Homer in Stone

The *Tabulae Iliacae* are a group of carved stone plaques created in the context of early imperial Rome that use miniature images and text to retell stories from Greek myth and history – chief among them Homer's *Iliad* and the fall of Troy. In this book, Professor Petrain moves beyond the narrow focus on the literary and iconographic sources of the *Tabulae* that has characterized earlier scholarship. Drawing on ancient and modern theories of narrative, he explores instead how the tablets transfer the Troy saga across both medium and culture as they create a system of visual storytelling that relies on the values and viewing habits of Roman viewers. The book comprehensively situates the tablets in the urban fabric of Augustan Rome. New photographs of the tablets, together with re-editions and translations of key inscriptions, offer a new, clearer view of these remarkable documents of the Roman appropriation of Greek epic.

DAVID PETRAIN received his Ph.D. in Classical Philology from the Department of Classics at Harvard University. He is a scholar of Greek and Latin language and literature with expertise in the art and material culture of ancient Rome. His articles about ancient poetry and other texts written on papyrus or inscribed in stone have appeared in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, and *Mnemosyne*. His co-edited volume, *The muse at play: Riddles and wordplay in Greek and Latin poetry* (with Jan Kwapisz and Mikołaj Szymański), was published in 2012.

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Homer in Stone

The *Tabulae Iliacae* in their Roman context

DAVID PETRAIN

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Preface

I began studying the *Tabulae Iliacae* more than a decade ago, when I first encountered a black-and-white image of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* and began poring over the version of Homer's *Iliad* and the fall of Troy that it unfolded through an intricate configuration of image and text. My work is still animated by a sense of fascination with the tablets, and by a desire to vindicate the interest and complexity of the stories they have to offer. Gratifyingly enough, I am not the only one who in recent years has been taking a second look at the *Tabulae Iliacae*. As I finished my own dissertation on the tablets in 2006, I became aware of the monograph by Nina Valenzuela Montenegro, which sets the study of the images and social context of the tablets on a new footing. And when my manuscript for the present book was substantially complete, I learned that Michael Squire was about to put out a new treatment of the *Tabulae*, one that builds on his earlier work with image and text in the ancient world. Though Squire and I naturally cover some of the same ground, our books are independent and, I hope, complementary: objects as rich as the *Tabulae Iliacae* only benefit from having different types of questions asked of them and being observed from different points of view.

I have been helped along the way by many people and institutions. The American Academy in Rome with its community of scholars and artists provided an ideal environment in which to complete my dissertation. A stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a summer residency at the University of Cincinnati as a Tytus Fellow allowed me to develop the project further, and it was as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study that I revised the manuscript with the benefit of incomparable library resources, and a group of incredibly generous colleagues. A fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities helped to make that sabbatical possible.

I owe a considerable debt to the staff and directors of the museums where the tablets are held, for indulging my protracted viewing sessions and being willing to put up with repeat visits. I would like to thank Joan Mertens of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; Mathilde Broustet of the

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and Elena Bianca Di Gioia, Marina Mattei, and Daniela Velestino of the Capitoline Museum in Rome. My especial gratitude goes to Michel Amandry, director at the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for allowing me both to photograph the tablets there and to use the photos in this book.

Kathleen Coleman, Gloria Ferrari, and Richard Thomas guided my work at the dissertation stage, and thereafter. I have benefited from the support and advice of Rebecca Benefiel, Bettina Bergmann, Farouk Grewing, Peter Holliday, Franco Mondini-Ruiz, and too many others to mention. Michael Squire read the entire book in manuscript and offered invaluable comments that have saved me from gaffes and never failed to be illuminating. I also thank Jaś Elsner and an anonymous reader for many helpful suggestions. The errors that remain after all this belong to me.

My sister Emily, my parents Ovila and Diane, and my grandmother Marguerite Vaillancourt encouraged me when I needed it: their support means the world to me. And without Leo Coleman, finally, I could never have finished. He's not responsible for the errors that remain either, but whatever good there is in the following pages, he has a hand in it.

Acknowledgments

A condensed version of Chapter 1 appeared as "Moschus' *Europa* and the narratology of ecphrasis," in M.A. Harder *et al.*, eds., *Beyond the canon. Hellenistica Groningana 11* (Leuven, 2006): 249–269.

An expanded version of part of Chapter 5 appeared as "Visual supplementation and metonymy in the Roman public library," in J. König *et al.*, eds., *Ancient libraries* (Cambridge, 2013): 332–346.

Abbreviations

A B	*Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*, C. Austin and G. Bastianini, eds. (Milan, 2002)
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1828 1877)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1862)
EG	*Epigrammata Graeca*, D. L. Page, ed. (Oxford, 1975)
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. F. Jacoby, ed. (Berlin, 1923 1958)
GVI	*Griechische Vers Inschriften I, Grab Epigramme*. W. Peek, ed. (Berlin, 1955)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1903)
IGUR	*Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*. L. Moretti, ed. (Rome, 1968 1990)
J M	*Griechische Bilderchroniken*, O. Jahn and A. Michaelis (Bonn, 1873)
Kaibel	*Inscriptiones Graecae, volumen xiv: Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae*, G. Kaibel, ed. (Berlin, 1890)
LfrgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen, 1955)
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich / Dusseldorf, 1981 2009)
LSJ	*A Greek English Lexicon*, 9th edn, H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, eds. (Oxford, 1940; with revised supplement by P. G. W. Glare, 1996)
LTUR	*Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* (Rome, 1993 2000)
NP	*Der neue Pauly* (Stuttgart, 1996 2003)
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn revised, S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. (Oxford, 2003)
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982)
RE	*Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893 1978)
Sadurska	*Les Tables Iliaques*, A. Sadurska (Warsaw, 1964)
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden *et al.*, 1915 1993)
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1923)

Sp A	*Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910 1923)*, 2 vols., V. Spinazzola and S. Aurigemma, eds. (Rome, 1953)
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1900)
VM	*Die Tabulae Iliacae: Mythos und Geschichte im Spiegel einer Gruppe frühkaiserzeitlicher Miniaturreliefs*, N. Valenzuela Montenegro (Berlin, 2004)

Introduction

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a priest by the name of Arcangelo Spagna was wandering among the ruins of an ancient Roman villa about ten miles southeast of Rome itself, when he made a surprising discovery. Lying on the ground before him, surrounded by fallen walls and barely visible because of the dirt that clung to it, was a small tablet of stone covered with miniature figures carved in relief and texts written in Greek. As a man of letters well versed in the myths of Classical antiquity, Spagna must have realized immediately what he was looking at: the plaque, obviously ancient, carried a version of the story of the Trojan War told through images and text. One part of the plaque presented the fall of Troy as a panoramic tableau, with the city shown in a bird's-eye perspective that allowed viewers to peer within its walls and witness the battles between Greeks and Trojans playing out in its different quarters. In another section, scenes from the *Iliad* were set out in a manner so comprehensive that each book of Homer's poem was allotted its own space on the stone. Spagna would never have seen anything like it; the tablet is still one of the most detailed visual representations of Troy's final moments to reach us from the ancient world.

The left-hand edge of the tablet was broken, and Spagna could see that in its present state it was incomplete: about half of the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* were unaccounted for. He began a search for the missing piece, but not alone. Spagna was the house chaplain of Francesco Barberini, a powerful Roman cardinal who had jurisdiction over a nearby abbey, and it was doubtless thanks to this connection that Spagna could draw on a sizeable band of workmen to help locate the rest of the tablet. Yet his own diligence and the labor of his workers were to no avail, and the piece was not found. Spagna's tablet would remain a fragment. He retained it as a prized possession in his own collection of antiquities, and about a century later it was donated by Pope Clement XIII to the Capitoline Museum in Rome, where it is still on display.[1]

[1] The preceding two paragraphs are based on the account of the tablet's discovery at Fabretti 1683: 316, with additional biographical detail for Spagna provided by Herczog 1993; I treat this material in greater detail in Chapter 5. For the alternative versions of how the tablet made its way from Spagna's possession to Clement's, see Sadurska: 24, VM: 27.

Spagna's efforts inaugurated a series of discoveries that continues to the present day. Over the years no fewer than twenty-two additional tablets have appeared that likewise represent scenes from Greek mythology and history with a distinctive combination of miniature illustrations and inscribed texts: they derive most of their subject matter from epic poetry, but a portrait of Homer and even a victory by Alexander the Great also appear. Though information on the provenance of these tablets is frequently sketchy, most of them come from Rome or its environs and seem to have been produced by the same workshop: we are dealing with objects created to mediate Greek subject matter, particularly the stories of Homeric epic, for a Roman audience. Because the majority of the tablets carry material related to the *Iliad* and the story of Troy, the entire class is known by the suggestive, if not entirely accurate, label *Tabulae Iliacae*, the "Iliac Tablets."[2]

Ever since Spagna's day, students of the ancient world, its myths, and its art have taken a keen interest in the *Tabulae Iliacae*, sometimes for the abundance of their illustrations, sometimes for the opportunity they seemed to offer of reconstructing the plotlines of epic poems whose texts have not survived. The continuing discovery of new objects belonging to the class has allowed a progressive revelation of the intricacies of their narratives, yet despite this gradual but steady increase in our data set there is considerable disagreement over how we should evaluate the significance of the *Tabulae*, or even over whether we have any idea of what they are at all. The tablets have been ranked among "the least understood of all ancient artistic monuments."[3] Others are not so agnostic but reach very different assessments. One study on the fall of Troy in Greek art, for instance, commences with the tablets and presents them as "a comprehensive model for the Ilioupersis [Sack of Troy] myth as it emerged in the art and poetry of the Archaic and Classical periods."[4] Yet some see in the tablets little more than deluxe crib sheets designed to jog the memory of owners who had trouble recalling their Homer, "probably the Roman equivalent of students' flash cards."[5]

In the present study I begin from the premise that the *Tabulae Iliacae*, by reimagining the Troy saga in pictures for a Roman audience, necessarily produce something more than a mere transcript of pre-existing material. In transferring the stories of Greek epic across both medium and culture, the tablets create a system of visual storytelling unprecedented in ancient art for

[2] Appendix 1 is a list of the twenty three tablets that have been counted among the *Tabulae Iliacae*. On the workshop and the pertinence of individual tablets to the class, see the final section of this introduction. For more on the provenances, see Chapter 5.

[3] Burstein 1984: 153. [4] Anderson 1997: 3.

[5] The quotation is from Stewart 1996: 51; on the history of this idea, see below.

its variety and compression. This system draws on the values and viewing habits of contemporary Roman viewers in order to present a compelling version of epic myth that is as much a product of Roman interests as of the Greek traditions to which the tablets lay claim. The artisans of the tablets were well aware of the novelty of their project, for they equip the images they have assembled with inscriptions designed to guide viewers through the story: both explicit viewing instructions and, on the verso side of several tablets, a series of remarkable letter grids that convert written languge into a multi-directional game. These texts are some of the most explicit reflections we possess by an ancient artist about what it means to "read" a visual narrative. Far more than ancient flashcards, the *Tabulae* demand to be considered alongside other Roman attempts to appropriate the story of Troy, such as Vergil's *Aeneid* or the uses made of Trojan myth in the monumental art commissioned by the emperor Augustus: as we shall see, the tablets themselves were fashioned in the decades following the appearance of Vergil's poem and Augustus' most prominent public works. This is a book, then, about how a group of small stone plaques rewrote Homer's *Iliad* and the saga of Troy at the dawn of the Roman empire, and what meanings their radically reshaped vision of Troy's fall conveyed. Ancient scholarship, literature, and art, both Greek and Roman, inform my analysis, which reveals the complexity of visual communication in the early imperial period, and the insights to be gained when we pay attention to the cultural forces that shape the way in which a story is told.

The *Tabula Capitolina*: A description

Because of its current location in Rome's Capitoline Museum, the tablet unearthed by Arcangelo Spagna is now known as the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (*Tabula Capitolina* for short). In addition to its full name, each of the *Tabulae Iliacae* has a convenient shorthand designation consisting of a number followed by one or more letters: the *Tabula Capitolina* is 1A.

A brief word on these number–letter designations before we turn to the *Capitolina* itself. Numbers 1 through 19 were assigned in a monograph of 1964, which tried to use the numerical order to sort the tablets into four more or less cohesive groupings, primarily on the basis of the content of their images and inscriptions.[6] Any tablets found thereafter simply receive the next number in sequence (as of 2009, we have perhaps reached 23). The

[6] Sadurska suggested that some of her groupings might represent the productions of different workshops (on the workshop question, see the final section of this introduction).

letters originate with an earlier monograph that labeled the twelve tablets then available with the alphabetical series A through M.[7] This practice persisted two letters further (there are tablets N and O), but for the remaining nine tablets it was abandoned in favor of choosing letters descriptive of the tablet's original owner, findspot, or present location: for example, the *Tabula Iliaca of New York*, currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, is also known as 2NY. The conventional number–letter system for referring to the tablets is thus a strange and somewhat clumsy hybrid of differing classificatory schemes, but a salutary reminder nonetheless of the multiple strata of scholarship that underlie present work on the *Tabulae*. As its designation 1A indicates, however, the *Tabula Capitolina* has consistently been at the head of every list of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, their best preserved exemplar and the natural point at which to begin our own exploration of their narratives.

The following description will serve as a basis for understanding the more detailed investigations of the tablets in subsequent chapters. The *Tabula Capitolina* (1A) is made of a calcite whose off-white color resembles plaster: see Figure 1 (Figures 1–21 may be found at the back of the book).[8] In its present state it measures 25 cm high by 28 cm wide (about 10 by 11 inches), not much larger than a sheet of paper; originally it will have been the same height but wider by nearly half, 25 cm by about 40 cm (comparable in size, that is, to a 15-inch laptop). The tablet has two principal sections divided by a pillar. On the right are twelve horizontal bands stacked one on top of the other, each of which contains scenes from a single book of the *Iliad*, usually arranged so that the action progresses from left to right (Figures 2, 3). The pillar separates these bands from a square panel that contains the representation of Troy: we see the city's architecture from a bird's-eye perspective while the figures within it are portrayed frontally at eye level, in a mixing of perspectives characteristic of Roman narrative art (Figures 4, 5).[9] There is a single, longer horizontal frieze above the panel, and two below it (more on these in a moment).

As mentioned above, the *Capitolina* is missing a section. The stack of bands on the right account for only twelve of the twenty-four books of the *Iliad*. Originally, the square panel would have been bordered on the left by a

[7] Jahn and Michaelis (1873) skipped the letter I.

[8] Figure 6 is a line drawing of the same by Feodor Ivanovitch, draftsman to Lord Elgin. The drawing cannot be trusted for details or for the placement of inscriptions, but it may facilitate an initial engagement with the content of the *Tabula Capitolina*.

[9] For the Roman proclivity to combine multiple perspectives in a single image, see von Blanckenhagen 1957: 81 83; Holliday 2002: 106; VM: 23 25 (with further bibliography). In Chapter 4 I treat this mode of representation in greater detail.

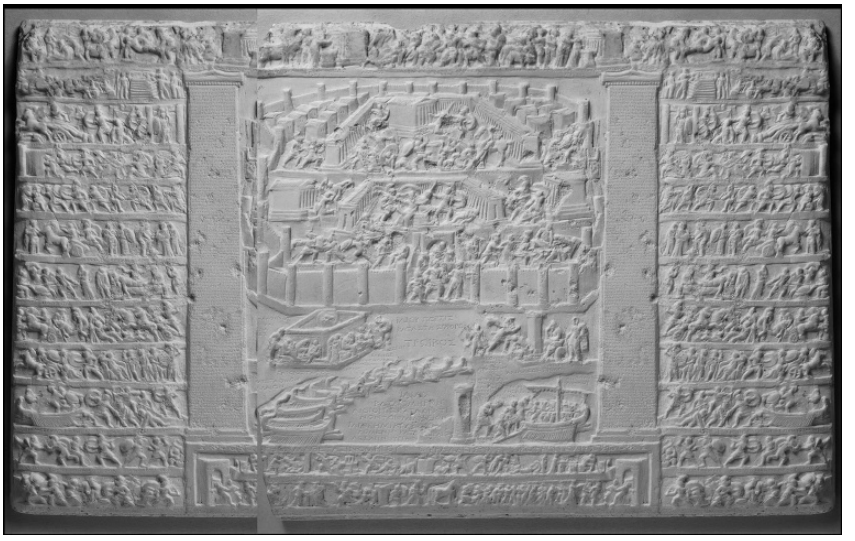


Figure 22 Approximation of the original appearance of the *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), digital manipulation by the author

pillar mirroring the one on the right, and then an additional stack of twelve bands for the rest of the poem. When intact, then, the layout of the *Capitolina* would have been strictly symmetrical, with the central panel flanked to the left and right by stacks of twelve bands each, for a total of twenty-four. Figure 22 is a manipulated image that attempts to convey a sense of the tablet's earlier appearance: I have mirror-reversed the extant pillar and bands and placed them on the left of the existing object. Though the effect is imperfect and will not bear scrutiny in its details, I feel the image offers, more vividly than would, say, a diagram, an impression of the tablet's original disposition in which the bands frame the central cityscape.

Let us return to the extant portion of the tablet. The illustrations for book 13 of the *Iliad* are at the bottom of the stack on the lower right. Then the books are presented in numerical order up to the poem's conclusion in *Iliad* 24 at the upper right corner, so that the images can be read in the same way as we might process a modern comic strip, with the exception that the bands run from bottom to top. The missing left-hand section of the *Capitolina* will have carried the first half of the *Iliad*, books 1 through 12. Book 1 began in the upper left-hand corner of the tablet: it is longer than the other bands and extends over the top of the central panel until it meets the *Iliad* 24 band at the start of the right-hand section in a literal ring composition. Because the section of the *Iliad* 1 frieze directly above the central panel is preserved, we can reconstruct the organization of the missing section with confidence: the

Iliad bands on the left ran in the opposite direction from those on the right, with *Iliad* 1 at the top and *Iliad* 12 in the lower left corner.[10] Thus the story runs downward on the left (books 1–12), then inverts its course to move upward on the right (books 13–24).

Viewers were not left to figure out on their own what material each frieze contained. Several of the friezes carry in their upper left corner the Greek letter corresponding to the number of the book of the *Iliad* they portray: not all the friezes preserve this alphanumeric designation, but it seems likely that the full series from alpha to omega was originally inscribed.[11] Most of the *Iliad* bands also have labels in Greek that clarify the identity of the figures and events that they depict, though this is not the only textual support that the *Capitolina* provides for its illustrations of the *Iliad*.[12] The pillar to the right of the central panel is inscribed in minute Greek script with a summary of the events of the same poem, beginning with the final section of book 7 in which the Greeks construct a defensive wall around their ships, and continuing through to the end of the poem. The pillar's missing twin on the left will have carried the summary for books 1 through 6 and the earlier sections of book 7.[13]

Though the *Iliad* receives a considerable amount of space on the *Tabula Capitolina*, pride of place in the central section is reserved for poems that take up the story of the Trojan War where Homer leaves off. Two of these belong to a group of epics that were known in antiquity as the Epic Cycle and included a connected account of the fall of Troy and its aftermath: the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* come after the *Iliad* in the Epic Cycle and provide the subject matter for the two friezes under the central panel. Directly below the panel is the *Aethiopis*: the middle of its frieze portrays a key scene from that poem, the death of Achilles framed within a representation of the gates of Troy. In the second of the friezes, the action of the *Little Iliad* culminates just before the city's fall with a lengthy procession depicting the Trojan Horse, prominently featured at the center, being drawn within Troy's walls.

