the authors of the *Nostoi* she was Philyra and according to Kerkops, Hesione (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 1.5).

<sup>27</sup> Nauplios went to the Greek camp at Troy to complain about the murder of his son according to Apollod. *Epit.* vi 8-11 and Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432. On the basis of fr. 181 Radt Aesch. is generally thought to have invented (or, at least, dramatised) this incident, see Scodel (supra n. 21) 52; Pearson (supra n. 15) 133.

Greeks, plotted suitable vengeance.

Proclus remarks, in his summary of the *Nostoi*, that 'the storm at the rocks called Capherides' is described as one of the events which befell the Greek ships returning home after the fall of Troy. Later sources<sup>28</sup> explain that after much of the fleet had been wrecked on the Capherian rocks, Nauplios set out false beacons so that the surviving Greeks, believing that this was done out of kindness, made for them and were thereby destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

Another kind of revenge that Nauplios put in train was to lure some of the Greek heroes' wives into the arms of lovers.<sup>30</sup>

How did Nauplios know about Palamedes' death, and how did he know when the Greek fleet was setting out from Troy so that he could be ready with his false beacons?

Many sources avoid addressing this question directly.<sup>31</sup> Euripides in his *Palamedes*, however, appears to have dealt with the problem of communication in a very concrete way: Oiax, Palamedes' brother, transmitted the news of Palamedes' death to Nauplios by writing the tale on oars and setting them afloat (rather like putting messages in bottles) hoping that they would eventually reach their destination.<sup>32</sup>

The story of Oiax sending his inscribed oars off to inform his distant father of the events at Troy proves that by the fifth century BC some people were troubled by the question of how Nauplios kept abreast of events in far-away places.

Even as early as the sixth century BC the issue of how information was communicated in the heroic period may have stimulated the imagination of some artists. This, I suggest, was the case with the painter of the black-figure vase in the British Museum (PLATE VI d).

On one side of the neck amphora the painter has shown a rather conventional battle scene: two warriors fighting over the body of a third. On the other side he has portrayed a winged warrior (presumably the ghost of a fighting hero) hastening to the right, overtaking a ship sailing in the same direction, while to the left an ominous bird perches on a rock watching the scene.

<sup>28</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 116; Apollod. *Epit.* vi 7-11; Quint. Smyrn. xiv 611-628. For the *Nostoi*, see Procl. *Chrest.*

<sup>29</sup> A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique* (Liège/Paris 1928) 374-76 suggests that the tradition of Nauplios setting false beacons goes back to the *Nostoi*. The tradition certainly goes back as far as the fifth century, cf. Eur. *Hel.* 765-771 and 1126-1131 and was probably old by then. A.M. Dale, *Euripides: Helen* (Oxford 1967) 139 neatly observes: 'The later use of a lighthouse to warn off from a dangerous coast is liable to confuse our picture here; to a Greek such a shore beacon meant a harbour. Apparently in this version Nauplios rowed out alone (the distances are formidable) and when he saw the Greek ships approaching lit his prepared beacon on the rocky headland of S. Euboea.'

<sup>30</sup> See Severyns (supra n. 29) pp. 373-76 and Apollod. *Epit.* vi 9-11; Hyg. *Fab.* 117 and Dictys vi 2 credit Palamedes' brother Oiax with stirring up the heroes' wives, especially Klytaimnestra.

<sup>31</sup> Thus, according to Schol. Eur. *Or.* 432, he 'heard about it' (*akousas*) and according to Apollod. *Epit.* vi 8, he 'learned of it' (*mathōn*), and Hyg. *Fab.* 116 suggests he 'heard' (*audivit*).

<sup>32</sup> Ar. *Thesm.* 768-784 and Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 777. C. Robert (supra n. 18) 1134 suggests that this was an invention of Eur.'s that was created to explain how Nauplios heard of his son's murder and so knew to come to Troy—an effort to correct a point that was left obscure (or not properly addressed) by Aesch. Aesch. did, however, address the problem of communication at the beginning of the *Ag.*

This apparently unique image has long puzzled scholars. The winged warrior looks like the *eidola* that frequently represent the 'souls' of dead heroes, for instance Achilles or Patroklos,<sup>33</sup> except that an eidolon is normally a miniature figure, its small size an indication of its spiritual nature. The winged warrior on the British Museum amphora is unusually large. According to Siebert<sup>34</sup> this is because it is seen in isolation and so does not have to be distinguished from living warriors or gods by means of its diminished scale. Peifer,<sup>35</sup> however, suggests that the large size of the winged warrior might indicate that it is not an eidolon at all, but some sort of divinity—like Sleep or Death on the Euphronios krater in New York which represents the transport of the body of Sarpedon.<sup>36</sup>