The central panel presents the denouement of the story in a more dramatic format that sets the city and coast of Troy before the viewer's eyes as famous

[10] This reconstruction is confirmed by tablets 3C and 6B, which organize their narratives in the same way as the *Capitolina* and preserve part of the section to the left of the central panel: *Iliad* 1 starts in the upper left corner, and subsequent books appear below running downward in numerical order.

[11] Comparison with other tablets helps: 2NY, 3C, 6B, and 20Par consistently equip their extant Iliadic friezes with book numbers (though each tablet uses a different format, for which see Chapter 3).

[12] For a detailed description of the figures and inscriptions in each band, see Appendix 2.

[13] Once again, this reconstruction is confirmed by another tablet: 8E preserves a pillar to the left of the Troy panel whose inscription is devoted to the first books of the *Iliad*.

events from the city's destruction play out in its different quarters. At the top of the panel is a trapezoidal court in which the Trojan Horse stands at the lower right-hand corner; the temple of Athena looms at the top of the trapezoid, where the Trojan priestess Cassandra is being dragged away by Ajax. A second trapezoidal space below represents the palace of Priam: the king of Troy is seated on an altar and about to be killed by Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. To the right of this palace is the temple of Aphrodite: in front of it Menelaus, his sword drawn, faces his wife Helen as her mantle slips off her body.

At the exact middle of the panel the story of Aeneas comes to the fore. Under the arch of Troy's main gate, the Trojan prince flees the city: he grasps his son Ascanius by the hand and on his shoulder bears his father Anchises, who clutches a casket containing the Penates, Troy's ancestral gods (all three figures are labeled). This image of Rome's national hero engaged in an act of piety toward family and gods is modeled after a monumental statue group of the same commissioned by Augustus: the emperor claimed Aeneas as his ancestor and installed a statue of the hero in flight in his forum at the heart of Rome.[14] The *Capitolina* adopts the iconography of this public monument for its central scene – evidently the linchpin of the narrative – but adds the detail of the god Hermes, who stands to the right of Aeneas and guides his escape. Aeneas appears in the panel a second time to the left of the gate, in the lower left corner of Troy's city walls, where he receives a casket from another figure: this is a scene from earlier in the story, when he is entrusted with the divine images that he and his father will rescue from the city.

The lower third of the panel depicts the plain and coast outside Troy. In front of the city's walls are the tomb of Hector on the left and a column for Achilles on the right, both of them thronged by figures caught in the aftermath of Troy's destruction. At the bottom of the panel the ships of the Greeks are lined up along the shore and Aeneas appears for the third and last time in the lower right corner. He boards a ship along with his family, his household gods, and his companions. An inscription states explicitly that he is departing for Hesperia, the land of the west.[15]

In addition to its reliefs and their labels, the central panel carries two other important texts to which we will be returning often. On the lower border of the panel there is a fascinating inscription that promises those who study the tablet a revelation of Homer's wisdom, and names the artist responsible for its creation, one Theodorus whose signature appears on several other tablets as

[14] For the connection to the statue group in Augustus' forum, see VM: 131 and below.

[15] The caption reads, "Aeneas with his companions setting off for Hesperia" (Αἰνήας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαί[ρ]ων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν). See Appendix 2 for full details on the inscriptions pertaining to this scene.

well. In the neutral space below the central group of Aeneas and his family, another prominent inscription begins that extends downward past the Greek ships and continues all the way to the lower border of the panel. This text cites by title and author all of the poems that the *Tabula Capitolina* purports to represent. The first two lines below the ships, for instance, name "the *Iliad* according to Homer" (*Ilias kata Homēron*). The citation that begins the inscription, just underneath Aeneas' feet, has probably excited more discussion than any other feature of the *Tabulae*: it claims that the tablet carries "the *Sack of Troy* according to Stesichorus" (*Iliou Persis kata Stēsichoron*). If the citation is accurate, and the events shown in the panel really do derive from the archaic Greek poet (the poem in question is now lost save for fragments), Stesichorus would be our earliest source for the tradition that Aeneas departed from Troy and sailed westward.

While the *Tabula Capitolina* is the best preserved member of its class, it is not the only one of the *Tabulae Iliacae* that take on the entire Trojan War. Eight other tablets feature an analogous organization: though several are highly fragmentary, in their intact state each had a panel in the center showing the Sack of Troy, surrounded by texts and images that present earlier events in the story drawn from the *Iliad* and the poems of the Epic Cycle.[16] None of these tablets is a carbon copy of the *Tabula Capitolina*, however. Individual details in the images and texts are subject to a restless variation from tablet to tablet, and each tablet preserves at least one detail that is not found in any of the others. As a group these tablets afford us the opportunity, practically unique for the ancient world, to study nine different instantiations of a single, synoptic schema for visualizing the story of Troy.

Trends in scholarship

As we saw at the start of the previous section, the history of prior scholarship on the *Tabulae Iliacae* is partially inscribed in the very system we use to name them, with its mismatched assortment of numbers and letters drawn from different monographs. In the following brief sketch, I hope to suggest that the earliest studies of the tablets also established a method of approach that continues to yield fruitful results to this day but tends to leave some of the most distinctive features of the tablets underexamined.[17]

[16] The eight tablets are 2NY, 3C, 6B, 7Ti, 8E, 9D, 20Par, 21Fro. See Chapter 3 for descriptions of each.

[17] For a history of scholarly research on the *Tabulae* with a somewhat different emphasis from the following sketch, see VM: 11 15. Sadurska begins her discussion of each tablet with a

Raffaele Fabretti is author of the first full-length treatment of a *Tabula Iliaca*: his description of the *Tabula Capitolina* was attached as an appendix to his monograph on Trajan's column that appeared in 1683, not many years after Arcangelo Spagna discovered the tablet. Since both Fabretti and Spagna were associated with the cultured circle of the Barberini family in Rome, it is perhaps unsurprising that Spagna entrusted publication of his find to the Italian scholar.[18] According to his nineteenth-century biographer, Fabretti's monograph is the first to employ on a large scale the so-called "comparative method" of deciphering unfamiliar scenes on an ancient monument by making an exhaustive collection of similar scenes preserved on other monuments or described in ancient texts.[19] Thus Fabretti atomizes the scenes on the *Tabula Capitolina* and organizes his work as a discrete series of investigations into the possible sources for each.[20] Regardless of whether he was a pioneer in the use of this method, later studies of the tablets would adopt his modus operandi.

In 1873 the earliest monograph on the *Tabulae Iliacae* as a class appeared. *Griechische Bilderchroniken* ("Greek picture-chronicles") is the composite work of Otto Jahn and his nephew Adolf Michaelis, who completed the project after Jahn's death.[21] Jahn assembles twelve tablets and explores the relationship between them and the literary sources. Apart from a brief conspectus at the beginning, he does not focus individually on each tablet that features Homeric material but rather organizes his analysis according to the books of the *Iliad*, as Fabretti did: proceeding through the books one by one, Jahn describes the relevant images on each tablet and considers the passages from Homer to which they seem to be related. From the numerous discrepancies that this method reveals between the images and the poem itself, Jahn infers that the artisans of the tablets worked not from the actual text of the *Iliad* but from a prose epitome of the same. It fell to Michaelis to work up the monograph's final section on the inscriptions of the tablets; his painstaking work on these often intractable texts has not been superseded. The content of the inscriptions, usually expository in nature but on occasion showing signs of deeper learning, suggests to Michaelis that the *Tabulae* may have served as teaching aids – though he is careful to specify that they

précis of earlier research that is particularly valuable for pre twentieth century publications (see also ibid. 21 22).

[18] Cf. Herczog 1993 and Micheli 2006: 77, 90.

[19] Visconti 1830: 379 381. On Fabretti and his methods, see also the papers collected in Mazzoleni 2006.

[20] Micheli 2006: 85 86.

[21] Michaelis writes that Jahn's last sight on his deathbed was a new drawing of the *Tabula Capitolina* (J M: vii).

would have been suitable only for more advanced students, and that this need not have been their original or exclusive purpose.

A second standard reference work on the *Tabulae* is Anna Sadurska's *Les Tables Iliaques* of 1964, by which time nineteen tablets had come to light. Sadurska distances herself from the strongly literary orientation of Jahn and has little to say on agreements or disagreements between the tablets and literary texts. As for the inscriptions, her study generally does not represent an advance on the prior work of Michaelis and others, with the significant exception that she is the first to use the paleography of the inscriptions to assign them to the hands of five different stonecutters (her attributions have met with general acceptance). Her monograph opens with a treatment of questions related to the production of the tablets and their purpose. Building on an observation by Georg Lippold that the *Tabulae* fall into distinct but interrelated groups according to subject matter or the presence or absence of an artist's signature,[22] she daringly proposes that such groups might be used to assign the tablets to different workshops active during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. As for their purpose, she finds in the reliefs of the tablets an ideological import tied closely to the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and goes so far as to suggest that some of the plaques might have been exchanged as gifts by members of the imperial court.

In the bulk of the monograph Sadurska, unlike Jahn, devotes a separate treatment to each tablet, though her descriptions of individual tablets still proceed through the reliefs section by section in an order that respects the narrative sequence of the poetic works that underlie the illustrations. Because she was trying to produce comprehensive descriptions of the tablets, it was sensible of her to employ a mode of description both methodical and easy to follow; I adopt the same procedure in my second appendix. This procedure does, however, impose on the tablets the principles of ordering that govern their literary sources. It tends to preclude discussion of the ways in which they might use their visual medium to impart a new organization to the stories they represent, even to create a narrative that viewers will experience in a way fundamentally different from the way they might a text.

Scholars have an additional motive for comparing the *Tabulae* closely to their literary sources. As I noted in the description of the *Tabula Capitolina*, a key inscription attributes that tablet's version of the Sack of Troy, including presumably the scenes involving the escape of Aeneas, to a lost poem on the same subject by Stesichorus. Before Stesichorus may be counted as the earliest source for Aeneas' journey westward, however, we need to know just

[22] See Lippold 1932: 1891 and the evaluation of his contribution at Sadurska: 22.

how closely the tablet's reliefs follow the poems that it cites. A number of studies have attempted to answer this question by checking the *Capitolina* and the other tablets featuring the Sack of Troy against poetic texts that do survive, such as the *Iliad*. In 1909, Umberto Mancuso combed through the *Capitolina* section by section much as Jahn and Sadurska did, but with the intention of demonstrating that its images followed Homer closely and were therefore a trustworthy source for Stesichorus.[23] Yet the most influential statement on this question came in 1979 in a landmark article by Nicholas Horsfall, who argued strongly that the tablets could not be used as evidence for the content of Stesichorus' poem – and offered in support of his view a theory about the purpose and intended audience of the *Tabulae* that has done much to shape subsequent discussions.

Horsfall elaborates the customary practice of checking the tablets against their textual sources into the key to understanding their meaning and social context. He points to places where the pictorial summaries that they provide seem to go awry: there are discrepancies between the illustrations and the poems themselves; key figures and events sometimes lack labels; the explanatory texts provided are often "faulty and jejune"; and the illustrations are uninspired. The *Tabulae* must be aimed, he concludes, at an unsophisticated audience, one that required such objects to jog its memory of Homer and gratify its cultural pretensions, but that did not care (or could not tell) whether the carved memory aids were inadequate and incorrect. As recipients for these monuments of sham erudition, Horsfall proposes Rome's enthusiastic but unlettered *nouveaux riches*, of whom Trimalchio, the fantastically ignorant freedman caricatured in Petronius' *Satyricon*, is a suitable representative.[24]

Horsfall's judgment on the *Tabulae* set the tone for later studies. One sensitive reading of the visual impact of the *Capitolina* nevertheless describes the monument as "unduly famous," citing Horsfall's article in the same sentence.[25] Another scholar goes somewhat further: the tablets are "tawdry gewgaws intended to provide the illusion of sophistication for those who had none" (with a footnote to Horsfall).[26] This problematic mode of analysis, which infers both the purpose of the tablets and the social status

[23] Paulcke 1897 is an earlier attempt to vindicate the *Capitolina* as a source for Stesichorus, Kazansky 1997: 55 88 a modern effort in the same direction. I discuss the Stesichorus citation on the *Capitolina* in detail at the end of Chapter 3.

[24] Horsfall 1979: 33 35 (the quotation is from 33); his conclusions are essentially umodified at Horsfall 2008: 587 590 (with updated bibliography).

[25] Brilliant 1984: 54.

[26] McLeod 1985: 164. Even before Horsfall's article, Schefold had suggested that the *Tabulae* take their inspiration from "anspruchslose Schulbücher" (1975: 129).

of their owners from the supposedly poor quality of their images and texts, is one that I reject and will often criticize in what follows. It is worth signaling, then, that Horsfall's article and his subsequent work on the *Tabulae* are indispensable for the clarity with which they set out basic data on the tablets, their provenances, their inscriptions, etc. All students of the tablets are in his debt – even if we cannot agree with his overall evaluation of the objects.

In recent years the *Tabulae Iliacae* have been enjoying a kind of renaissance as students of the objects move away from the thesis that they can be adequately explained as "vehicles for elementary adult education."[27] While this assessment of the tablets as unassuming memory aids does still turn up in catalogue treatments,[28] articles devoted to individual tablets have lately argued that they show a nuanced engagement with the epic tradition, both literary and visual, that is worthy of closer analysis.[29] An important contribution in this connection is the 2004 monograph of Nina Valenzuela Montenegro, *Die Tabulae Iliacae*, which is able to include twenty-two tablets. Valenzuela Montenegro explicitly abandons Horsfall's thesis and proposes to reevaluate the tablets by returning to a close iconographic analysis of individual scenes that takes full advantage of modern methods, and reference works such as the *LIMC*.[30] She works through the reliefs section by section, and for each vignette she assembles a broad range of visual comparanda that shed light on how the tablets adopt and adapt the models available to them. This is the perfection, I would suggest, of Fabretti's method from more than three centuries ago, and Valenzuela Montenegro probably achieves as much as is possible in the exhaustive documentation of sources and parallels for the pictorial cycles of the tablets: our understanding of how the tablets engage with the ancient iconographic tradition for the Trojan War is now on a firmer foundation than ever. The monograph also reconsiders longstanding issues concerning the class of the *Tabulae Iliacae* as a whole, such as their dating, the workshop(s) that produced them, their connections with literary texts, and their ultimate purpose: the treatments of each question provide valuable synopses of prior research and advance a number of new solutions. With the caveat that one

[27] The quotation is from Horsfall 1979: 35.

[28] According to two recent catalogues, the *Tabulae* are "artistically rather modest works" ("künstlerisch eher bescheidene Werke," *Homer* 2008: 440) and were "produced to educate Roman students on the Trojan epics" (*Heroes* 2008: 200).

[29] Cf. Amedick 1999; Salimbene 2002.

[30] Cf. the description of her aims at VM: 15 17. Valenzuela Montenegro 2004b is a précis of her main conclusions.

must still turn to earlier studies for details on the inscriptions, Valenzuela Montenegro's book should be considered a reference of first resort for work on the *Tabulae*, and her name will appear often in the following pages.

At the beginning of her monograph Valenzuela Montenegro stresses the "objective" character of its analysis: comparanda will be marshaled in as comprehensive and unbiased a manner as possible in order to illustrate how the artisans of the tablets worked with their sources and arrived at the individual scenes that make up their visual narratives.[31] I suggest that the next step in the study of the *Tabulae Iliacae* must be to turn from questions of production to those of reception, from the apparent objectivity of source criticism to a tighter focus on the viewing subject: what tools, habits, and even biases did ancient viewers bring to their encounter with the tablets? How did the images and texts on the tablets shape in turn the viewing process? A concern with the subjectivity of viewer response animates the recent work on the *Tabulae* by Michael Squire, whose book *The Iliad in a nutshell: Visualizing epic on the Tabulae Iliacae* (2011) appeared shortly before the present monograph.[32] My own work is a contribution to this ongoing conversation.

From iconography to narrative: Scope of the present study

As the previous section has already made clear, the *Tabulae* did not invent their images out of whole cloth. At the time of their production in the first century CE, there existed a rich visual tradition for portraying the stories of the Trojan War. It had developed over hundreds of years alongside the literary tradition and might offer solutions for the pictorial representation of a given event that sometimes agree, sometimes disagree with the instantiations of the same event found in poetic texts.[33] The work of Valenzuela Montenegro in particular has shown that the artisans of the tablets, perhaps not surprisingly, took full advantage of the variegated visual tradition to which they were heirs. They follow common and well-attested iconographic

[31] VM: 15: "Ein vordringliches Ziel meiner Arbeit ist daher, die Tafeln neu zu erschließen und *einer möglichst objektiven, wertfreien Betrachtung* zu unterziehen" (emphasis added); 16: "Die ikonographische Herleitung ermöglicht ein ganz neues Verständnis der Bilderwelt der Tabulae Iliacae und verzichtet darauf, subjektiv gefärbte Wertungen zur Interpretationsgrundlage zu machen."

[32] Cf. Squire 2009: 135 139 for an earlier engagement with the tablets in terms of viewer response.

[33] On the vast topic of the relationship between the ancient visual and literary traditions for the Trojan War, see, e.g., Anderson 1997; Giuliani 1998, 2003; Snodgrass 1998; Small 2003; Lowenstam 2008 (all with further bibliography).

schemes when representing popular scenes from, say, the story of the *Iliad* or the fall of Troy; if the tradition happened not to offer a model for a particular episode they had chosen to depict, they adapt pre-existing schemes to their new purposes.[34]

Thus we are well informed about the visual vocabulary of the *Tabulae*, the building blocks of their language, so to speak, but considerably less attention has been paid to the syntax of this language, to the ways in which the *Tabulae* arrange and combine their material. Yet it is the layout of the tablets, their visual syntax, that distinguishes them as a class and that, as we shall see, the tablets advertise in their own inscriptions. I wish to offer an account that captures better what is distinctive about the communicative strategies of the tablets, that is, how their images and texts fit together and how Roman viewers may have responded. The *Tabulae Iliacae* are much more than the sum of their parts.

Accordingly my study differs from most of the earlier monographs in that I do not place at its center a description of the tablets section by section and figure by figure. This material is in an appendix, but it is not my primary aim to reconsider the sources of individual scenes, or to tabulate once again their agreements with and discrepancies from the books of the *Iliad*. In the body of the text I conduct instead a more holistic analysis of the tablets' inscriptions, spatial organization, narrative modes, and possible contexts. In this I am taking my cue from an insight into the analysis of visual narrative that Irene Winter formulated in connection with the study of pictorial narratives in the ancient Near East:[35]

> [W]ith respect to the relationship between narrative and iconography: it would seem that the latter, as a central pursuit of the discipline of art history, constitutes a prior and necessary step in the reading of narrative, but that the two should be kept separate. The one represents a process of identification, basically descriptive (Panofsky's iconographical analysis proper), the other a process of organizational analysis, of "how" as opposed to "what."

For Winter the next step involves asking after the significance of the organizational patterns uncovered by narrative analysis, "why" as opposed to "how."[36] Building on the Panofskian distinction between iconography and iconology (loosely, descriptive analysis versus synthetic interpretation),[37] Winter's discussion helpfully emphasizes that, in the case of a

[34] See VM: 22 238 (413 414 for a concise statement of her conclusions); cf. also the earlier conspectus of iconographic parallels at Sadurska: 95 100.

[35] 1985: 27 28. [36] Ibid. 28. [37] See Panofsky 1955 for the fundamental treatment of the terms.

work of narrative art, the way the story is structured counts no less than its content and demands its own investigation before an interpretation may be reached. In his introduction to the important collection of essays entitled *Narrative and event in ancient art*, Peter Holliday took up Winter's remarks as a guiding principle,[38] and like the authors in that volume, I treat iconographic analysis as a preliminary step rather than an end in itself. This is hardly a radical move for the study of visual narrative, but given the history of work on the *Tabulae*, it is something of a departure that the following chapters will focus on such questions as why the tablets organize their portrayal of the *Iliad* according to the book divisions of that poem, or how their switch in format from frieze to panel for the Sack of Troy section engages the viewer's active participation. As we shall see, the tablets employ a widely diffused imagery of the Trojan War to provide a familiar, recognizable baseline against which their intricate structuring of the visual field and more innovative compositions, such as the flight and departure of Aeneas, may stand out.[39]

Another novelty of my study is that I have structured it as an analysis of the *Tabula Capitolina* and the eight other tablets that represent the fall of Troy. These tablets have always been at the center of work on the *Tabulae Iliacae*. By focusing on them, I am able to develop a cohesive argument about their narratives in a way that would be impossible if I devoted equal space to all the tablets in the manner of a catalogue. Taken together, the nine Sack of Troy tablets reveal a narrative system whose workings may best be perceived in the permutations of the story elements from one tablet to the next. I do not disregard the other tablets: a better understanding of the *Capitolina* and its closest relatives will turn out, in fact, to elucidate in unexpected ways the other members of the group.

Plan of the book, and a guide to readers

The six chapters that form the body of this study move from ancient accounts of pictorial narrative and the inscriptions on the *Tabulae* themselves that instruct the viewer on how to proceed (Chapters 1 and 2), to the visual organization and narrative modes of the tablets (3 and 4), and finally to their likely display context and function in the world of early imperial

[38] Holliday 1993: 8.

[39] Valenzuela Montenegro likewise emphasizes that the use of a familiar iconography would have facilitated the abilty of viewers to recognize individual scenes easily (VM: 230, 409).

Rome (5 and 6). Chapter 1 uses descriptions of narrative art in ancient poetry to reconstruct a discourse on visual narrative, one that highlights the interpretive possibilities that open up for the viewer when the dimension of time is mapped on to scenes arranged in two- or three-dimensional space. Chapter 2 situates the viewing instructions inscribed on both sides of the *Tabulae* in this discourse: through their diction and through the organization, on the verso side, of their letters into so-called magic squares that may be read in multiple directions, these inscriptions offer a nuanced reflection on what it means to "read" the images they accompany. Chapter 3 undertakes this reading by examining the nine tablets that feature the Sack of Troy in a central panel and exploring variations in their visual organization; these variations not only reveal the system that structures the narratives of the tablets, but also suggest a new approach to the notorious citation of Stesichorus. In Chapter 4, I fill in the cultural context for the two narrative modes – the frieze and the panel – that the tablets combine in a hybrid designed to link Troy's past with the viewer's present. Chapter 5 begins from the limited evidence for where the tablets were found, and continues by postulating the Roman public library as the display venue their reliefs were intended to evoke. In Chapter 6, finally, I argue that the small size of the tablets can help us infer how they were displayed and used, and may even shed additional light on the shadowy figure of Theodorus. The book closes with two appendixes: a conspectus of all twenty-three *Tabulae*, and a detailed description of the tablets whose subject is the fall of Troy.

Though the book's argument is cumulative, the discussion falls naturally into three sections of two chapters apiece. These can be consulted separately: the reader primarily interested in the reliefs, for example, could turn immediately to Chapter 3. The two appendixes act as a reference for individual tablets, and the Index will facilitate locating discussions of these in the main text.

Preliminaries

It will be helpful to establish at the outset certain data points and assumptions that will guide my discussion of the *Tabulae Iliacae* throughout the present book. Here I treat the following topics in order: the workshop(s) that produced the tablets and their cohesiveness as a class; their dating; the materials of which they are made; and their sources. I conclude with a note on bibliography. (A reader not immediately interested in these details might skip to Chapter 1 without much harm.)

Workshop, and unity of the class

Several features unify the stone plaques counted among the *Tabulae Iliacae*.[40] Common to most of the class is their distinctive technique of miniature carving, which presents figures in very shallow relief with indistinct outlines that often seem to merge with the background: Sadurska aptly characterizes the technique as "sfumato."[41] There is an allied tendency to combine these carvings with equally minute texts over a surface whose dimensions seldom exceed 29 cm on a side.

Six tablets bear the name of Theodorus: of these, the *Tabula Capitolina* and three others feature the Troy saga with the characteristic arrangement of a central panel surrounded by friezes (1A, 2NY, 3C, 20Par); the remaining two are representations of the Shield of Achilles as described in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad* (4N, 5O). Five more tablets that retell the story of Troy using the arrangement of panel and friezes must also be linked to Theodorus (6B, 7Ti, 8E, 9D, 21Fr). One tablet that uniquely adopts the same organization to represent the plot of the *Odyssey* is obviously related, despite the different nature of its carvings (16Sa).[42] While the objects mentioned so far share either the name of Theodorus or organizational features linked with it, the quality of the carving of their reliefs differs enough from tablet to tablet that it seems unlikely they were all sculpted by a single hand.[43] Differences between tablets in the lettering of their inscriptions likewise prompted Sadurska to assign responsibility for the Greek texts to four different stonecutters, who are not necessarily identical to the ones who cut the reliefs.[44] Given the fragmentary preservation of most tablets, the extreme miniaturization of the images and texts, and the varied materials of which they are carved, we must probably regard any attempt to discern different hands in the reliefs or inscriptions as provisional, and to be taken with a grain of salt.[45] What seems clear and worth stressing, however, is that several artisans worked on the products associated with Theodorus.[46]

[40] On these common features and the related question of the workshop(s) that produced the tablets, see Sadurska: 8 15; Salimbene 2002: 17 26; VM: 297 304.

[41] Sadurska: 8. For the carving technique see also Amedick 1999: 197 198; VM: 297 298.

[42] See the discussion in Chapter 3.

[43] For discussions of the different hands that worked the reliefs, see Sadurska: 10 12 (along with the treatments of the issue that conclude her sections on each tablet); VM: 302 304.

[44] Sadurska: 14 (she includes a fifth hand for the texts of 19J, carved in the Antonine period). Her identification of these hands has seemed robust enough to allow the attribution to them of texts carved on the tablets that appeared after the publication of her monograph: see Horsfall 1990: 95 96. The hands are listed in Appendix 1.

[45] VM: 302 calls the attempt to discern the hands behind the reliefs "ein riskantes Unterfangen."

[46] So also VM: 304. For the self presentation of Theodorus on the tablets, see Chapter 2.

There are six tablets that each carry a more limited number of mythological scenes – illustrations from just one book of the *Iliad*, for example – but their carving technique, selection of motifs, and/or organizational features place them among the products of Theodorus, as does the fact that their inscriptions seem to be cut by the same hands that worked on the tablets linked to his name. 10K carries on its verso a digest of Athenian myths and a catalogue of epic poems; on its recto it has reliefs that are too worn to interpret, and an inscribed digest of Theban myths that closely resembles one carved on the verso of 9D, a tablet with a Sack of Troy panel (the same stonecutter seems to have worked on 9D and 10K). 11H carries three scenes from book 10 of the *Odyssey* that are set around the house of Circe and use the combination of bird's-eye and frontal perspective familiar from the other tablets of Theodorus. 12F shows the ransom of Hector from *Iliad* 24 in a format practically identical to the one adopted for that book on the tablets with comprehensive *Iliad* illustrations. 13Ta sets a small frieze of Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector over a larger scene showing Achilles and Athena in conversation. 14G has a portrait of Homer on one side, seated on an altar and with his back to a pillar that features an inscribed summary of the *Iliad*; on the other side is a scene of combat enclosed in a wide frame. And finally, the recto of 15Ber shows Aphrodite coming to the aid of Paris, a scene from *Iliad* 3; one of Theodorus' characteristic letter grids fills the verso.

Three more tablets are devoted to historical material: images related to Alexander the Great and an inscribed chronicle of events from Greek and Roman history (17M, 18L, 22VP). Once again, a connection to the rest of the tablets is secured by the carving technique and shared motifs (a representation of an altar decorated with dancing figures on 17M resembles closely the one upon which Homer sits on 14G).[47] The hand that cut the two versions of the chronicle on 18L and 22VP seems identical to the one responsible for the mythological digests on 9D and 10K.

To explain these extensive similarities among the tablets, the hypothesis usually advanced is that they are products of either the same workshop or a group of closely related ones. Sadurska divided the plaques among as many as four ateliers, but her proposals, based on inconsistent criteria and avowedly tentative, have probably outlived their usefulness.[48] With Valenzuela Montenegro I find it most economical to assume that the tablets

[47] 17M, the *Tabula Chigi*, is sometimes dated to a later period than the rest of the tablets, unconvincingly: see the discussions at VM: 308 309 and Petrain 2012: 600 602.

[48] See Sadurska: 10 12, with the extended discussions and refutations at Salimbene 2002; VM: 300 301.

come from a single workshop linked to the name of Theodorus.[49] Whether from one workshop or several, however, it is certain that the *Tabulae Iliacae* constitute a unified class whose members are mutually illuminating.

There are two further tablets whose pertinence to the class described above is open to question. A small plaque of yellow marble that was excavated in 2006 from the forum of Cumae carries on its recto a scene of libation summarily carved in shallow relief, and on the verso a grid that resembles in its outline the magic squares of other tablets.[50] There are no letters inscribed in the grid, however, nor any inscriptions elsewhere on the tablet, so that it is difficult to guess at the significance of the carvings. On the basis of the plaque's dimensions, distinctive two-sided decoration, carving technique and material, the initial publication counted it as the twenty-third *Tabula Iliaca* (23Ky). This is plausible, though there is room for doubt; I take the tablet into account in what follows, but it does not have much bearing on the main thrust of my arguments.

Several factors set the *Tabula Albani* (19J) apart from the rest. It represents the life and apotheosis of Heracles in a deeper, more carefully modeled style of carving that is very different from the shallow reliefs of the other *Tabulae*. Because 19J uses the drill bit to delineate the pupils of its figures, it is dated to the Antonine period, long after the other tablets were fashioned.[51] Yet 19J shares with the other tablets a number of elements: a decorated altar at which Heracles pours a libation resembles the altar from 14G and 17M; an accompanying inscription provides a date for the depicted events in a format identical to one used by the mythological digests of 9D and 10K; the libation scene is flanked by pilasters carrying an inscribed summary of Heracles' exploits, a format familiar from 1A and 8E. Tablet 19J thus provides a tantalizing hint that at least some aspects of Theodorus' creations had a life beyond the temporally circumscribed period of their production.[52]

Dating

Comparisons with other ancient monuments are generally unhelpful in establishing a date for the *Tabulae*: loose stylistic parallels with images produced during the reign of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) have been adduced, but the texts and images of the tablets are too small and idiosyncratic to

[49] VM: 302. [50] The initial publication is Gasparri 2009.

[51] Sadurska: 92 94; VM: 331 333.

[52] VM: 333 suggests that 19J is an Antonine copy of an earlier tablet. Or does the Antonine tablet simply imply that the *Tabulae Iliacae* continued to circulate in some form, so that their distinctive elements might be recombined anew by a later artist?

admit of precise comparanda.[53] More useful are the inscribed chronicles of events carried on two of the historical tablets (18L, 22VP). These inscriptions date events *backwards* from 15/16 CE, and it seems unlikely that such a chronicle would be inscribed long after that time (it would become progressively more out of date).[54] The two tablets in question, and therefore the class, should belong to the early first century CE.

The image of Aeneas and his family in flight on the *Tabula Capitolina* points to the same conclusion. As I mentioned earlier, the *Capitolina* adopts an iconography that was created for the statue group in Augustus' forum but would later be copied throughout the Roman empire. Ascanius wears Trojan garb and a pointed Phrygian cap; Aeneas, with his father perched on his shoulder, dresses in the armor of a Roman general. (Earlier representations of Aeneas on the coinage of Julius Caesar and Augustus were quite different, with the hero nude and Ascanius omitted.) The *Capitolina* quotes the Augustan monument, and in so doing provides us with an approximate *terminus post quem*: Augustus' forum was dedicated around 5 BCE.[55]

The temporal indicators point to the end of the reign of Augustus, and to the period immediately following his death in 14 CE. The subject matter of the tablets accords well with the attention being lavished on the Troy myth, and on Aeneas and the territory of Troy in particular, during this time. We will not go far off if we place the majority of the *Tabulae Iliacae* in the early first century CE.[56]

Materials

The *Tabula Capitolina* is composed of a substance that was conclusively identified as calcite only in 1961, when officials at the Capitoline Museum had a small piece removed from the back of the tablet's broken edge, and subjected it to chemical analysis.[57] Before this, classifications of the material

[53] For a judicious treatment of these parallels, see VM: 307 308.

[54] So also VM: 307. On the two chronicles see Jacoby's discussion at *FGrH* 252; Burstein 1984: Petrain 2010.

[55] On the forum as a *terminus post quem* see Annucci 1999 (difficult to access outside of Italy); VM: 131, 306 307. For the iconography of the Aeneas group, Spannagel 1999: 90 131 is fundamental; see also Horsfall 1979: 41; Simon 2001; Rose 2002b (esp. 337 339).

[56] In an *intervento* at a conference on Magna Graecia, M. Torelli briefly floated the possibility of dating the *Tabulae* as early as the first half of the first century BCE, when they would have been used by aristocratic Republican families to educate their children about the Trojan origins of Rome (Torelli 1997: 121 122; repeated at *Roma* 2000: 198; *Iliade* 2006: 151). This proposal seems insufficiently supported (so Gasparri 2009: 254 n. 14), and positively contradicted by the available evidence.

[57] Sadurska: 24 n. 1.

in the scholarly literature ranged from stucco to tufa to marble. In the case of the other tablets too, it has often proved challenging to attribute the material to a precise type of stone. Six other tablets seem to share with the *Capitolina* its dull, milky-gray stone, which is often identified as palombino (5O, 11H, 18L, 20Par, 21Fr, 22VP).[58] The plaques in "palombino" include exemplars with a Sack of Troy panel, one of the shields of Achilles, a tablet devoted to scenes from a single book of the *Odyssey*, and two featuring historical content; evidently the choice of this material was not dictated by a specific type of subject matter.

Most of the other *Tabulae* are carved from marble, sometimes white but more often of colored varieties: a yellow hue is most common, though its intensity varies and on some tablets takes on a distinctly brown cast (compare the pronounced yellow of 8E, Figure 13, with the duller stone of 3C, Figure 9).[59] If, as seems likely, this yellow stone is to be identified with the famous *giallo antico*, the marble imported to Rome from Numidia as early as the second century BCE, then we have another feature consonant with the rest of our evidence for the provenance and dating of the tablets: The use of *giallo antico* was concentrated in the Italian peninsula, particularly in Rome and surrounding cities. The precious import became especially widespread under Augustus and his successors when, as one authority puts it, "one might say there was no public or private monument in which [the stone] was not represented in some fashion."[60] *Giallo antico* and the other varieties of colored marble are, of course, valuable materials and suggest that the tablets carved from them are luxury products – though we might have inferred this anyway from the intricacy of their workmanship.

Two tablets enhance the worth of their marble through the application of gold. According to Sadurska, the border of tablet 16Sa is gilded and there are traces of painted lettering, but until now it was difficult to evaluate if gilding or painting was typical for the *Tabulae* because the reliefs of 16Sa differ noticeably from those of the other tablets.[61] I have detected, however, clear traces of gilding on the upper border of 3C, one of the tablets signed by Theodorus that has a central Troy panel (Figure 9). Was gilding or other coloring regularly applied to the tablets in order to increase their appeal, or the legibility of their reliefs? Many students of the *Tabulae* have considered it likely, even invoking the original presence of paint as an explanation for

[58] For palombino, see Borghini 1989: 263. [59] See Appendix 1 for a list of the materials.

[60] Gnoli 1988: 167 ("né c'è si può dire monumento pubblico o privato dov'esso non sia in qualche modo rappresentato"). On *giallo antico* see Gnoli 1988: 166 168; Borghini 1989: 214 215; Lazzarini 2002: 243 244 (all with further bibliography).

[61] Sadurska: 72.

why the peculiar carving technique of the reliefs leaves the outlines of so many figures indistinct.[62] While it may be impossible to determine just how extensive a role polychromy played, the new evidence from 3C certainly lends credence to the possibility that the tablets incorporated additional materials to expand their palette beyond the colors inherent in the stones themselves.[63]

Sources

The sources from which the artisans of the tablets derived their pictorial and texual matter were eclectic and multiple.[64] The cycles of images take advantage of the full resources of the earlier visual tradition, placing centuries-old iconographic schemas alongside such recent creations as the Aeneas group from Augustus' forum. Pattern-books of popular scenes, perhaps on papyrus, may have played a role in mediating this content. Papyrus rolls would be suited not only to transmitting an abundance of images, but to transmitting them in enough detail as to allow the stone-cutters to execute them at different degrees of elaboration depending on the available space;[65] as several scholars have noted, the carved stones of the tablets do *not* seem particularly well suited, as a medium, to capturing fine detail on a small scale, which may imply that some of the images have been adapted from a material better able to accommodate intricate miniature work, such as papyrus.[66] Of course the exact nature of the intermediary sources is impossible to recover, but Theodorus' workshop must have made a significant use of papyrus rolls given the number of textual sources at its disposal (see next paragraph), and it is plausible to think that papyrus was involved in the transmission of the images too.[67]

[62] See VM: 297 298 for the hypothesis of original coloring (with earlier bibliography). Sadurska (8) dissents: polychromy was peculiar to 16Sa, and unneeded on the other, more carefully modeled tablets (but 3C now provides a counterexample).