Most other scholars seem unconcerned with the scale of the figure and identify it simply as the shade of either Achilles or Patroklos<sup>37</sup>, despite the fact that such an armed winged eidolon is an essentially generic type—suitable for use as the image of *any* dead warrior—and not necessarily particular to these two heroes.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For example, re Achilles: black figure skyphos, Athens, Nat. Mus. 433 (CC 809) Beazley *ABV* 120,5 and re Patroklos: black figure hydria, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473; *Para* 164,31 bis; K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978) 233, fig. 312; *LIMC* i s.v. Achilleus no. 586 (illustrated) and black figure lekythos, Naples, Museo Nazionale 2746, Beazley *ABV* 378, 258, D. Martens, *Le vase grec* (Brussels 1992) 80, fig. 28.

<sup>34</sup> G. Siebert, 'Eidola', *Méthodologie iconographique* (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg) (1981) 65-6.

<sup>35</sup> E. Peifer, *Eidola* (Frankfurt am Main 1989) 109-12. Peifer 109-15 collects and discusses all extant examples of such isolated 'eidolon' images in Attic vase painting that he could find, entering them in his catalogue as numbers 48-51. Their very rarity makes them difficult to interpret. I am grateful to Jasper Gaunt for having drawn my attention to this book.

<sup>36</sup> Calyx krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum 1972.11.-10. Schefold (supra n. 33) 225 fig. 303.

<sup>37</sup> H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum* ii (London 1893) 153, no. B 240 suggested that it represented 'The shade of Patroklos or Achilles passing over the ships' and in *CVA* (British Museum iv), pl. 58 (203) 4a suggested, like Schefold (supra n. 33) 250 and D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischen und römischen Kunst* (Bern/Frankfurt am Main 1975) 229, 'Achilles transported to (or flying to) the islands of the Blest.'

<sup>38</sup> See for instance, the black figure neck amphora, New York, Metropolitan Museum 56.171.25 (C. Haspels, *Attic black-figure lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 239, 137; Beazley *ABV* 509,137 *Para* 248, C. Weiss, *LIMC* iii s.v. 'Eos' 329; Peifer (supra n. 35) 194-95, pl.8, fig. 17) on which a winged armed eidolon emerges from the mouth of a stripped corpse carried by two warriors. The nonsense inscriptions do not help to identify the dead man, though the presence of Eos on the other side of the vase suggested to Weiss that he is intended to be Memnon, while Haspels considers the iconography more appropriate for Sarpedon. In a similar representation on another neck amphora (Louvre F 388) also by the Diosphos Painter (Haspels 238, 133), the eidolon appears to be flying toward, rather than away from the dead man (H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Kilchberg/Zürich 1993) 136, fig. 89, cat. no. 71). A black-figure lekythos, Delos B 6137 546, *ABV* 378.257, Schefold (supra n. 33) 234, fig. 313, *LIMC* s. v. Achilleus no. 588 (illustrated) actually shows *two* winged armed eidola, only one of which could be intended to represent the ghost of Patroklos. Perhaps the second one is meant to be the ghost of Hektor. Consequently there is no compelling reason why the ghostly warrior on the British Museum amphora should be identified as Achilles (or Patroklos). Nor is there any compelling reason why this warrior's

Only rarely do any scholars take adequate account of the ship, which is surely a significant element in the story that is illustrated here.<sup>39</sup>

I suggest that it represents the Greek fleet returning from Troy and that the winged warrior is the ghost of Palamedes rushing before it to alert his father to the fact that the moment for revenge is approaching. This explanation would also account for the beetling cliff—a proleptic allusion to the Capherian rocks—and the presence of the bird. Birds can appear on vases without carrying any profound meaning, but they can often be interpreted as ill-omened, an indication of doom in the offing.<sup>40</sup>