[63] Amedick (1999: 198) objects that applied pigments would be out of place on stones precious for their intrinsic color, but see De Nuccio and Ungaro 2002: 385 for a head of Silenus in a pale *giallo antico* that preserved traces of blue pigment on the ivy leaves of its garland (number 87 in the catalogue).

[64] Cf. Horsfall 1979: 43 48; VM: 228 238, 344 346.

[65] 12F, for instance, features just one book of the *Iliad*, but its version of book 24 is more carefully modeled than those on the more comprehensive tablets. While all the versions are recognizably derived from the same source, 12F suggests that this source was more detailed than we might otherwise have suspected.

[66] See VM: 345 346 (with bibliography).

[67] The question of artists' pattern books in antiquity has been renewed by the publication of the Artemidorus papyrus with its studies of animals and (parts of) human figures: see Elsner 2009 for a judicious and wide ranging treatment of the problem, Gallazzi *et al.* 2008 for the papyrus itself.

For help in assembling these images and forming a narrative sequence tied, e.g., to the books of the *Iliad*, the artisans probably consulted textual epitomes of the poems to be illustrated. Indeed, Valenzuela Montenegro has shown that when the tablets portray scenes not attested previously in visual art, these scenes are usually those that the extant ancient epitomes highlight – possible evidence for the working methods of Theodorus and his team.[68] Yet the epitomes inscribed on the tablets, such as the *Iliad* summary of the *Capitolina*, do not mark book divisions and hence cannot be the same as those used to organize the image cycles:[69] evidently the artisans drew on a varied range of textual supports. They will not typically have consulted the *Iliad* directly, however, so that discrepancies between the images and Homer's poem itself are hardly surprising.

The claim is occasionally made that the *Tabulae* have borrowed their Troy narratives wholesale from an earlier prototype of Greek origin (for which there is no direct evidence).[70] The high degree of variation among the nine tablets carrying this narrative should have laid to rest the notion that the tablets result from any mechanical process of copying, as should their incorporation of such near-contemporaneous and undeniably Roman elements as the statue group from Augustus' forum. At any rate, none of the candidates proposed as the original of the *Tabulae* stands up to scrutiny. It was once thought, for instance, that elaborately illustrated papyrus rolls of Homer's *Iliad* might lie behind the cycles of Iliadic illustrations that survive from the Roman world, the *Tabulae* included. Yet there is no evidence for such rolls in the relevant period, and they would not account for the variety of organizational principles that may be observed in the extant cycles.[71] This same variety belies the suggestion that the *Tabulae* and other illustrated cycles of the Trojan War must point to the existence of one prototype, possibly monumental, that served as their common inspiration: they differ so greatly in conception and layout that to term them "copies" of a single model stretches the meaning of the word past the breaking point.[72] We

[68] VM: 237.

[69] See Chapter 3 for the links between the inscriptions of the tablets and ancient epitomes of the *Iliad*.

[70] E.g., Sadurska: 17, 34 (who concedes that the prototype must at least have been modified to highlight Aeneas); Kazansky 1997: 57 59; Scafoglio 2005: 113.

[71] Rouveret (1989: 356 358) sketches out the thesis that illustrated Homeric papyri are a source for the *Tabulae*, with bibliography; for the use that Kurt Weitzmann made of the tablets in his theories about ancient book illumination, see Chapter 4. Modern scholarship seems to have reached the welcome consensus that illustrated papyri are not likely to be sources for the *Tabulae* or other pictorial cycles: see Stewart 1996: 47; VM: 339 344; and Small 2003 for a full treatment of the issues.

[72] Cf. Scafoglio 2005: 113: the *Tabula Capitolina* is "[c]on ogni probabilità . . . la copia romana di un'opera greca." I compare the tablets and the other illustrated cycles in Chapter 4.

must recognize, rather, that they all treat a popular story using a repertoire of images widely diffused in the ancient world.[73] In this book I assume that the unique organization of the visual narratives featured on the *Tabulae Iliacae* is the invention of Theodorus, and to be considered against the backdrop of early imperial Rome.[74]

Valenzuela Montenegro raises an additional question about the sources of the *Tabulae*.[75] Once we have allowed for multiple textual and iconographic inputs, and excluded the possibility of an earlier prototype, is it possible nonetheless to posit the existence of a prototype created by the artisans of the *Tabulae* themselves? Is there evidence, that is, for a master version of Theodorus' Troy narrative that was created *within* his own workshop, and that served as the model from which the extant tablets were variously adapted? Valenzuela Montenegro finds evidence for such an internal prototype (*Entwurf* is her word[76]) in the fact that different tablets may offer expanded or condensed versions of a given narrative sequence, or choose different images to illustrate, say, a book of the *Iliad*: in her view, this variation implies that there was a kind of maximally detailed model with the fuller versions of all scenes, which the artisans then adjusted to the needs of each tablet. (If this model were executed in a material other than stone, it might also help explain the impression that some of the tablets' reliefs have been transferred from a medium better able to accommodate fine detail.) She argues further that this fuller model must have featured images accompanied by labels, and that "errors" arise when the artisans condense an image from the model, then mistakenly copy over a label corresponding to a figure that was omitted: e.g., 1A carries a label for the river Scamander in *Iliad* 21, but does not depict the river god. The telltale mismatch between label and illustration points to the more detailed prototype where the corresponding figure was depicted.

Ingenious as this analysis is, it is not fully borne out by the evidence. For variations among the tablets, we need only assume that the artisans worked with iconographic models (from pattern-books or whatever other medium) and adapted them as needed: nothing demands the assumption of a unitary prototype. The argument for labels miscopied from a fuller prototype rests largely on just two inscriptions, but one of these has been misread, and the

[73] For a similar conclusion see VM: 234, who highlights iconographic differences among the cycles.

[74] VM: 22 25 reaches the same conclusion and stresses the characteristically Roman mingling of perspectives in the Sack of Troy panels, and the presence of Roman elements in the representation of Troy's architecture.

[75] The following paragraphs respond to the discussions at VM: 234 235, 345 346. [76] VM: 414.

other can be interpreted differently – too shaky a foundation on which to base inferences.[77] Now, it is plausible enough that Theodorus' workshop created some sort of model or models for its Troy narrative, and the idea that the workshop might have worked in materials other than stone has its attractions.[78] But I remain skeptical that we can infer anything specific about these putative prototypes, and in explaining features of the tablets, I have found it more fruitful to avoid the multiplication of hypothetical entities.

Bibliographical note

In the case of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, the hydra of bibliographical completeness is all but insurmountable.[79] Studies devoted specifically to the *Tabulae* are surprisingly few in number, but the images and texts of the tablets touch on so many aspects of the epic tradition that an exhaustive list of references to them in the scholarly literature would encompass much of the bibliography on Homer and the Epic Cycle in ancient literature and art, and on the history of the Aeneas myth in Augustan Rome besides. While I have striven to take into account all relevant contributions, I make no claims to comprehensiveness, nor have I tried to signal every appearance of the tablets in encyclopedias, handbooks, and exhibition catalogues.[80] Work that was published after 2009 makes only an occasional appearance in this book.

[77] I treat both inscriptions in Appendix 2: see the discussions of *Iliad* 21 on 1A, and of *Iliad* 19 on 2NY (for the correction of a longstanding misreading).

[78] If there were *Tabulae Iliacae* executed in materials other than stone that, for whatever reason, have not reached us, it might imply that the objects were once considerably more numerous, and thus help to explain how the class could still be prevalent and salient enough in the Antonine period to spur the creation of 19J with its apotheosis of Heracles. Considering the workshop's preference for milky white and pale yellow stones, I have wondered about the possibility of exemplars in ivory (a medium well adapted to miniature carving), perhaps with gilding applied. But I see no way of moving beyond the bare hypothesis.

[79] I owe the image to Coleman 2006: vii.

[80] Sadurska and VM offer extensive, though hardly complete, bibliographies for each tablet.

1 Reading visual narrative in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds

One problem that immediately confronts a viewer of the *Tabulae Iliacae* is the sheer amount of material, both pictorial and textual, that they offer. How would ancient viewers have processed this mass of information? What interpretive tools or viewing habits could they draw on to make sense of the dense array presented by the *Tabulae*? The tablets raise these issues because they segment the Troy saga into a complex array of miniature fields, whose rectangular and square frames of varying size and varied content draw the gaze in several directions at once, vying for the viewer's attention: where do we begin, and how do we proceed through the panel and friezes? As I argued in the introduction, initial assumptions about how the *Tabulae* should be read can have wide ranging implications for how we assess their sophistication, purpose, and overall meaning. Earlier studies have tended to proceed as if viewers would work through the illustrations of the *Tabulae* in narrative order, much as they would process a text: this assumption is explicit in interpretations that make of the *Tabulae* memory aids to which viewers turned for help in recalling their Homer, implicit in primarily iconographical studies that analyze each section of the plaques individually and in sequence, thereby recapitulating the plot of the Epic Cycle. Such analyses, and the suppositions underlying them, can make it more difficult to see how the spatial organization of the texts and scenes of the tablets – arguably their most characteristic feature – shapes the viewer's experience and encourages other modes of reading involving, e.g., multiple directions and creative juxtaposition.

In this chapter, I begin from the assumption that it is not at all obvious how an ancient viewer would have dealt with pictorial narratives as complex as those presented by the *Tabulae*. To understand the monuments better, then, we need to examine the culturally specific ideas, attitudes, and methods of interpretation that were available in the ancient world for coping with this challenging form of storytelling.[1] We may

[1] On the act of viewing as a historically and culturally specific activity, see the helpful introduction of Nelson 2000; for a multifaceted exploration of Roman visuality and the Roman viewing subject, see Elsner 2007.

reasonably bracket our inquiry within clear temporal limits, because it is around the mid-second century BCE that detailed visual narratives featuring multiple scenes in a determinate chronological sequence attain a new prominence in ancient or, more specifically, Hellenistic art; their influence extends to Rome soon after (more on this below).

In attempting to offer a sketch of how contemporaneous viewers approached this newly salient narrative form, I propose to focus on three poetic descriptions of artwork with multiscenic narratives that date to the third, second, and first centuries BCE, the first two by the Greek poets Theocritus and Moschus, respectively, and the third by the Roman poet Vergil. Textual descriptions such as these are of invaluable help in recovering contemporary viewing practices, because they offer fictionalized accounts of responses to art that are often more detailed and explicit than anything we could reliably hope to infer from surviving artworks of the period:[2] the three ecphrases to be examined here are ancient attempts to imagine how a viewer might process and sequence a narrative's individual scenes, and as such they can help inform our own engagement with the visual narratives of the tablets in Chapters 3 and 4. In addition, the *Tabulae* themselves furnish the viewer with metrical instructions on how to read their stories: by beginning with poetic treatments of narrative art, therefore, we not only fill in the cultural background on which a viewing of the tablets depends, but also explore the literary traditions in which the tablets' own poetic texts take part (these texts are the subject of the next chapter).

The three ecphrases of artwork to be examined each portray a narrative involving multiple scenes with a determinate chronology, but they recount the episodes of their stories out of chronological order; the deviation from the underlying chronology is comparatively simple in the Hellenistic poets Theocritus and Moschus, but reaches a height of complexity with Vergil during the Augustan period. These descriptions highlight a characteristic feature of visual narrative to which we will be returning throughout the present study: stories in pictorial form differ fundamentally from texts in the experience of sequence they provide,[3] for a text's words are set out in a normative, prescribed order, while the scenes of narrative art are arrayed in space and may therefore be traversed along a number of routes – left to right, right to left, top to bottom, etc. – not all of which will correspond with the chronology of the underlying story.[4] I will argue in what follows that the

[2] For this point see Zanker 2004: 7–9.

[3] For an exploration of this point in relation to Roman art, see Huet 1996.

[4] For interesting remarks on the linearity of text vis à vis pictorial narrative, see Genette 1980: 33–34.

ecphrases thematize the potential for conflict between narrative chronology and a spatially determined sequence of viewing. They point to the existence of a developing discourse keenly interested in the possibilities for manipulating a story that become available when the unidirectional dimension of time is mapped out onto two- or three-dimensional space.

In connecting ancient poets' descriptions of artwork with the viewing habits of their contemporaries, I am following a trend in recent scholarship that uses literary texts to aid in the reconstruction of an ancient culture of viewing,[5] though my own investigation differs from much of this work in that it considers a single aspect of this culture, and tries to derive from it concrete help for interpreting a specific type of visual art. One difficulty with this "textual" approach to visual culture is that all poetic ecphrases of artwork respond, inevitably, to a complex set of literary conventions and models particular to their medium: we assume at our own peril that any poet provides a simple, unproblematic reflection of the behavior of contemporary viewers. An ancient poet's audience, furthermore, may not correspond exactly, or even closely, with the audience for a given artwork, and we might fairly ask whether the ideas and values that we find articulated in a text are truly representative of more widespread viewing practices.[6] While it may not be possible to avoid these pitfalls entirely, in what follows I argue that poetic ecphrases of artwork demonstrate a new and unprecedented interest in complex narratives with multiple scenes at the same time as such narratives become popular in Hellenistic art, so that the descriptions of the poets are likely to have some link with contemporary practice. I also try to show that fledgling students of oratory were instructed in the same principles of narrative sequence that the poets employ, an indication that these principles, and the interpretive habits they carry with them, have a relevance extending beyond the poets' elite and learned readership to all those whose education included instruction in rhetoric. My move in this chapter of examining poetic descriptions of artwork *before* works of visual art themselves will seem needlessly logocentric to some, merely eccentric to others, but the brief delay in our further encounter with the *Tabulae* will, I hope, be compensated by the viewing practices and analytic categories that these texts help us establish.

The chapter falls into four parts. In the first, I explore the ecphrasis of a golden basket from the short epic *Europa* by the second-century poet Moschus. This is the first extant description of an artwork that features a

[5] Important examples of this approach are Goldhill 1994, 2001a; Elsner 1995, 2007; Zanker 2004.
[6] On this latter difficulty, cf. Elsner 1995: 10 11, 2007: xiv.

single mythological narrative over multiple scenes:[7] three distinct episodes from the saga of Io are depicted on the basket, but Moschus presents them out of order and uses the spatial layout of the basket to justify his apparent distortion of the underlying narrative. In the next section I elaborate a conceptual framework for describing this tension between chronology and spatial order that borrows from both modern narratology and the ancient rhetorical treatises mentioned above. In the third section, I use this framework to guide an analysis of the goatherd's cup from the first *Idyll* of the third-century poet Theocritus. The goatherd describes the cup's scenes that depict the three so-called ages of man (childhood, adulthood, old age), but he narrates them in a distorted sequence that mirrors precisely the one we encounter in Moschus. As I hope to show, Theocritus represents the distorted order of the scenes as the result of an interaction between the physical structure of the cup and the idiosyncratic choices of its goatherd viewer. Finally, I turn to the temple of Juno from the first book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a description that deftly evokes the conflict between temporal and spatial sequence to create a complex web of divergent perspectives on the events of the epic past. In this passage we see how a Roman poet utilizes the tradition of ecphrastic narrative to offer a new reading of the Troy story, a technique that the *Tabulae* too will draw upon.

Europa's basket and narrative anachrony

During the Hellenistic period, artists showed a progressively greater interest in presenting the successive stages of a story through series of discrete scenes.[8] The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon is a famous example, and one of the earliest: dating to the mid-second century BCE, this frieze allows its viewers to follow the progress of the myth of Telephos, son of Heracles, as they proceed through the reliefs in order from left to right.[9] Approximately contemporary with the frieze are the so-called "Homeric bowls," hemispherical terracotta vessels whose exteriors feature connected sequences of scenes from Greek epic and

[7] Friedländer 1912: 15; Bühler 1960: 85 86.

[8] For an overview of this development, see Pollitt 1986: 185 209. Multiscenic visual narrative is not of course an *invention* of the Hellenistic period: we may recognize continuities with Archaic and Classical art as well as the distinctiveness of the Hellenistic material (cf. Stewart 1996; Stansbury O'Donnell 1999; Giuliani 2003).

[9] On the narrative style of the frieze, its distinctiveness, and its antecedents, see Stewart 1996; Ridgway 2000: 68 70 (both with bibliography).

tragedy, often arranged between ornamental bands of vegetation; by rotating the bowl, a viewer could "read" the story related by the scenes.[10]

In about the same period, Moschus produced in his *Europa* what seems to be a textual analogue to this type of visual narrative. The poem contains an elaborate description of the basket – *talaros* in Greek – that Europa brought with her when she went down to the seashore with her friends to pick flowers.[11] Following a venerable convention in poetic ecphrases of artwork, the description focuses on the multiple scenes depicted over the basket's surface, but Moschus takes the unusual step of linking these scenes in a temporal sequence: the three vignettes on Europa's basket are episodes from a single, connected story, the saga of Io. It is tempting to link this development with the growing interest in visual narrative evidenced by contemporary artwork.[12]

As noted above, Moschus problematizes this innovative feature by presenting the story's scenes in an idiosyncratic order: Io's flight, and her metamorphosis back into human form, precede the slaying of her captor Argus by Hermes. In most accounts of the myth, Argus' death is what provokes Hera to send the gadfly that torments Io and forces her to flee;[13] the scene with Argus is thus the earliest stage of the story depicted on Europa's basket, despite the fact that it comes at the end of Moschus' description. This basic discrepancy between the chronology of the story and the order of description may be charted as follows:

A	Io, in bovine form, flees across the Bosporus (lines 44–49)	2
B	Io is restored to human form by Zeus (50–54)	3
C	Io's captor Argus is slain by Hermes, and a bird rises from his blood (55–61)	1

The appearance of Io in both A and B, first as a cow and then in the process of being restored to human form, links the two scenes in a clear progression that establishes a temporal dimension for the entire ecphrasis. The reader has been primed to consider how scene C fits into the story, and thus is encouraged to ponder over why the slaying of Argus appears in the "wrong" position.

[10] Sinn 1979 is the most recent monograph on the Homeric bowls. On the narratives of the bowls see Giuliani 2003: 263 280.

[11] Lines 37 62.

[12] Commentators have often observed that scenes from the Io story were popular subjects in ancient art (see, e.g., Bühler 1960: 93 94, 101, 104 105; Hopkinson 1988: 201 202; and the bibliography at Campbell 1991: xi), but no one has connected the *narrative sequence* of Moschus' ecphrasis with contemporary artistic trends.

[13] See Gantz 1993: 199 202 for details.

The answer to this question may be inferred from the information that Moschus provides about the basket's physical structure. The description starts with a general indication that the scenes appear "on" the basket: "On it many gleaming wonders had been wrought."[14] The first two scenes begin with similar expressions.[15] Moschus is more specific about the location of the final scene, however, and he mentions its position on the rim of the basket twice, at both the beginning and end of the vignette in a miniature ring composition:[16]

> ἀμφὶ δέ, δινήεντος ὑπὸ στεφάνην ταλάροιο,
> Ἑρμείης ἤσκητο . . .
>
> And round about, under the rim of the rounded basket, Hermes had been fashioned . . .
>
> τὰς ὅγ' ἀναπλώσας ὡσεί τέ τις ὠκύαλος νηῦς
> χρυσείου ταλάροιο περίσκεπε χείλεα ταρσοῖς.
>
> Unfurling its [wings] like a swift ship, [the bird] covered the rim of the golden basket all around with its plumage.

In a sense, Moschus is simply following convention here: ecphrases of artwork normally conclude by describing whatever framing element appears on the rim or edge of an object.[17] The decoration in this position, however, is more typically (and perhaps more naturally) a neutral, repetitive motif: e.g., the goatherd's cup from *Idyll* 1, one of the chief models for the ecphrasis of Europa's basket, carries bands of plants around its upper and lower edges. By placing a scene with narrative content on the rim of the basket, our poet utilizes an old convention for a novel purpose: the spatial position of the Argus scene explains and justifies its deviation from narrative sequence because, as a framing element, it must be described last despite its chronological priority. Moschus stresses the scene's location through ring composition in order to highlight the tension here between temporal and spatial principles of ordering; we are aware of the narrative sequence that binds the three scenes, but we also see how their relative positions can produce a different order that offers novel points of emphasis.

[14] ἐν τῷ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχατο μαρμαίροντα (43).
[15] ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ (44); ἐν δ' ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης (50). [16] 55 56; 60 61.
[17] Cf. Bühler 1960: 104.

Fabula, sjuzhet, and narrative ideology

I propose to describe the two principles of ordering we have observed in Moschus' ecphrasis with a pair of terms borrowed from narratology: *fabula* and *sjuzhet*. *Fabula* refers to the chronological sequence of events that we infer from the temporal information contained in a narrative, while *sjuzhet* is the order in which these events are recounted in the narrative itself. In the simple narrative "I arrived, but he had left earlier," for example, the *sjuzhet* is "A. I arrived. B. He had left earlier" – simply the order in which the events are relayed to us. This order of telling is empirically verifiable, because text is a linear medium that imposes an explicit, normative sequence in which its words and the scenes they describe are to be processed. The *fabula* of the same narrative is "1. He left. 2. I arrived," the chronological sequence that we infer from the pluperfect tense ("had left") and temporal adverb ("earlier"). Thus the *fabula* is not an empirical fact but a product of inference, an aspect of the reader's cognitive response to the narrative.[18] The *fabula* will be more or less determinate depending on the extent to which the narrative supplies the relevant information and the reader the necessary effort to (re)construct it. Narrative anachrony results, finally, when the *sjuzhet* diverges from the *fabula*, as in the above narrative where the order of narrating reverses the order in which the two events occurred (A–2, B–1). These terms correspond to the two opposed views of Io's story offered by Moschus' ecphrasis: the temporal sequence of the scenes (*fabula*) is disrupted by a different, anachronous order of narration (*sjuzhet*) motivated by their spatial distribution on the basket.

Though the terms *fabula* and *sjuzhet* are associated with the Russian Formalists, the concepts that underlie them are the common property of nearly all modern schools of narrative analysis, which offer several different terminologies, each with a different emphasis, that incorporate the basic distinction between chronological order and order of narration. The pair *fabula* and *sjuzhet* corresponds in part, for instance, to the contrast between 'story' and 'discourse,' respectively, or 'story' and 'narration'; *histoire/ discours* and *erzählte Zeit/Erzählzeit* likewise pick out different aspects of the two principles of ordering.[19] I have chosen the somewhat old-fashioned pair

[18] For the *fabula* as an aspect of readers' cognitive response to a narrative, and therefore dependent upon their interest in, and expectations of, that narrative, see Smith 1980: 228 231.

[19] For authoritative definitions of the terms mentioned in this paragraph and the preceding one, see Prince 2003 s.vv. (with bibliography); the standard account of narrative order is Genette 1980: 33 85.

fabula and *sjuzhet* for the present study partly out of convenience: the two cannot be confused with any common English words (unlike, e.g., "story"). More importantly, because they do not import additional concepts such as focalization or manner of narration, *fabula* and *sjuzhet* possess a certain terminological clarity that makes them particularly useful for my purposes.[20] Other treatments of ancient ecphrasis have employed "story" and "narration" to distinguish the visual artwork itself from the particular way in which its elements are ordered and mediated by a specific viewer's verbal (or textual) description.[21] I use my terms, by contrast, solely to refer to phenomena of sequencing in artworks that feature narrative content over multiple scenes.[22]

As the varied terminologies mentioned in the preceding paragraph might indicate, the distinction between order of occurrence (*fabula*) and order of narration (*sjuzhet*) is one that students of narratology continually return to as they reconsider the theoretical premises of the discipline,[23] or explore how its tools might be adapted for use in different media.[24] Here, a few words are necessary about how *fabula* and *sjuzhet* might be understood to operate in the visual realm. In the case of a textually mediated description like that of Moschus, the application of the terms is straightforward: like most texts, the ecphrasis exhibits a definite, empirically verifiable order of telling (*sjuzhet*), while the order of occurrence (*fabula*) of the three scenes on the basket may be inferred by readers who know Io's story.

Yet if we remove the textual mediation and consider a *viewer's* encounter with an artwork that portrays a familiar story, such as the *Tabulae* with their saga of the Trojan War, we will find that the epistemological statuses of *fabula* and *sjuzhet* are precisely reversed.[25] The *fabula* of the Trojan War was already well known to ancient viewers; at any rate, the *Tabulae* tend to make their vignettes' order of occurrence explicit through artifices of arrangement (e.g., friezes that place scenes in chronological order from left to right) and even labeling (the friezes with Iliadic material are often

[20] And less useful for other purposes: Genette (1988: 13 14) consigns the pair *fabula/sjuzhet* to the "prehistory of narratology" but he is exclusively interested in textual narratives.

[21] See Fowler 1991: 29 and Laird 1996: 100 101.

[22] On the issue of competing terminologies see Genette 1988: 14: "So *story/discourse, narrative/discourse, story/narrative* there is plenty here to confuse us unless we are willing to show respect for contexts and let everyone tend his own cows, or count his own sheep, which would certainly make narratology a cure for insomnia."

[23] See, e.g., Herman 2002: 211 261 (esp. 214 220); Shen 2002 (with bibliography).

[24] See the studies collected in Ryan 2004a.

[25] Ryan (2004b: 14) stresses the narratological relevance, particularly in non textual media, of whether or not an audience has prior knowledge of the story being told.

numbered sequentially – more on this in Chapter 3). The *sjuzhet* of a series of images such as those offered by the *Tabulae*, however, is far less apparent: where does the telling begin or end in stories whose scenes are arrayed in two or three dimensions and might be traversed along any number of imaginable routes? In a study of sequencing in pictorial narrative, N. Goodman has suggested that many such narratives exhibit no *sjuzhet* at all, no indication that any one viewing sequence is preferable to any other.[26] J. Elkins responds with an important qualification: "[v]isual art, unlike written narrative, possesses no certainty about order of telling, but there can be strong hints"; among the hints he mentions is the spatial distribution of a visual narrative's scenes.[27] Here it is the *sjuzhet*, not the *fabula*, that must be inferred, that may require the viewer's active participation to be discerned and may not be fully determinate.

For visual narratives, then, we require a definition of *sjuzhet* that better reflects the multidirectionality of their spatial medium and the contribution made by the viewer's gaze and engagement.[28] I propose that we understand the *sjuzhet* of a visual narrative not as a strictly determinate order but rather as a *pattern of telling*. The spatial organization of an image may direct the viewer's eye to a specific point or points in the visual field – toward the middle, for instance, in an image that is organized symmetrically – and thereby send a strong hint that this point is a normative place from which to begin or on which to focus a viewing. Such hints establish a pattern that guides the viewing process, that allows for many possible viewing sequences linked nonetheless by common features such as a focus on the center. To return to the ecphrasis with which we began, we might say that Moschus' text constructs an object whose pattern of telling, what I call the visual *sjuzhet*, encourages a viewer to end with the scene portrayed on the rim. In the next section of this chapter, we will read in Theocritus a description of a cup that offers no clear pattern of telling, no indication that any one viewing sequence is preferable to another: the sequence inscribed in the text is represented as one possibility among several equally likely ones.

Fabula and *sjuzhet* thus offer a terminology for capturing the interplay among different principles of ordering (chronological and spatial) that characterizes both the texts that are the subject of this chapter and, as I will argue later, the *Tabulae* themselves. But the terms also let us link visual

[26] Goodman 1980 (esp. 110 111). [27] Elkins 1991: 351.

[28] For a general treatment of the challenges involved in adapting narratological concepts from one medium to another, cf. Ryan 2004b: 33 34.

narratives more easily with Greek and Roman discourses on the proper way to construct a story. Ancient literary criticism and rhetorical treatises make use of a conceptual distinction akin to that between *fabula* and *sjuzhet*; their pronouncements about non-chronological sequences can shed light on the cultural significance attributed to different types of narrative order, and may help to clarify how contemporary readers would have reacted to the skewed version of the Io story presented in Moschus' ecphrasis.[29]

The rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance, criticizes how Thucydides organizes the events in his narrative: after recounting the dispute between Epidamnus and Corcyra that precipitated the Peloponnesian War, the historian introduces a flashback (the so-called *Pentecontaetia*) dealing with what he regards as the war's true cause, the events following the Persian Wars that led to Athens' ascendancy. Dionysius complains that Thucydides has violated temporal and logical order:[30]

> ἥ τε γὰρ φύσις ἀπῄτει τὰ πρότερα τῶν ὑστέρων ἄρχειν καὶ τἀληθῆ πρὸ τῶν ψευδῶν λέγεσθαι.
>
> Nature would require that earlier events precede later ones, and that the truth be spoken before the pretext.

In a different work Dionysius offers a less censorious pronouncement about the orator Hyperides' handling of temporal sequence:[31]

> διηγεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πορευόμενος.
>
> He tells stories in a variety of ways, sometimes following natural order, sometimes proceeding from the end to the beginning.

These two remarks adumbrate the notion that a narrative may exhibit its own order that differs from the chronology of its events. Dionysius identifies

[29] For what the rhetorical treatises have to say on ecphrasis proper, see Webb 2009; in the present section, I am drawing on a different part of the rhetorical tradition to explore ancient conceptions of narrative sequencing. On this move of illustrating ancient practice through rhetorical theory, see the bracing remarks at Goldhill 2007: 7–8: I hope I am not indulging in the "rather trivial and often circular formalism" of deriving from the treatises rules to be applied to texts and images wholesale, but rather signaling the presence in these treatises of a productive discomfort with narrative anachrony that also manifests itself in poetic responses to visual narrative.

[30] *Thuc.* 11. Pritchett 1975 ad loc. fills in the background to Dionysius' objections.

[31] *Din.* 6. Meijering 1987: 138–142 adduces interesting comparanda for this and the preceding passage (though not all of the sources she cites deal with the topic of narrative order).

the chronological sequence, which we would term *fabula*, with what is natural.

Students of oratory were exposed to this ideology of narrative order in their early training: though they developed their memories by rearranging in multiple sequences the events of stories they had just heard, they were encouraged in their own compositions to respect chronology, characterized as the unmarked, natural order.[32] Similarly, discussions of narrative in rhetorical handbooks take chronological sequence as the norm, and reject deviations from it as an offense against clarity. The *Rhetoric to Alexander*, traditionally attributed to Aristotle and probably dating to the late fourth century BCE, offers one of the earliest formulations of this doctrine:[33]

> σαφῶς μὲν οὖν δηλώσομεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπερβατῶς αὐτὰ δηλῶμεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρῶτα πραχθέντα ἢ πραττόμενα ἢ πραχθησόμενα πρῶτα λέγωμεν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐφεξῆς τάττωμεν.
>
> We will make the exposition clear from the language or from the actions. From the actions, if we do not set them forth in a distorted order, but rather speak first whatever was done or is being done or will be done first, and arrange the remaining material in sequence.

By the first century BCE we encounter much the same idea expressed in Roman treatises:[34]

> rem dilucide narrabimus, si ut quicquid primum gestum erit, ita primum exponemus et rerum ac temporum ordinem conservabimus.
>
> We will narrate the matter clearly if we explain first whatever was done first, and if we preserve the order of time and events.

Quintilian adopts a more permissive view, and even offers advice on creating non-chronological sequences:[35]

> namque ne iis quidem accedo qui semper eo putant ordine quo quid actum sit esse narrandum, sed eo malo narrare quo expedit. quod fieri plurimis figuris licet . . .

[32] ἡ κατὰ φύσιν τάξις (Theon p. 86 Spengel). Cf. Theon pp. 80, 86 87 Spengel (with Patillon's notes); Quintilian 2.4.15.

[33] 1438a27 (chapter 30).

[34] *Rhetoric to Herennius* 1.15. Cf. the similar remarks at Cicero *Inv.* 1.29; *de Orat.* 2.329. Cicero applies the principle of chronological ordering to the writing of history as well at *de Orat.* 2.63.

[35] 4.2.83.

> I do not go along with those who suppose that in narrating we must always follow the order in which something happened I prefer to narrate in the order that is most expedient. This may be accomplished through a multitude of devices . . .

Quintilian goes on to list tricks for justifying alterations of an underlying temporal sequence, e.g., the orator might claim to have forgotten something he should have mentioned earlier, so that he can recount it in the place most useful for the needs of his case.[36] Common to all these texts is a keen sensitivity to deviations from chronological sequence, that is, to places where the *sjuzhet* diverges from the *fabula*. Such divergences were often objects of censure, but they could also be evaluated as signs that an author or orator was manipulating a narrative for a specific purpose.[37]

The texts considered above suggest that there was a consistent tradition of thought about narrative sequence that goes back to at least the late fourth or early third century BCE. It is highly likely that similar ideas were operative in Moschus' period and applied to the evaluation of literature: the Homeric scholia and later works of criticism carefully note deviations from temporal sequence, highlighting in particular the practice of starting a work *in medias res* rather than at its chronological beginning as a hallmark of Homer's technique, and indeed of the epic genre as a whole.[38] Moschus would thus have expected his readers to be struck by the *sjuzhet* of the Io story, and to try to account for the anomalous place of the Argus scene in his description. This initial reaction guides readers to appreciate one of the most remarkable features of the ecphrasis, namely that Moschus has inscribed in a text the process of reading a visual narrative "out of order," allowing spatial arrangement to override narrative time.

Time and space on the goatherd's cup

The ecphrasis of the goatherd's cup from Theocritus' first *Idyll* is an important source for the description of Europa's basket,[39] and in this

[36] *nam et aliquando nobis excidisse simulamus cum quid utiliore loco reducimus* (4.2.83).

[37] For further material on the treatment of narrative order in ancient rhetorical theory, see Lausberg 1998: 149 150, 213 214.

[38] Rhetorical theories of narrative in ancient literary criticism: Brink 1971 on Horace *AP* 140 152; the treatment of anachrony in the Greek scholia: Nünlist 2009: 87 92; chronological and non chronological ordering in epic: Cairns 2002: 31 35; Rengakos 2004.

[39] Cf. the detailed comparison at Manakidou 1993: 195 198. For a full bibliography on *Idyll* 1 in general and the cup in particular, see Hunter 1999: 68, 76 77 (to which should be added Payne 2001 and 2007).

section I will argue that Theocritus provides a precedent for Moschus' manipulation of narrative structure as well. Like the basket, the cup is adorned by three scenes: two young men court a woman; an old fisherman hauls in his net; a little boy blithely weaves a cricket trap while two foxes try to steal both his food and the grapes that he should be guarding. It is a commonplace of criticism on the cup that these scenes represent the three stages of human life – the careless behavior of childhood, the amatory pursuits of young men, and old age – but the goatherd's description disturbs this sequence:[40]

A	Young men and woman (lines 32–38)	MATURITY	2
B	Old fisherman (39–44)	OLD AGE	3
C	Child and foxes in vineyard (45–54)	CHILDHOOD	1

The contrast between *fabula* and *sjuzhet* here is precisely the same that we saw in Moschus: the last scene described is prior to the other two. Whereas Moschus established a temporal dimension for his ecphrasis by presenting scenes from a single myth, Theocritus achieves the same effect by portraying the chronological sequence *par excellence*, the span of a human life. No temporal progression is more familiar or more basic, and the phases of life are, furthermore, a frequently treated *topos* in Greek literature.[41] Though many periodizations of the human lifespan appear in ancient sources, the threefold division into childhood, maturity, and old age occurs most frequently, and seems to serve as the basis for more complex systems.[42]

Theocritus thus references an immediately recognizable trope, the tripartite span of human life, and accordingly forces his readers to think about chronology. The temporal disorder of the ecphrasis then becomes obvious and demands an explanation; as was the case with Europa's basket, we can find one by considering closely how the scenes are arranged in space. The goatherd describes the physical structure of the cup at the very beginning of the ecphrasis in five intricate verses:[43]

> καὶ βαθὺ κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἁδέϊ κηρῷ,
> ἀμφῶες, νεοτευχές, ἔτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.

[40] For brief treatments of the order of scenes, see, e.g., Lawall 1967: 30; Ott 1969: 108 109, 133; Miles 1977: 146 149; Calame 1992: 73 74; Hunter 1999: 77. None of these connects the order of the scenes with the spatial organization of the cup (see below).

[41] See, e.g., Solon fr. 27 West (with testimonia), and the additional sources cited at Hudson Williams 1926: 130. Aristophanes of Byzantium devoted an entire monograph to explaining the terminology for the stages of life in humans and animals (the extant fragments may be found in Slater 1986).

[42] See *NP* VI.1207 1212 s.v. "Lebensalter" (G. Binder and M. Saiko). [43] *Id.* I.27 32.

> τῶ ποτὶ μὲν χείλη μαρύεται ὑψόθι κισσός,
> κισσὸς ἑλιχρύσῳ κεκονισμένος· ἁ δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτόν
> καρπῷ ἕλιξ εἰλεῖται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόεντι.
> ἔντοσθεν δὲ γυνά . . . τέτυκται
>
> [I will give you] a deep cup that has been sealed with sweet wax, two handled, newly made, still smelling of the knife. Up toward the cup's lip weaves ivy, ivy intertwined with helichryse; along the flower winds the ivy tendril rejoicing in its yellow fruit. Within [this frame of plants] a woman . . . has been crafted.