This suggestion appears to take account of all the elements in the picture. At the time when the vase was painted, before the fifth-century tragedians had elaborated the Palamedes story, Palamedes was known to have been the son of Nauplios, the enemy of Odysseus, and a hero who was killed in the early stages of the war.<sup>41</sup> The Greek ships were known to have been caught in a storm by the Capherian rocks.<sup>42</sup> The only link missing in this chain is the sure knowledge that Nauplios was, in the archaic period, associated with the shipwrecks on the Capherian rocks. Although Proclus does not include this fact in his summary of the *Nostoi*—the summary is very brief<sup>43</sup>—it is likely it was included in the *Nostoi*, as it appears very regularly in later sources.<sup>44</sup>

How Palamedes would have been visualised in the archaic period is not difficult to imagine. He was a warrior, and at this point a dead warrior. The eidolon-type of a winged warrior would fill the bill.

destination should be identified as the Isles of the Blest since no guide to the Isles of the Blest is necessary, and were one needed, the god Hermes would certainly be more appropriate than a ship. Furthermore, the Isles of the Blest being rather an élite place, it is unlikely that a whole shipload of people would be taken there. The ship is hardly necessary just to indicate that the ghost is flying over the sea, since that is, in any case, adequately indicated by the swimming fish and wavy lines.

<sup>39</sup> J. Pouilloux and G. Roux, *Énigmes à Delphes* (Paris 1963) 116-18, pl. 22 take suitable account of the ship in their interpretation that the vase shows the great leap of Achilles from ship-board to Troy, but do not take the wings of the figure sufficiently into account, dismissing them as inconsequential for their interpretation. C. Robert (supra n. 18) 1278 suggested that the shade of Achilles was shown appearing to the ships departing from Troy after its sack in order to turn them back and satisfy his demand that Polyxena be sacrificed to him, but if this were the case it would seem more likely that Achilles would be shown flying toward the bow of the ship in order to turn it back.

<sup>40</sup> J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek life and myth* (London 1977) 127 remarks that ravens were regarded as highly ominous birds. In his fig. 2, he identifies this bird as a raven. Birds (particularly ravens) often appear sitting on the fountain-house behind which Achilles lurks, preparing to ambush Troilus (cf. *LIMC* i s.v. Achilleus nos. 224-226, 234, 235, 244, 246, 247, 261, 264, 266 among others).

<sup>41</sup> Procl. *Chrest.* (summary of *Cypria*).

<sup>42</sup> Procl. *Chrest.* (summary of *Nostoi*). A. Severyns (supra n. 29) 376 observes that the story of Palamedes makes a connection between the *Cypria* and the *Nostoi*.

<sup>43</sup> Procl. only mentions the death of Palamedes, but Pausanias x 31.2-3 says explicitly that from reading the *Cypria* he learned the details of Palamedes' death through drowning.

<sup>44</sup> See supra n. 29 and Pearson (supra n. 15) 80 suggests that the story was probably included in both the cyclic *Nostoi* and Stesichoros' *Nostoi* and also discusses later sources.

Images of Palamedes surviving from antiquity—and even references to such images—are extremely rare. The only preserved inscribed image of Palamedes in the sixth century BC is a late Corinthian pyxis signed by Chares,<sup>45</sup> on which Palamedes is represented on horse-back in the company of other Greek heroes (Nestor, Protesilaos, Patroklos and Achilles) and the Trojans Memnon and Hektor, all similarly mounted and all inscribed—even the horses are inscribed. The image does not tell us very much about Palamedes, and Amyx is surely right in stating 'There is no reason to believe that Chares did more than add names to his poor painting, in the hope of making it more attractive.'<sup>46</sup>

In the fifth century BC the dead Palamedes makes two appearances—one preserved, the other lost. On the red-figure *Nekyia* krater in the Metropolitan Museum in New York<sup>47</sup> the dead Palamedes, shown as bearded, weary and miserable, props himself on an oar as he leans against a column facing Persephone in the dark halls of Hades. This powerful image<sup>48</sup> seems to hint at the tradition of the *Cypria* in which Palamedes was drowned on a fishing expedition with Odysseus and Diomedes. Certainly he looks like a drowned man and the oar hints at his death at sea.

The other picture of the dead Palamedes was painted by Polygnotos in his *Nekyia* adorning the walls of the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi.<sup>49</sup> Here Palamedes was shown beardless, playing dice with Telamonian Ajax and Thersites, Polygnotos having gathered into one group three heroes who had all suffered at the hands of Odysseus.

Some major painters in the fifth and fourth centuries depicted the feigned madness of Odysseus. Plutarch<sup>50</sup> casually mentions such a painting by Parrhasios, now lost. The brevity of the citation does not make clear whether Palamedes was present or not, but in a lost painting by Euphranor (once at Ephesus) depicting this scene, a man 'sheathing his sword' was included and this must have been Palamedes.<sup>51</sup> Lucian evokes a very similar scene in a painting that may be a description of one of the lost paintings, either that of Parrhasios or the one by Euphranor, or may simply be a work of Lucian's imagination.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Louvre E 609, painted about 570 BC, see D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the archaic period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988) 569-70, no. 57, pl. 110.2; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) 135 no. 8, 164 no. 27, 322 no. 1296; F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf Korinthischen Vasen* (Berlin 1979) no. 83 with fig. 46 and pl. 18.

<sup>46</sup> Amyx (supra n. 45) 570.

<sup>47</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.258.21, by the *Nekyia* Painter: Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1086.1; *Para* 449; T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1989) 327; P. Jacobsthal, 'The *Nekyia* krater in New York', *Metropolitan Museum Studies* v (1934-6) 117-45, esp. 128-32, figs. 6, 9. Palamedes' name is here inscribed as 'Talamedes'—a fairly usual variant, see infra, note 60.

<sup>48</sup> Jacobsthal (supra n. 47) 132 thinks that this impressive image of Palamedes must be a reflection of a figure in a major painting created by an artist who was more inspired and more gifted than the mediocre painter of the vase.

<sup>49</sup> Paus. x 31.1-2.

<sup>50</sup> *Mor.* 18 a (*de aud. poet.* 3).

<sup>51</sup> Pliny *HN* xxxv 129.

<sup>52</sup> *de domo* 30.

The scene of Palamedes tricking Odysseus into revealing his sanity was also represented on an amethyst gem.<sup>53</sup> While the painting by Euphranor and the painting described by Lucian conform to the tradition preserved in Apollodoros<sup>54</sup> that Palamedes threatened the baby Telemachos with a sword, the gem shows the infant placed on the ground in front of the plough, agreeing with the tradition preserved by Hyginus.<sup>55</sup>

Photius mentions another painting at Ephesus (now lost) which depicted 'the death by treachery of Palamedes'.<sup>56</sup> This may have been painted in the fourth century BC by Timanthes, who, according to Tzetzes,<sup>57</sup> painted a picture of Palamedes' murder. Both references to this painting are so brief that it is impossible to decide by which of the three alternative treacherous modes available Palamedes was here being killed.<sup>58</sup>

One other image, possibly inscribed with the name of Palamedes, has survived in Greek art; the iconography of this lekythos is odd and may reveal some confusion on the artist's part.<sup>59</sup> The scene shows two pairs of figures. To the right Orestes is seen killing Aigisthos; to the left Klytaimnestra rushes to the aid of her lover but is intercepted by the figure labelled 'Telamedes'. This may be intended to be 'Palamedes', whose name was often spelled with a 'T' rather than a 'P'.<sup>60</sup> It is not, in fact, the spelling of the name that is so puzzling, but the idea that Palamedes should be present at such an event and might be involved in such a way.

Normally, Palamedes is believed to have died at Troy and certainly not to have lived long enough to witness Orestes' revenge on behalf of Agamemnon. Yet there could be some connection with Palamedes here, though hardly the explicit one shown by the vase painter. Stesichoros mentioned Palamedes in his *Oresteia*,<sup>61</sup> and this might have been because the revenge sought by Palamedes' family for his death was relevant to the story he had in hand. Apollodoros<sup>62</sup> tells how Nauplios, angered at the murder of his son, contrived that the wives of the offending Greeks took lovers and explicitly mentions Klytaimnestra's affair with Aigisthos; while

Hyginus<sup>63</sup> says that Oiax, Palamedes' brother, told Klytaimnestra that Agamemnon was bringing Cassandra home to be his concubine and so induced her, together with Aigisthos, to kill him with an axe. All these scraps of evidence suggest that Palamedes' vengeful family were on Klytaimnestra's side, and this is confirmed by Pausanias' mention of a painting in the Propylaea in Athens of 'Orestes killing Aigisthos and Pylades killing the sons of Nauplios who had come to bring Aigisthos succour'.<sup>64</sup> When the lekythos was sold in 1975, Herbert Cahn suggested in the auction catalogue that the name 'Telamedes' was a corruption of 'Pylades' or 'Talthybios', either of whom would have a more reasonable role in this position.<sup>65</sup> It seems possible that the inscription was further corrupted by the artist's vague recollection of the role of Palamedes' father or brother in furthering Klytaimnestra's relationship with Aigisthos and their continued loyalty to Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra in time of crisis.<sup>66</sup> But it is unlikely that this figure is really intended to be Palamedes.