In the past these lines have been the subject of considerable debate,[44] but recent scholarship appears to have arrived at a consensus basically in agreement with the translation offered above. The three scenes are arrayed around the outer surface of the cup in a ring, enframed "within" (*entosthen*, line 32) bands of vegetation that run above and below them.[45] An alternative view interprets the adverb *entosthen* as "within [the cup itself]," so that the three scenes would be arranged symmetrically on the circular plane of the cup's tondo, with the fisherman in the middle. There are two principal objections to this interpretation: (1) The cup is "deep" (*bathu*, line 27), and deep vessels in antiquity typically carried their decoration on the outside.[46] (2) Archaeology furnishes many examples of vessels with *external* decoration that resemble the cup closely, such as the so-called Megarian bowls, whose outer surfaces often show figural material enclosed in bands of plants.[47] Given the evidence of Theocritus' language and of near-contemporary material culture, it seems likely that the goatherd's initial references to a deep cup adorned with ornamental bands would carry specific associations for the poet's contemporaries, who would assume that the following three scenes circled the outside of the cup.

This spatial structure has considerable repercussions for how we understand the sequencing of the goatherd's ecphrasis. Any three elements

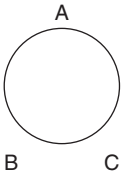
[44] Manakidou 1993: 64 66 offers a useful conspectus of opinion.

[45] Gallavotti 1966 provides detailed argument for this interpretation; Hunter 1999: 78 79 summarizes the main points. This understanding of the passage is adopted by almost all modern interpreters (cf. the references at Manakidou 1993: 65 n. 68).

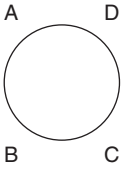
[46] Proponents of placing the scenes inside the cup have accordingly been obliged to argue that *bathu* here means only "*relatively* deep," though this qualification is not found in the text (see Gow 1952: 2.6 and the rebuttal at Dale 1952).

[47] The Megarian bowls first appear in Attica during the second half of the third century BCE (Pollitt 1986: 256); the Homeric bowls are a subset of these that appear later (see above). For further material on the relationship of the goatherd's cup to material culture, see Nicosia 1968: 27 35; Ott 1969: 93 97; Manakidou 1993: 63 64.

arranged along a circular band have the special property that they can be processed in any order; the arrangement does not favor one sequence over another. In the following diagram, for instance, we can draw a line that links the three points A, B and C in any order we wish, without moving off the circle:



Add a fourth element (or more), and the arrangement privileges some sequences over others. In the following revised diagram, we cannot draw a line from A to C along the circle without passing through B or D:



The application to the goatherd's cup is easy. Theocritus' poem constructs an object whose pattern of telling or *sjuzhet* does not privilege any one viewing sequence over another: the spatial disposition of the scenes allows the ages of man to be displayed in any order, depending on how the vessel is rotated. The goatherd's ecphrasis dramatizes this feature: by ostentatiously reordering the stages of human life, it shows that the viewer's choices of where to begin and end examining the cup are arbitrary.

Recent discussions of the cup have questioned to what extent its putative spatial organization should play a role in our analysis of the goatherd's description. M. Payne, for instance, argues that any attempt to formulate arguments about the cup's structure is methodologically suspect. The cup is a poetic creation with no existence external to Theocritus' poem; if we try to form an image of the object from the poet's words, however, we seem to postulate just such an existence, and we will inevitably go beyond the information that the text actually offers. As Payne puts it:[48]

[48] 2001: 275.

> Any attempt to reconstruct the bowl as a physical object must decide questions which the goatherd's language leaves open, just as all attempts to do so necessarily share one fundamental assumption: that the goatherd has told us everything there is to see.

We should focus instead, Payne argues, on the goatherd's imaginative response to the pictures he describes. Any indications of the cup's physical structure that Theocritus offers us (such as the adverb *entosthen*, "within") are simply "reminder[s] that what we are listening to is a fiction,"[49] i.e., that the characters to whom the goatherd assigns actions, feelings, and intentions are nothing more than static figures carved on a two-dimensional surface. In her comprehensive monograph on Hellenistic ecphrasis, Flora Manakidou similarly asserts that we should focus not on the physical particulars of the goatherd's cup, but on the virtuosity of the poet's description.[50] Both authors tend to equate an interest in the cup's structure with the desire to reconstruct it, to "[turn] an imaginary object into an actual one."[51]

Though these viewpoints are laudable for their insistence on the poetic qualities of ecphrasis, it seems clear that ancient readers did not feel a similar reluctance to visualize the objects described in poetry. On the contrary, our sources reveal a lively tradition of attempts to imagine such objects – particularly those appearing in Homeric epic, such as Achilles' shield from book 18 of the *Iliad*.[52] In the *Odyssey* Helen's attendant brings to her a silver basket – the epic precedent for Europa's – which the poet describes as *hupokuklos*.[53] Ancient commentators equivocate over whether this adjective refers to the basket's wheels (the currently accepted explanation), or simply to the fact that it is round.[54] Asclepiades of Myrlea (first century BCE) devoted an entire monograph to explaining the structure of Nestor's cup in *Iliad* 11;[55] ancient scholia on the passage show that this issue occupied Aristarchus as well. The grammarian Dionysius Thrax even attempted to construct a model of Nestor's cup – with silver contributed by his students![56] Hellenistic

[49] Payne 2001: 275. [50] 1993: 73.

[51] The quotation is from Payne 2001: 275. After considering different proposals about the cup's structure, Manakidou sums them up as follows (1993: 66): "[n]atürlich ist es immer ein Versuch, die dichterische Rede bzw. Phantasie in technische Normen, d.h. *in eine praktische Realisierung*, zu bringen, eine kühne und der Dichtung selbst fremde Sache" (emphasis added).

[52] For ancient interpretations of the shield, see Hardie 1985; Becker 1995 is a full account of its place in the ecphrastic tradition.

[53] *Od.* 4.130 132.

[54] ὑπόκυκλον· πρὸς τὸ ἐφέλκειν καὶ περιφέρειν τὸν τάλαρον. ἢ περίκυκλον, ὅ ἐστι κυκλοτερῆ (scholion *ad Od.* 4.131). Cf. the scholia *ad Il.* 18.375.

[55] *Il.* 11.632 635. A lengthy extract of Asclepiades' monograph is preserved in Athenaeus 488a 494b.

[56] Athenaeus 489a.

readers of Homer thus did try to follow textual clues in order to infer details about the physical structure of several poetic objects, among them a cup and a basket; Theocritus and Moschus may have expected their own readers to behave in similar fashion. Clearly an interpretive response like Dionysius' goes too far, but the views set out in the preceding paragraph seem likewise to make the reader's exercise of visual imagination an all-or-nothing proposition: *either* we try to pin down every detail of the goatherd's cup, *or* we forgo any attempt at visualization as an activity that runs counter to what the poem tells us.

What if an ecphrasis fills in some details of an object's structure while omitting others? We encounter an example of such a technique in the ecphrasis of Heracles' shield from the Hesiodic *Shield*, a passage that is one of Theocritus' main poetic models for the cup.[57] The ecphrasis emphatically locates the first scene it describes in the *middle* of the shield's circular field, and it concludes with the ocean that occupies the object's outer edge:[58]

> πᾶν μὲν γὰρ κύκλῳ τιτάνῳ λευκῷ τ᾽ ἐλέφαντι
> ἠλέκτρῳ θ᾽ ὑπολαμπὲς ἔην χρυσῷ τε φαεινῷ . . .
> ἐν μέσσῳ δ᾽ ἀδάμαντος ἔην Φόβος οὔ τι φατειός.
>
> [The shield] shone all around its circle with gypsum, white ivory, electrum, and resplendent gold . . . And in the middle there was Fear, made of adamant, an unspeakable sight.
>
> ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἴτυν ῥέεν Ὠκεανὸς πλήθοντι ἐοικώς.
>
> Around the edge flowed Ocean, looking as if it were surging.

There is no question of reconstructing the shield – the other indications of position in the ecphrasis are far too vague – but the passage uses the spatial notions of "center" and "rim" to give the impression that the structure of the shield itself is determining the order of the description: the center marks out the starting point, just as the rim carries the framing elements with which ecphrases frequently conclude. The description of Achilles' shield from the first stasimon of Euripides' *Electra* employs the same spatial indicators in reverse, *beginning* on the edge of the hero's circular shield with the figures of Perseus, Hermes, and the Gorgon, and passing immediately to the center and the concluding images of the sun and stars.[59] The two signals of location

[57] See Ott 1969: 99 105 for a particularly full treatment of the connections.

[58] *Shield* 141 142, 144; 314.

[59] περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἴτυος ἕδρᾳ (458); ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει (464). In Homer, of course, the description of Achilles' shield concludes with the rim, as in Hesiod, but there is no mention of its center.

serve to articulate the entire description. In both Hesiod and Euripides, then, prominently placed references to the marked positions of "center" and "rim" are a strategy to authorize the beginning and ending of an ecphrasis, lending it a sense of closure and completeness.[60]

Theocritus achieves the opposite effect by presenting scenes that are arrayed along a circular band, rather than within a circular plane. The scenes are framed, both on the cup and within the text, by bands of vegetation,[61] but the cup offers no authoritative starting point for the account of the scenes themselves, no center from which a description must inevitably begin. The perimeter of a circle in fact confounds the distinction between beginning and end, an idea as old as Heraclitus:[62]

> ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας.
>
> On the perimeter of a circle, beginning and end are common.

Because each of the three scenes is an equally valid place to start or finish, no single viewing of the cup can be final, no description definitive. The cup's structure thus contrasts pointedly with that of Heracles' shield, and Theocritus' ecphrasis draws our attention to this structure by violating the normative, chronological order that links the three stages of human life: the distortion of the cup's temporal dimension causes us to focus on the spatial one, and how it might account for the goatherd's description. I suggest, then, that certain aspects of the cup's structure have considerable importance within Theocritus' poem. We should examine this structure to the extent that the text before us makes it relevant, with an eye not to recreating the cup as a physical object, but to understanding the role that spatial ideas play in Theocritus' poetic creation.[63]

The goatherd's ecphrasis, with its disordered tale of the stages of human life, is thus represented as an *interaction* between a specific spatial configuration, and the choices a viewer makes in navigating it. The cup

[60] On the importance of the center and the border in ancient descriptions of artwork, with a focus on Vergil, see Thomas 1983.

[61] Cf. lines 29 31, 55.

[62] Fr. 103 Diels Kranz. Marcovich (2001: 174 175) discusses this fragment and gives references to other passages expressing the same notion.

[63] Boyd 1995 has made a similar point in connection with Vergilian ecphrasis: Prior scholarship had tended to focus on the subjective or emotional elements of Vergil's descriptions, their "manner of depiction" (73), to the neglect of the visual information that allows us to picture the described object. Boyd, by contrast, insists on considering, e.g., what exactly Aeneas is seeing when he surveys the temple of Juno (81): the ways in which Vergil's description both aids and obstructs our visual imagination are significant aspects of the ecphrasis that demand careful investigation.

is underdetermined, offering a plenitude of possible sequences that perhaps convey, as the reader imagines the object turning, an image of life's cyclicity; the one sequence inscribed in the ecphrasis, however, is distinctively the goatherd's own. We can sharpen our appreciation of Theocritus' technique here by recalling how Moschus adapts it in the *Europa*. As we noted above, the ecphrasis of the basket reproduces the pattern of the goatherd's description by narrating the earliest stage of Io's story last, with the crucial difference that this earliest stage, the slaying of Argus, has now become a framing element. Because the frame is a marked position that typically concludes an ecphrasis, the physical structure of the basket motivates the anachronous order of its description, whereas the cup merely offered such an order as one possibility among several. Through this change Moschus represents spatial position as the decisive factor determining the order of his description, and minimizes the role played by the viewer and his choices. Perhaps Moschus reduced the viewer's role because Europa's basket is being described by the impersonal voice of the narrator, rather than a character in the poem; in Theocritus, by contrast, the goatherd himself delivers the description of the cup, and accordingly the ecphrasis highlights how the idiosyncracy of his own choices produces a *sjuzhet* that diverges from the *fabula* of human life.

The temple of Juno and the order of epic

The ecphrasis of the temple of Juno from *Aeneid* 1 – the first description of a work of art that occurs in Vergil's epic – famously highlights the viewing process of a character in the poem: when Aeneas arrives at the temple, he confronts his own past in the building's paintings of events from the *Iliad* and Epic Cycle; the description follows his gaze, and reports his reactions to the scenes he views.[64] The introduction to this ecphrasis immediately focuses our attention on the sequence of the ensuing description:[65]

> videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
> bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem.
>
> He sees the battles of Troy in order, and wars already spread by rumor through the entire world.

[64] For basic bibliography on this much discussed passage, see Barchiesi 1997: 280–281 and Elsner 2007: 78–82.

[65] *Aen.* 1.456–457.

The text states that Aeneas views the battles of Troy "in order" (*ex ordine*); as the account of the artwork unfolds, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to understand what sort of order is meant, for the hero's survey of the temple pointedly violates both chronological order and narrative sequence:[66]

A	Tides of war (*Aen.* 1.466–468)		
B	Death of Rhesus (469–473)	*Iliad* 10	3
C	Death of Troilus (474–478)	*Cypria*	1
D	Peplos offered to Athena (479–482)	*Iliad* 6	2
E	Ransom of Hector (483–487)	*Iliad* 24	4
F	Aeneas among the Achaeans (488)		
G	Memnon (489)	*Aethiopis*	6
H	Penthesilea (490–493)	*Aethiopis*	5

A glance at the two rightmost columns reveals that the deviations from temporal order are both complex and extensive.[67] The deaths of Rhesus and Troilus are the first two scenes that can be identified with specific events, but they actually reverse the order of the Epic Cycle by moving from book 10 of the *Iliad* backwards to the *Cypria*. Since some ancient scholars regarded *Iliad* 10 as an originally separate composition by Homer that was introduced into the epic and assigned its canonical position only later by the tyrant Pisistratus,[68] this book seems a particularly appropriate opening for a version of the Cycle in which Vergil too will alter the received order of the epic *fabula*. After the picture of Troilus, we return to the *Iliad* and move steadily forward in the time of the narrative until we reach the ransom of Hector; this event from the final book of the poem appropriately signals the end of the Iliadic material in the ecphrasis. The next two specifically identifiable scenes concern characters from the *Aethiopis*. The description's progression from the end of the *Iliad* to the *Aethiopis* respects narrative chronology, but there is a distortion in the final two scenes: summaries of the *Aethiopis* invariably narrate the arrival of Penthesilea and her death at Achilles' hands before introducing Memnon.[69] Placing Memnon before Penthesilea is a particularly ostentatious violation of the underlying narrative.[70]

[66] The following list is adapted from Clay 1988: 202, though I do not share Clay's view that Aeneas must be looking at a series of discrete panels (see below).

[67] Lowenstam 1993: 43 44 and La Penna 2000 both investigate the possible thematic significance of this anachronous sequence, but neither tries to connect it with Aeneas' viewing process.

[68] Cf. scholia *ad Il.* 10.0 Erbse. [69] See Davies 1989: 53; Burgess 2001: 140 142.

[70] According to Boyd 1995: 80, the striking reversal of the final two scenes spurs the reader to consider how far Aeneas' gaze is biasing the sequence of the ecphrasis. I develop this point in the next paragraph.

Like Moschus, Vergil gives his ecphrasis a temporal dimension by setting out scenes from a connected story, the Troy saga, that would be familiar to his audience. The marked deviations from this story's *fabula* similarly force the reader to grapple with Aeneas' viewing process: what does the poem tell us he is looking at?; what mode of viewing should we imagine he employs to produce the anachronous *sjuzhet* that we read in Vergil's text? The answers to both questions depend on how the crucial phrase *ex ordine* applies to the paintings of Juno's temple. The phrase itself allows two main lines of interpretation. *ex ordine* can refer to chronological sequence ("in [chronological] order"),[71] but also to spatial arrangement ("in a row")[72] – in short, to the two principles of ordering visual narratives that we have been examining throughout this chapter.[73] If we understand the phrase in the spatial sense, we could imagine that the Carthaginian artisans have lined up a selection of scenes from the Trojan War one after the other. Aeneas then follows this arrangement in his own viewing. If we focus instead on the chronological implications of *ex ordine*, we must assume that Aeneas is looking at the events from the war depicted in their proper narrative sequence. Then we will attribute the temporal disorder of the description to the direction of his gaze: he would be looking back and forth over the artwork, focusing on some scenes while omitting others.

Both interpretations of *ex ordine*, the chronological and the spatial, have been endorsed by Vergilian scholars in recent discussions of this passage,[74] and I do not intend to choose between them now. Rather, I want to focus on the interpretive problems caused by the ambiguity. A good place to start is with Servius' comment on this very phrase:[75]

> EX ORDINE: hoc loco ostendit omnem pugnam esse depictam, sed haec tantum dicit quae aut Diomedes gessit aut Achilles, per quod excusatur Aeneas, si est a fortioribus victus.

[71] *OLD* s.v. *ordo* 8b. [72] *OLD* s.v. 1e.

[73] On the ambiguity of the phrase, the most illuminating discussions are Clay 1988: 202 and Barchiesi 1994: 117 118. Ravenna 1974: 16 17 lists occurrences of *ex ordine* and similar phrases in Vergilian and later ecphrases: the sense often seems to hover between the chronological and the spatial.

[74] E.g., Putnam (1998: 26) opts for the spatial meaning: Aeneas sees "the scenes of battle in a row . . . the smaller spacings of Carthaginian art (*ordo*) taking their restricted place in the grander sphere (*orbis*) [*Aen*. 1.457] of what humankind as a whole knows"; likewise Clay 1988: 202. Laird 1996: 90 and Barchiesi 1997: 275 suggest that we are meant to understand the ecphrasis as a selection from a more comprehensive image, mediated through Aeneas; similarly, La Penna 2000: 2 asserts that the ecphrasis is selective.

[75] *Ad Aen*. 1.456.

> EX ORDINE: in this passage [the poet] shows that every battle has been depicted, but he mentions only the exploits of either Diomedes or Achilles, so that Aeneas is excused for being beaten by men who were stronger.

Servius takes *ex ordine* as a reference to chronological sequence. His discussion seems to rely on the ideas about narrative set out in the rhetorical works we considered above: chronological order is the unproblematic norm that nature itself demands, while transgressions of this order are scrutinized as evidence of faulty construction, or as indications that an author has manipulated a narrative for a specific purpose. Servius thus treats the temporal sequence supposedly portrayed on Juno's temple as a comprehensive, faithful transcript of the epic tradition: the temple's pictures display "every battle" depicted in order (*omnem pugnam esse depictam*) – in effect the *fabula* of the Trojan War – and hence require no further justification. The selective juxtapositions of Aeneas' *sjuzhet*, however, are no longer sanctioned by chronology and narrative order, no longer "natural." Servius accordingly does feel compelled to offer an interpretation of the sequence narrated in the ecphrasis: his idea that Vergil is trying to preserve Aeneas' reputation is one possible explanation among many.