Although Palamedes seems to have appeared relatively often in the works of major painters, indisputable images of him in the minor arts remain remarkably rare.

Scholars have tried to increase the number of surviving Greek images of Palamedes by identifying uninscribed works that they suppose are representations of the hero. Thus Despinois has ingeniously suggested that the statue of a wounded warrior usually identified as Protesilaos is actually Palamedes.<sup>67</sup> He bases his suggestion on the fact that not only does the support for the figure resemble a boat lapped by waves—this would make it just as suitable for Protesilaos as for Palamedes—but that some fish are sketched upon it. The presence of the fish would imply that the boat is at sea, not pulled up on the shore, and that the gesture of the wounded hero is not one of attacking another warrior, but one of harpooning a fish. He, therefore, concludes that the wounded warrior must be Palamedes, who according to the *Cypria* met his death on a fishing expedition. The problem is that only those who can perceive the fish can begin to agree with the identification, and I, for one, am unable to find any such creatures.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Italian, first century BC in a private collection in Scotland. J. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis* (Stuttgart 1857) pl. 13, 4 and A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* iii (Leipzig and Berlin 1900) 232; O. Palagia, *Euphranor* (Leiden 1980) 64.

<sup>54</sup> *Epit.* iii 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Fab.* 95.

<sup>56</sup> *Phot.* *Bibl.* i 146b.

<sup>57</sup> *Chil.* 8, 396 (Leone 1968).

<sup>58</sup> Despite C. Gonnelli's apparent certainty (*EAA* v s.v. Palamede 848) that it was the stoning that was depicted.

<sup>59</sup> Attic rf lekythos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1977.713. *LIMC* i s. v. Aigisthos 372-373 no. 6a, with drawing; A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia* (Warminster 1985) 138 no. C 12, pl. 10a.

<sup>60</sup> For instance, on the New York Nekyia vase (see supra n. 49), he is inscribed 'Telamedes' and the Etruscan form of his name is 'Talmithe', see J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan vase painting* (Oxford 1947) 127, note 1. Wüst (supra n. 9) col. 2501 suggests that originally his name was 'Palamedes' which would account for these variations.

<sup>61</sup> Stesichoros *PMG* 213 indicates that Stesichoros mentioned Palamedes in the second book of his *Oresteia* in connection with the invention of the alphabet. The context could, of course, have been part of a wider discussion of Palamedes, his beneficial inventions, his unjust fate, and the vengeance sought by his family for his murder.

<sup>62</sup> *Epit.* vi 8-11.

<sup>63</sup> *Fab.* 117.

<sup>64</sup> Paus i 22.6.

<sup>65</sup> H. Cahn, *MuM Auktion* li (1975) 62-63 no. 150.

<sup>66</sup> Palamedes' family's loyalty to Aigisthos is clear from the painting described by Paus. i 22.6. Oiax's loyalty to Klytaimnestra was shown by his taking part in the prosecution of Orestes for the murder of his mother, according to Diktys (*FGH* 49 F 2). I am grateful to Professor A.H. Sommerstein for this reference. Oiax's hatred of the Atreidai because of their role in the murder of Palamedes also explains his efforts to have Orestes expelled from Argos, Eur. *Or.* 432-433.

<sup>67</sup> G. Despinois, 'Zur Deutung des sogenannten Protesilaos in New York', *Kanon* (Festschrift Berger) *Antike Kunst* (Beiheft xv) 1988, 87-90. The statue in question is a Roman copy of a Greek original of 440-430 BC, New York, MMA 25.116. Despinois 87, n. 1 gives earlier literature and illustrations can be found in J. Boardman, *Greek sculpture: the classical period* (London 1985) fig. 237 and B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth century styles in Greek sculpture* (Princeton 1981) figs. 119-122. I am grateful to Olga Palagia for drawing my attention to Despinois' article and for many helpful suggestions.

<sup>68</sup> Despinois argues that what looks like a fish carved in the waves on the support of the copy of the same figure in the British Museum (no. 1538) and the pose of the figure suggest that this is Palamedes being killed while fishing. On close inspection, however, I was quite unable to find the fish that Despinois alludes to.

Palamedes' invention of board games making use of pessos and of dice and the fact that he was depicted gaming by Polygnotos<sup>69</sup> suggested to Mrs Karusu that the male head on one of the earliest dies to survive from antiquity is intended to be an image of Palamedes.<sup>70</sup> Here again the matter is hardly conclusively settled, as a male head without an inscription does not necessarily refer to a specific individual, any more than the horse's head on the same die necessarily refers to any particular horse.

On the principle that the inventor of games ought to be shown playing them, Zazoff<sup>71</sup> and Brommer<sup>72</sup> have suggested that one of the two men shown playing a game on Etruscan scarabs should be identified as Palamedes, and Walters<sup>73</sup> has suggested that a single figure possibly playing a game is Palamedes. This is an appealing hypothesis, especially since Euripides in the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* describes Protesilaos and Palamedes sitting together playing a board game,<sup>74</sup> though when names are attached to game-playing heroes in Attic pottery, they are identified as Ajax and Achilles.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, these objects are not Attic but Etruscan and the Etruscans appear to have been remarkably fond of Palamedes, who appears (inscribed) with Philoktetes on a carnelian gem,<sup>76</sup> and on a number of mirrors, whose iconography is by no means clear in terms of standard Greek and Roman mythology.<sup>77</sup>

Palamedes, whose tragic fate was vividly alive in classical antiquity, is but a shadowy figure now. Can we, nevertheless, detect his ghostly presence on the Attic neck amphora in the British Museum?

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

PLATE VI (d), photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>69</sup> Paus. x 31.1-2.

<sup>70</sup> S. Karusu, 'Der Erfinder des Würfels', *AM* lxxxviii (1973) 55-69. One of the other faces of the die has a horse's head, while the rest have purely decorative designs.

<sup>71</sup> P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz 1968) 190, nos. 1148-1150.

<sup>72</sup> F. Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten iii - Übrige Helden* (Marburg 1976) 350-51.

<sup>73</sup> H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of engraved gems and cameos in the British Museum* (London 1926) no. 630.

<sup>74</sup> lines 193-99.

<sup>75</sup> S. Woodford, 'Ajax and Achilles playing a game on an opse in Oxford', *JHS* cii (1982) 173-85.

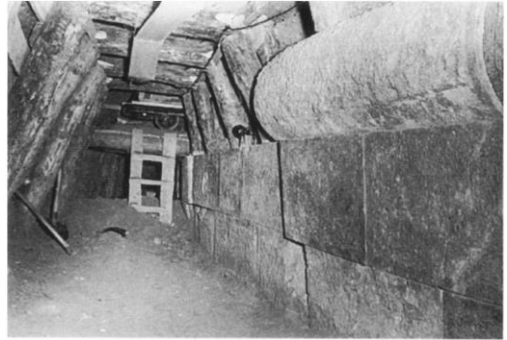
<sup>76</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen 2* (Leipzig/Berlin 1900) 84-85, pl. 17,50.

<sup>77</sup> For instance, K. Schauenburg, *Jdl* lxxxv (1970) 68, fig. 35 which shows Troilos, Athena, Menelaos and Palamedes; or the following mirrors illustrated in E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* i (Berlin 1840) pl. 196: Talmithe (Palamedes) with [E]linai (Helen), Tiमितhe (Diomedes) and others (Euturpe, Acuip ..., ...naele); ii (Berlin 1863) pl. 275 A 2: Thalmithe (Palamedes) with Ite (Idas), Purich and Chais and iv (Berlin 1867) pl. 382, 2: Talmithe (Palamedes) with Menle (Menelaos), Clutmsta (Klytaimnestra) and Uthste (Odysseus?). For a full discussion of the appearances and meaning of Palamedes in Etruscan art, see I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* vii (forthcoming) s.v. 'Palamedes' nos. 13-24 and commentary.

NOT THE TOMB OF GYGES



(a) Karniyarık Tepe. General view looking north.



(b) Karniyarık Tepe. View of crepis wall.



*EPOIESEN, EGRAPSEN,  
AND THE ORGANIZATION  
OF THE VASE TRADE*

(c) Krater by the Komaris Painter.



PALAMEDES SEEKS REVENGE

(d) Attic black-figure neck amphora,  
British Museum B 240.