Servius' comments reveal a reading process very similar to what I outlined for Theocritus' cup and Moschus' basket. There is a discrepancy between Vergil's initial promise of order, *ex ordine*, and the selective description that follows whose principles of ordering are not obvious.[76] Different readers will explain the discrepancy in different ways, but the key thing to notice is that it demands Servius' – and our – attention. In Vergil, the uncertainties surrounding the order of description defy resolution. The one phrase that seems to offer information about the spatial layout of the temple's paintings, *ex ordine*, is left purposefully ambiguous: we simply cannot know whether Aeneas is looking at a chronological sequence or at a selection of scenes already arranged by the artist in a row, and so we remain in the dark about the precise contributions of Trojan hero and Carthaginian artisan to the sequence inscribed in the ecphrasis. The possible collision here between different readings of the Trojan War seems an apt introduction to the epic as a whole.[77] In Theocritus and Moschus, by contrast, the discrepancy between

[76] Contrast the function of the related expression *in ordine* that introduces the ecphrasis of Aeneas' shield (*Aen*. 8.628–629): Vulcan fashioned on the shield *genus omne futurae* | *stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella*. Because the following description of scenes from Roman history *does* respect chronology (on this feature cf. Hardie 1986: 347), we are free to imagine that *in ordine* refers at once to temporal and spatial order.

[77] Fowler 1991: 31–33 stresses the multiple points of view offered by the ecphrasis, though he does not connect these to the ambiguity of *ex ordine*.

the chronology of the scenes that the cup and basket carry and the order of their narration may be resolved by reference to the information that the texts provide about the structure of the objects themselves.

Conclusions

A complete interpretation of the ecphrases treated above would of course involve integrating them with their respective poetic contexts, but when considered together, as here, they reveal the existence of a poetic tradition that explores the complexities involved in viewing narrative art. All three texts use deviations from an expected chronological sequence to stimulate the reader's visual imagination: with his careful emphasis on the position of the Argus scene, Moschus helps us to envision how a viewing of Europa's basket could produce a *sjuzhet* that diverges from the *fabula* of the underlying narrative; the clarity of the contrast between spatial and temporal order here increases in turn our sensitivity to the similar contrasts at work in the descriptions of Theocritus and Vergil. This poetic discourse on visual narrative is related to other ancient discourses about the telling of stories, and it may also shed light on the actual practices of ancient viewers who processed the multiscenic narrative art produced in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There seems to have been a marked interest in viewing against the grain, that is, in neglecting an obvious narrative sequence in favor of striking juxtapositions not sanctioned by chronology.

To judge from the poets, ancient viewers had a sophisticated awareness of the scope for creative reordering and productive misreading offered by the tension between temporal and spatial order that is a unique feature of visual narrative. The following chapter examines inscriptions from the *Tabulae* that articulate this tension and use it to guide the viewer's experience of the Troy story.

2 | *Tabula* and *taxis*

The *Tabulae Iliacae* demonstrate a remarkable degree of self-consciousness in the way they outline the choices involved in navigating their own narratives: inscriptions on both the recto and verso sides of several plaques directly address viewers and provide explicit instructions about how they should proceed. The sophistication of these inscriptions has not always been recognized, but I will demonstrate that they make deft use of both traditional poetic diction and the terminology for narrative order that we explored in the last chapter in order to evoke the theme of viewing sequence. The *Tabulae* inscriptions reveal that questions of sequence and its impact on meaning were as much a concern for visual artists of the early imperial period as for the poets.

This chapter is in two parts. I begin by analyzing a metrical inscription on the recto of the *Tabula Capitolina* that names the artist and describes the significance of his work in terms of its transmission of Homeric knowledge. Then I will examine the so-called "magic squares," grids of letters inscribed on the verso of several *Tabulae* that likewise give the artist's name and may be read in a variety of different directions. Metrical instructions that accompany these squares encourage viewers to begin in the middle and move outward however they wish; I argue that this multi-directional reading process deliberately provides an analogue for how viewers might traverse the illustrations on the recto side. Taken together, these two sets of inscriptions formulate a contrast between the *fabula* of Homer's epic and a *sjuzhet* determined by the viewer's own interaction with the spatial distribution of the tablets' images.

The *Capitolina* epigram

Thanks to its prominent position and large, clear lettering, the metrical inscription below the central panel of the *Capitolina* draws the eye and directly addresses the viewer, offering instructions on reading the *Tabula* and a suggestion of what viewers may expect to gain from their efforts. Among the *Tabulae* containing a Sack of Troy panel, it provides the most

complete and explicit articulation of how we might approach the mass of material contained in these works. The inscription is an elegiac couplet, disposed so that the space between its two lines of verse falls approximately at the center of the tablet (see Figure 1). Its first words are lost but may be restored with confidence:

> τέχνην τὴν Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε τάξιν Ὁμήρου
> ὄφρα δαεὶς πάσης μέτρον ἔχῃς σοφίας.
>
> Learn the art (*technē*) of Theodorus, the arrangement (*taxis*) of Homer, so that having mastered it you may possess the measure of all wisdom.

In 1909, Mancuso supplemented the beginning of the hexameter, noting that on other *Tabulae* the adjective *Theodōrēos*, "of Theodorus," almost always modifies some form of the phrase *hē technē* (more on this phrase in a moment).[1] The *Tabula Iliaca of New York* (2NY), which came to light in 1924 and so was not available to Mancuso, offers a fragment of an alternative version of the couplet that does in fact preserve the word *technē*, albeit in a different metrical position.[2] With the supplement thus confirmed, it is clear that the *Capitolina* couplet originally began by enjoining its reader to "learn the *technē* of Theodorus." In this and the following sections, we will flesh out piece by piece the resonances of this opening, and of the remainder of the intricately worded couplet (whose ambiguities I have tried to leave intact in the provisional translation offered above).

Technē is a multivalent word that can refer to "art" in a variety of manifestations, from artistic skill to the precepts that govern a craft, or even the finished product of the artwork itself.[3] The word's broad semantic range allows several different interpretations of the epigram's opening words and has in the past provoked extensive discussion about the identity of Theodorus.[4] One interpretation, now discredited, focuses on resemblances between our couplet and another group of poems promising comprehensive knowledge to the reader: the introductory epigrams that were sometimes attached to ancient epitomes of scientific or mythological material. This view assigns to *technē* the relatively uncommon meaning of "treatise," and argues that the couplet is the preface to a mythological handbook of which Theodorus was the author, and which the *Tabulae*

[1] Mancuso 1909: 730. The distinctive phrase Θεοδώρηος ἡ τέχνη is found, in varying states of preservation, on the verso of 2NY, 3C, 5O, and 20Par.

[2] 2NY preserves part of the pentameter on its upper border: . . .τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχῃς σο[φίας (for discussion, see Bulas 1950: 114 and Petrain 2012: 614 619). See Figure 7.

[3] Löbl 1997 is a comprehensive treatment of the word's semantic history.

[4] Cf. VM: 352 354 for a full account.

slavishly copied.[5] Yet the different versions of the couplet on 1A and 2NY suggest that this text is no mere copy, but an original composition that the artisans of the *Tabulae* experimented with and revised.[6] And it is difficult to see in Theodorus' name – so often repeated on the tablets – anything but the signature of an artist claiming credit for his work.[7] The consensus of opinion now holds that Theodorus is the one who created the *Tabulae*, or at least supervised their making; our only source of information about him is the tablets themselves, particularly his self-presentation in the inscriptions that are the subjects of this chapter.[8]

Horsfall has argued that in both versions of the couplet, *technē* refers to the "work of art" that Theodorus presents to the viewer. This meaning is frequent enough in literature.[9] In its rare appearances in artist's signatures, the word *technē* does seem to denote the finished work of the artist,[10] and sometimes serves to distinguish his contribution from those of others. One epigram about an image in relief of the Sack of Troy, for instance, attributes the artwork to the one who produced the relief, Mus, but credits the painter Parrhasius with the preliminary design: "the drawings of Parrhasius, the *techna* [dialectal form of *technē*] of Mus."[11] In a dedicatory inscription from Pergamon, an offering of a statue is identified as the artwork (*techna*) of the sculptor Thoenias, but on a subject after the playwright Pratinas.[12] In these examples, the sense of "artwork" easily shades into that of the "artistic skill" instantiated in the finished product.[13] *Technē* undoubtedly carries both meanings in our couplets as well and refers at once to Theodorus' creation and to his craft.

We are on fairly sure ground thus far, and indeed analyses of the couplet tend to proceed no further, content to elucidate the referents of its initial

[5] Cf. LSJ s.v. τέχνη VI. For Theodorus as author of a mythographic treatise see, e.g., J M: 91 92.

[6] For a similar point see VM: 356, who suggests that Theodorus has adapted a couplet from a mythographic source for his own purposes.

[7] His name appears on six tablets in all, four of them depicting the Troy saga (1A, 2NY, 3C, 20Par), two of them the shield of Achilles (4N, 5O). More on these inscriptions below.

[8] On earlier identifications of Theodorus, see Horsfall 1979: 27, 29 31. There is nothing to support the idiosyncratic view of Kazansky (1997: 75 79) that our Theodorus is to be identified with an unnamed mosaicist who created a series of *Iliad* illustrations for Hieron of Syracuse: see Horsfall 2008: 588 and (for Hieron's mosaics) my discussion of the display contexts for Iliadic imagery in Chapter 5.

[9] See LSJ s.v. τέχνη, IV.

[10] *SB* 5.8454 (Egyptian, inscription on a base): Πρωτῦτος τέχνη ἐργαστηριάρχου. Cf. Loewy 1885: 257.

[11] γραμμὰ Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός (Athenaeus 11, 782b).

[12] *SEG* 39.1334.4 5: ἁ δὲ τέχνα | Θοινίου, τὸ δὲ λᾶμμα Πρατίνειον. On the inscription see Müller 1989, Kerkhecker 1991.

[13] Cf. Kerkhecker 1991: 28 n. 12.

phrase. The epigram's elaborate diction and syntax will yield much more, however, about how Theodorus presents his creation, and his own role as artist, in relation to the poetry of Homer. A comparison with one of the epigrams prefacing an epitome that I mentioned above will throw into relief, in fact, how unusual Theodorus' self-presentation is. The following poem once opened a compendium of myths attributed to Apollodorus:[14]

αἰῶνος σπειρήματ' ἀφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμεῖο
παιδείης μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέας,
μηδ' ἐς Ὁμηρείην σελίδ' ἔμβλεπε μηδ' ἐλεγείην,
μὴ τραγικὴν Μοῦσαν, μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
μὴ κυκλίων ζήτει πολύθρουν στίχον· εἰς ἐμὲ ἀθρῶν
εὑρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

Drawing the coils of time from my erudition, learn the myths of old. Do not look into the page of Homer, nor elegy, nor the tragic Muse, nor lyric poetry, nor seek out the clamorous verse of the Cyclic poets. Look to me, and in me you will find all that the world contains.

Though its subject matter and command to the reader recall the couplet from the *Capitolina*, the poem draws a sharp distinction between Homeric poetry, now obsolete, and the epitome that replaces it: there is no confusion over what the reader is being asked to do (put down Homer, read the epitome), or which work is being advertised. Unlike this poem with its attempt to trump the poetic sources upon which it is based, and unlike the signatures of Mus and Thoenias from the preceding paragraph that distinguish the creative activity of the artist from that of other figures, our epigram equivocates over who is responsible for the object that confronts the viewer: Theodorus and Homer are both sources from whom the viewer is invited to learn, and the second line, as we shall see, employs language traditionally associated with the acquisition of knowledge about *poetry*, so that we remain acutely aware of the epic narrative underlying the visual presentation. By forcing us to focus on Homer and Theodorus at the same time, the couplet raises questions of fundamental importance to our appreciation of the *Capitolina*, for the uncertainties surrounding the relationship between poet and artist are simply a particular case of the broader tension between narrative order and spatial arrangement that governs the entire monument.

[14] Photius *Bibliotheca* 186 [142b Bekker]. For the text and translation see Cameron 1995: 398 and Rossum Steenbeek 1998: xiv. Cameron discusses the poem's authenticity and metrical peculiarities. VM: 354 adduces the same epigram but stresses similarities with the *Capitolina* couplet.

The *taxis* of Homer: Two interpretations

Let us explore the tensions articulated in the *Capitolina* epigram by considering two different critical responses to the significance of its instructions. Both responses focus closely on the words that directly follow the couplet's initial command to "learn the *technē* of Theodorus": τάξιν Ὁμήρου, "the *taxis* of Homer." The noun *taxis* refers broadly to the action of "arranging," but the precise meaning of the entire phrase has given rise to debate. Mancuso seems to have understood "the arrangement of Homer" as a simple periphrasis referring to Homer's poetry when he translated it as "il Ciclo d'Omero" and clarified his interpretation with the periphrase "l'ordine, lo sviluppo, la tela della epopea."[15] According to this reading, the entire couplet promises the viewer a wisdom (*sophia*) to be obtained through the study of Greek epic.

A. Carlini offers a radically different reading of the couplet.[16] He notes that the distinctive noun *taxis* places heavy emphasis on the idea of arrangement, and he insists that the phrase is not merely an oblique reference to Homer, but that it must be connected more closely to the *Capitolina* itself, whose arrangement of Homeric material is after all its most remarkable feature.[17] The "arrangement" that the epigram mentions is the specific one that appears on the monument, so that the hexameter highlights how Theodorus mediates Homeric epic through the *taxis* of his artwork. Carlini suggests that we should take the phrase "*taxis* of Homer" as an appositive that clarifies the meaning of *technē*: "Learn the *technē* of Theodorus, [that is,] his *taxis* of Homer."[18] The couplet's first line thus concentrates on the artisan's activity exclusively, and in fact Carlini would like to read the entire epigram as a self-advertisement for Theodorus' own artistic skill. Observing that *sophia* can denote any sort of technical ability, Carlini argues that in this case the "wisdom" that the viewer will acquire is an appreciation of the heights of artistic achievement that Theodorus has reached ("il culmine dell'abilità tecnica").[19] There is no implication that Homer's epic itself should be a focus of interest.

It is surely correct to stress that the epigram highlights Theodorus' role as arranger of epic, though Carlini's overall interpretation is too one-sided in its attempt to eliminate any suggestion that a viewer might derive from the

[15] Mancuso 1909: 730. [16] Carlini 1982.

[17] VM: 356 briefly gestures to a similar understanding of *taxis*.

[18] Carlini 1982: 632. Though Carlini is not explicit on this question, the object of δαείς will presumably have to be supplied from the preceding, so that the participle will govern a composite of both *technē* and *taxis*: "so that, having mastered it [the *techne* displayed through the artist's *taxis* of Homer]. . ."

[19] Ibid. 633.

Capitolina information about Homer. Yet what emerges most forcefully from the opposed readings of Mancuso and Carlini is that the couplet does produce a genuine uncertainty over what the viewer is being asked to do, an uncertainty that the two scholars try to resolve in favor of either the poet or the artist. Their results are unsatisfying because the couplet's language cultivates the very ambiguity that Mancuso and Carlini wanted to remove, and because its claims about the purpose of the *Capitolina* are more complex than either envisioned.

The poet's wisdom

Though unremarkable at first sight, the participle δαείς ("having mastered") from our epigram's pentameter speaks volumes about what kind of learning the viewer of the *Capitolina* is asked to engage in – provided that we set the word in the context of Greek poetic diction. *Daeis* is an aorist participle; it derives from a verbal root *da-* that can mean either "learn" or "teach" depending on the stem.[20] This root is most familiar from a reduplicated and suffixed stem, the verb *didaskein* to which we owe the word "didactic." Forms derived from the simplex root *da-*, however, are confined to poetry. In poets these simplex forms can act as elevated substitutes for the more prosaic *manthanein* (by which they are often glossed) and denote the learning of casual pieces of information about people and things, such as a person's identity.[21]

In some contexts, however, δα- takes on a more specialized meaning and refers specifically to the acquisition of a technical ability or the mastery of a body of knowledge. This specialization is at its most remarkable and extreme in the reduplicated aorist δέδαε: the stem appears only in contexts involving a god who is imparting some skill to a mortal.[22] While forms of δαείς are not quite so specialized, the participle is rare in extant Greek literature (I count about twenty occurrences in the entire textual and epigraphic corpus), and it is distributed among a few characteristic contexts that resemble our epigram in diction and content. These contexts typically involve the specialized meaning of δα- and thus describe the transmission of technical ability.

Two couplets from Solon will illustrate the deeply traditional character of our epigram and the resonances of the participle δαείς. Already cited by

[20] LSJ cites the verb under the form *δάω; cf. the more extensive treatment in *LfrgrE* s.v. "δαῆναι, δέδαε" (R. Führer).

[21] For the glosses: *LfrgE* 193.43; for the basic meaing "learn": ibid. 193.51 54.

[22] *LfrgrE* 193.65 68; the semantic distinction persists in later Greek literature, cf. Williams 1978: 48; Pfeiffer's comments *ad* Callimachus fr.701.

Guarducci in connection with the *Tabulae*,[23] these lines contain each of our pentameter's key words, δαείς, μέτρον, and σοφία:[24]

> ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνεω
> ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον,
> ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων πάρα δῶρα διδαχθείς
> ἱμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος·
>
> Another, after having mastered the works of Athena and the many skilled Hephaestus, makes his living by his two hands; another does so by knowing the full measure of the poet's desirable wisdom,[25] after having been taught his gifts by the Olympian Muses.

Here the words of our pentameter are spread over two couplets, so that δαείς has no direct relationship with σοφίης μέτρον; the object of δαείς is rather the ἔργα, "works," of Athena and Hephaestus. As patrons of craftsmen these two divinities are particularly at home in a context involving the transmission of technical skills, and Homer too connects them with forms of δα-.[26]

The single occurrence of σοφία in Homeric epic draws closer to our epigram by linking this word with an adjective derived from the root δα-, though μέτρον is missing (*Il.* 15.411–412):

> τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι δαήμονος, ὅς ῥά τε πάσης
> εὖ εἰδῇ σοφίης ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἀθήνης.
>
> . . .a craftsman skilled in his hands, who knows well the whole of his craft's *sophia* because of the counsel of Athena.

For δαείς, μέτρον, and σοφία together we must turn to a fragment of Stesichorus' *Sack of Troy* (S89.7–8 Davies):

> θ]ε̣ᾶς ἰ[ό]τατι δαεὶς σεμν[ᾶς Ἀθάνας
> μ̣έ̣τ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[
>
> Having mastered, by the will of the august goddess Athena, the measures and wisdom. . .

Despite the fragmentary state of these lines, it is likely that δαείς refers to Epeius, the creator of the Trojan horse who was taught by Athena herself as a compensation for his lowly status and lack of skill in battle.[27] We recognize

[23] Guarducci 1967 1978: III, 430 n. 3. [24] 13.49 52 West. [25] Cf. LSJ s.v. "σοφία" 1.

[26] *Od.* 6.233 23.160; 20.72; the *Homeric Hymn to Hephaestus* is particularly close to Solon's phrasing (20.5): δι' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην ἔργα δαέντες.

[27] Line 9 of the fragment (directly after the ones quoted above) preserves the phrase ἀντὶ μ̣ά̣χα[ς, "instead of battle," which might be connected with the idea that Epeius' technical skill makes up for his lack of martial prowess (cf. *Il.* 23.670f.). For more details on the text's reconstruction and

from Solon's poem the connection of δαείς with the works of Athena, and the words μέτρα τε καὶ σοφίαν, which here have replaced ἔργα as object of the participle, read like a hendiadys for Solon's σοφίης μέτρον.[28] From Stesichorus it seems a short step to the phrasing of our couplet. (The resemblance between our epigram and a fragment of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* obviously has repercussions for how we evaluate the claim of the *Capitolina* to be illustrating that poem; I will take up this point in the next chapter.)

This brief conspectus of parallel passages demonstrates that the wording of the *Capitolina* epigram is far from casual, and we could extend this point even to the collocation ὄφρα δαείς with which the second line opens. ὄφρα δαείω, "so that I may learn," is a formulaic phrase that appears thrice in Homer at line end.[29] Later poets and scholars noted the juxtaposition,[30] and writers of epic verse after Homer regularly pair verbal forms derived from δα- with ὄφρα at the end of a line.[31] Our couplet innovates of course by setting this phrase at the beginning of a pentameter, but ὄφρα δαείς is nonetheless yet another sign of the epigram's connections to traditional phraseology from earlier, particularly epic, literature.

How do the traditonal combinations of words that we have just observed contribute to the meaning of our epigram, and to viewers' understanding of the instructions they are being offered? Noting that, in Homer and Steischorus, *sophia* denoted the knowledge of a craftsman, Carlini had insisted that on the *Capitolina* it should likewise refer to Theodorus' expertise, the *technē* that he advertised in the couplet's initial phrase. Yet the activity denoted by δα- terminates in the acquisition of a σοφία that encompasses a body of knowledge and an abiding skill: Epeius learns Athena's σοφία and becomes a builder. Our couplet emphasizes this idea of a permanent attainment with the verb ἔχῃς (after mastering the material, the viewer "possesses" wisdom), but no one will learn the *technē* of a stonecutter from examining Theodorus' creation. Carlini thus distorts the meaning of δαείς by suggesting that it could refer

interpretation see Schade 2003: 121–123, 199–203 (cf. ibid. 117 for references to earlier literature).

[28] For the suggestion that the phrase is a hendiadys, cf. Lehnus 1972: 54f. (who compares Stesichorus with the *Capitolina* epigram).

[29] *Il.* 10.425, 16.423; *Od.* 9.280; cf. ὄφρα δαῶμεν (*Il.* 2.299), also at line end.

[30] According to a scholion on *Od.* 1.261, the Alexandrian scholar Zenodotus (third century BCE) changed the vulgate text of the line from ὄφρα οἱ εἴη | ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας ("so that he [Odysseus] might be able to smear his bronze fitted arrows [with poison]") to ὄφρα δαείη |. . . ("so that he might master how to smear his arrows. . ."). Zenodotus had evidently observed that δα was connected with learning a skill, and that it often appeared after ὄφρα (cf. *Il.* 13.831 for another Zenodotean change involving δα).

[31] Cf. Apollonius 1.916 (ὄφρα δαέντες), 2.470; Quintus of Smyrna 11.494. In the *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus uses forms of δαείω eight times; six of the occurrences are preceded by ὄφρα.

to the appreciation of *someone else*'s knowledge; a more natural inference from the epigram's language would be that the *Capitolina* promises to impart an intimate familiarity with the stories of Homeric poetry. The diction further suggests that this familiarity might be on a par with the σοφία often granted by gods to their favorites – a confident boast from the *Capitolina*'s creator!

We may flesh out the claims of the *Capitolina* epigram more fully by turning now to passages in which the phrases of our epigram are linked specifically with mastery of the craft of poetry – a different sort of *technē*. A few examples will suffice to establish that this would be a salient association for an ancient reader. Hesiod uses a participle related to δαείς in order to describe the lyre-player Linus, who "has mastered all manner of wisdom," παντοίης σοφίης δεδαηκότα (fr. 306 Merkelbach-West); the implication of comprehensive mastery is familiar to us from the *Capitolina*'s phrase "all wisdom" (πάσης. . .σοφίας). In a couplet attributed to Pindar and supposedly inscribed on Hesiod's own tomb, the second line ends with the same three words as our epigram: Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης ("Hesiod, you who hold for men the measure of wisdom")[32]; we have already seen σοφίης μέτρον connected with poetry in the verses from Solon quoted above. For the meaning of μέτρον, "measure," here it is instructive to compare two boastful epigrams ascribed to the Classical painters Parrhasius and Zeuxis. Parrhasius (2 *EG*): "I claim to have already established clearly the bounds of this art (τέχνης. . .τέρματα τῆσδε) by my own hand"; Zeuxis (1 *EG*): "if any man claims he holds the limits of our art (ἡμετέρης τέχνης πείρατα), let him prove it and defeat me." Imagery of measures and boundaries effectively conveys the idea of control over the entire breadth of an art. While the painters naturally define their expertise in terms of *technē*, our epigram transitions from the *technē* in its opening phrase to a focus on *sophia* that aligns it more closely with Hesiod and the other poets.

One of the closest parallels to our epigram's sequence of thought in fact is a poem about the canon of the nine Greek lyric poets, preserved in the ancient scholia to Pindar and roughly contemporaneous with the creation of the *Tabulae* (late first century BCE to early first century CE).[33] As we have seen, our couplet features two different words for "learn," μάθε and δαείς, the second of which has the more specialized meaning; the poem on the lyric poets uses the same pair and can help us to sharpen our understanding of

[32] The text is most easily consulted at Page 1981: 159 160, where there is extensive discussion. Carlini 1982 and VM: 352 both cite the epigram. For a different use of the phrase see Theognis 876 West: a man with sufficient sense (μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης) would not praise wine.

[33] Gallo 1974 offers an extensive discussion of the poem (on the dating, see especially 104 n.50).

the connotations of each. The poem begins by addressing the reader and instructing him to learn its contents (*TA3.1–2 Davies):

> ἐννέα τῶν πρώτων λυρικῶν πάτρην γενεήν τε
> μάνθανε καὶ πατέρας καὶ διάλεκτον ἄθρει.
>
> Learn the homeland and family of the nine chief lyric poets, and scrutinize their fathers and dialect.

One couplet for each of the nine poets follows, and two of these contain the participle δαείς modifying the name of a poet (5f.; 17f.):

> ἥ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ξυνὴν πάτρην φωνήν τε δαεῖσα/ Σαπφώ.
>
> And after him [Alcaeus], she who mastered a common homeland and speech, Sappho.
>
> ἴσα δαεὶς. . . | . . .Βακχυλίδης
>
> He who mastered like things [i.e., the same as Simonides], Bacchylides. . .

Forms of the more common verb μανθάνω, "learn," do not occur in connection with any of the poets. Here, then, μανθάνω refers to the casual knowledge of the nine poets that a reader might gain from the poem, while the marked participle δαείς is reserved for the acquisition of the knowledge necessary to practice the art of poetry. Our epigram applies both these verbs to the viewer of the *Capitolina*: though initially the viewer is invited simply to "learn" (μάθε) Theodorus' *technē*, by the next line he is put in a position analogous to that of a poet mastering his art (δαείς).

A remarkable funerary inscription from Corcyra demonstrates that the complex resonances of the participle δαείς were known to the epigraphic tradition as well. Written in iambic trimeter and approximately contemporary with the *Tabulae* (first century BCE/first CE),[34] this poem details the intellectual accomplishments of the deceased, noting that he knew both astronomy and geometry. His experience with Homer comes next in the list (*IG* IX.1.880.9–13):[35]

[34] Marcotte 1988 identifies the deceased, who is named Mnaseas (line 4), with Mnaseas of Miletus, a specialist of agronomy active in the mid first century BCE (cf. *RE* s.v. "Mnaseas 8" [Laqueur]); Marcotte accordingly narrows the time range for our epigram to the second half of the first century BCE.

[35] The text is based upon three apographs that show a variety of errors resulting from an incorrect interpretation of the forms of certain letters. I have printed the corrected text; see *IG* for an account of the original readings and different conjectures. It should be noted that δαείς (line 13) is a certain correction for the unintelligible sequence ΔΑΘΕΞ (for *δάω with a genitive object see LSJ s.v. I).

εὖ δ' ἀείναον
κατεῖδ' Ὁμήρου δέλτον ἅς ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς
ὁ τριπλανάτας ἐστὶ Λαρτίου γόνος
καὶ μῆνις ἁ βαρεῖα· τῶν ἐπ' ἀτρεκὲς
δαεὶς ἁπάντων ἐσθλὸν ἄρατο κλέος·

He knew well Homer's everlasting tablet, in the folds of which are the thrice wandering scion of Laertius and the wrath that was grievous; having mastered all these things accurately, he gained noble fame.

δαείς conveys that the deceased has internalized the body of knowledge associated with Homeric poetry, a claim corroborated by the epigram's allusive references to the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* that give us a taste of his literary sophistication. It is as if his mastery of Homer conferred on him a measure of skill that manifests itself in his own epigram's deft manipulation of poetic language.[36] Other inscriptions from about the same period routinely use forms derived from δα- to denote the reciprocal attainments of acquaintance with the poetry of others and personal poetic skill.[37] The diction of the *Capitolina* epigram likewise hovers between offering the viewer merely an acquaintance with the plots of epic and promising a more comprehensive revelation of Homer's poetic craft.

The artist's *taxis*

Our couplet's claim of comprehensiveness, its assertion that it can provide a measure of "all wisdom," is key to our understanding of how Theodorus presents his own role in the transmission of Homer's knowledge. Because the root δα- denotes the complete mastery of a given area, forms derived from it often appear in conjunction with some word that emphasizes its connotations of totality, as in the passages from Homer and Hesiod quoted in the previous section.[38] In the context of our epigram, however, where the phrase "all

[36] For the poetic vocabulary of the epigram, cf. Marcotte 1994.

[37] Cf. *IG* II III^2 3.1.3790.3 5 (epigram honoring the poet Socrates, Athens, beginning of first century CE): [ἦ μάλα σ]ᾶς ἐδάησαν ἀπὸ φρενὸς ἄξια Μοισᾶ[ν], | [Σώκρατ]ες, Ὠγυγίων υἷες Ἐριχθονιδᾶν· | [ἀνθ' ὧν σοι] σοφίας ἔδοσαν γέρας (see Peek 1980: 21 22 for the supplement to line 3); *IG* ii iii^2 3.2.12664.1 3 (epitaph for the actor Quintus Marcius Straton, Athens, first century CE): τῆδε Μεναν̣δρείων ἐπέων δεδαηκότα πάσας | τύξιας εὐιέροις ἀγλαὸν ἐν θυμέλαις | ἐκτέρισαν θεράποντες ἀερσίφρονος Διονύσου. . .; *GVI* 1001.7 8 Peek 1955: 280 (epitaph, Rhodes, *c.* 100 BCE; the deceased speaks in the first person): καὶ βύβλου πάσης ἐδάην ἰθεῖαν ἀταρπὸν | εὑρεῖν καὶ Μουσέων πάντροπος ἦν θεράπων.

[38] See also the sources quoted in the preceding note.

wisdom" is linked with Homer's poetry itself, there is an additional reference to the belief, widespread in the ancient world, that Homer was master of all branches of knowledge.[39] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance, writes that Homer brought to mankind "all the rest of learning and finally philosophy,"[40] while Quintilian claims that in Homer's poetry every type of art can be found, either perfected or in sure traces.[41] An obscure (and quite possibly apocryphal) poet named Pigres seems to express the same belief in the only line of poetry by him that has been preserved. Pigres supposedly rewrote the *Iliad* into elegiac couplets by inserting a pentameter after each hexameter; his supplement for Homer's invocation of the Muse ran as follows:[42]

> μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
> Μοῦσα· σὺ γὰρ πάσης πείρατ' ἔχεις σοφίης.
>
> Sing, goddess, of the wrath of Achilles son of Peleus O Muse, for you hold the limits of all wisdom.

Pigres substitutes "limits" for "measure" but otherwise reproduces the last four words of our epigram. The resemblance is hardly coincidental: when used of Homer's Muse, the phrase "*all* wisdom" evokes his privileged status among poets as mediator of all knowledge, and the same should apply to the phrase in our epigram.

The *Capitolina* thus promises access to a plenitude of knowledge uniquely associated with Homer and his poetry. This is an intriguing result if we recall the emphasis that the hexameter placed on Theodorus and his activity, particularly through the ponderous and impressive adjective Θεοδώρηον that straddles the middle of the line.[43] The highly traditional, almost redundant phraseology of the pentameter – δαείς after μάθε, πάσης and μέτρον along with σοφίης – evidently manipulates the vocabulary of poetic learning and inspiration precisely in order to communicate the efficacy of the artist's work in transmitting the poet's learning. Theodorus' *taxis* of the poet is perfect and loses nothing in the translation;

[39] For a detailed discussion of this belief, see Hillgruber 1994: 5 35, Zeitlin 2001. For Homer's status in the Roman world, see Farrell 2004.

[40] [Ὅμηρον], δι' ὃν ἥ τε ἄλλη παιδεία πᾶσα παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τελευτῶσα ἡ φιλοσοφία (*Pomp.* 1.13 vol.II p.225.16 Us./Rad.).

[41] *nullius non artis aut opera perfecta aut certe non dubia vestigia reperiuntur* (12.11.21).

[42] See West 1992: 93.

[43] The adjective is particularly striking because it straddles the third foot, so that the hexameter, exceptionally in an elegiac couplet, lacks a penthemimeral caesura. On this rare metrical pattern see West 1982: 157, 181; Fantuzzi 2002: 89 n. 37: in the few literary epigrams that exhibit this pattern, it is always a proper name that prevents a caesura in the third foot, just as in the *Capitolina* couplet.

any reference to the extent of Homer's knowledge redounds to the artist's credit, for he has managed to compress all of it into the limited compass of his artwork.[44]

This assertion carries with it a self-advertisement that depends on effacing the distinction between artist and poet, between visual representation and the literary work being represented. In a recent study of Hellenistic epigrams on works of art, K. Gutzwiller has shown a similar strategy at work: poems of the Hellenistic period, she argues, utilize the device of addressing the viewer in the second person in order to "signal that the reader is to imagine the speech act of an exegete"; the learned voice of this exegete may cultivate ambiguity for encomiastic purposes, observing, e.g., that a given statue might represent equally well a revered god or a Hellenistic ruler so that the latter may enjoy the prestige of the former.[45] The voice that emanates from the *Capitolina* epigram, steeped as it is in traditional poetic diction, likewise constructs a viewing in which we cannot tell where Homer ends and Theodorus begins. The epigram's very form dramatizes this ambiguity: After reading the hexameter, we naturally connect "the *taxis* of Homer" with Theodorus' own activity, his art manifesting itself in the arrangement he imposes on Homer's material. Yet poets too must arrange their work,[46] and in ancient literary criticism Homer is often singled out for praise because of his skillful manipulation of narrative sequence.[47] In light of the pentameter's focus on poetic learning, then, the "*taxis* of Homer" acquires a different valence and signifies the poet's activity, for it is ultimately Homer's own organization of his material that confers all wisdom. *Taxis* refers at once to the *Capitolina*'s spatial ordering and epic's narrative sequence (we witnessed the same double meaning in the Latin equivalent of *taxis*, *ordo*, as Vergil used it at the start of his ecphrasis on the temple of Juno); *Homērou*, "of Homer," is at once a subjective and an objective genitive, that is, both the figure performing the arrangement and the one being arranged.

This double meaning suggests that a perfect complementarity exists between Theodorus' work and Homer's: both artists have carried out analogous processes of arrangement; the spatial distribution of the former merely reproduces, albeit in a different medium, the linear narrative of the latter. The emphasis here is on the orderly, comprehensive *fabula* of epic,

[44] This compression becomes all the more impressive when we consider the small dimensions of the *Capitolina*. We will treat this feature in more detail in Chapter 6.

[45] Gutzwiller 2002a: 93 94 (the quotation is from 94).

[46] For the use of τάξις and related words to denote a poet's arrangement of his material, see Durante 1960: 234 n.13.

[47] For this point, cf. the discussion in Chapter 1.

and the implication that Theodorus has created a faithful copy is vital to the rhetoric of his artwork, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, appropriates Homer's authority in promulgating an idiosyncratic, Romanocentric version of epic events. Little has been said so far, however, about what the viewer's role is in processing the joint creation of Homer and Theodorus; this role is filled in by another set of highly unusual inscriptions that highlight the significance of spatial arrangement on the *Tabulae*.

The magic squares and the direction of the viewer's gaze

For such practical instructions on how the viewer should navigate the recto illustrations of the *Tabulae*, we must turn to the inscriptions that several of them carry on the verso. These inscriptions have been dubbed "magic squares" by modern scholars: they arrange their letters in a grid that allows their message to be read in a variety of different directions; the outline of this grid often, but not always, forms a square.[48] Seven *Tabulae* feature magic squares:[49] four of these belong to the group that, like the *Capitolina*, illustrates the Sack of Troy on the recto (2NY, 3C, 7Ti, 20Par); two of them are circular representations of the shield of Achilles as described in book 18 of the *Iliad* (4N, 5O); one features a scene from a single book of the *Iliad* (15Ber). None of these letter grids is preserved in its entirety, but the principles of their construction are regular enough that they can usually be restored with confidence – save for the two exceptions of 7Ti and 15Ber. 7Ti is currently lost: we have a heliogravure of the recto, but for the verso we depend on the initial 1882 publication, which described a letter grid in the shape of a diamond that finished with the words "Sack of Troy."[50] 15Ber has a scene from *Iliad* 3 on the recto, Aphrodite bringing aid to Paris in his single combat with Menelaus; a partially preserved

[48] Bua 1971 is the fundamental discussion; for the magic square on 20Par, brought to light after Bua's article, see Horsfall 1983: 144 145. Horsfall 1990: 97 98 and VM: 347 349, 354 356 offer synthetic treatments of the squares. On the thesis that the squares point to the Egyptian origins of Theodorus, see the sensible remarks at VM: 356 358: there are indeed Egyptian parallels for this rare type of letter grid (e.g., the late second century CE Moschion stele from the Nile delta, *SEG* 8.464), but these need indicate no more than that Theodorus included Egyptian materials among the many sources he drew upon.

[49] If we count 23Ky among the tablets (on this question see the final section of the Introduction), it may offer an additional example: the verso seems to carry an unfinished grid in the shape of a stepped altar, with the lines incised but no letters in the spaces. See Gasparri 2009 (who does not note the resemblance to the altar on 4N, for which see below).

[50] [Ἰλίου Π]έρσις (cf. Rayet 1882 and Bua 1971: 11 12).

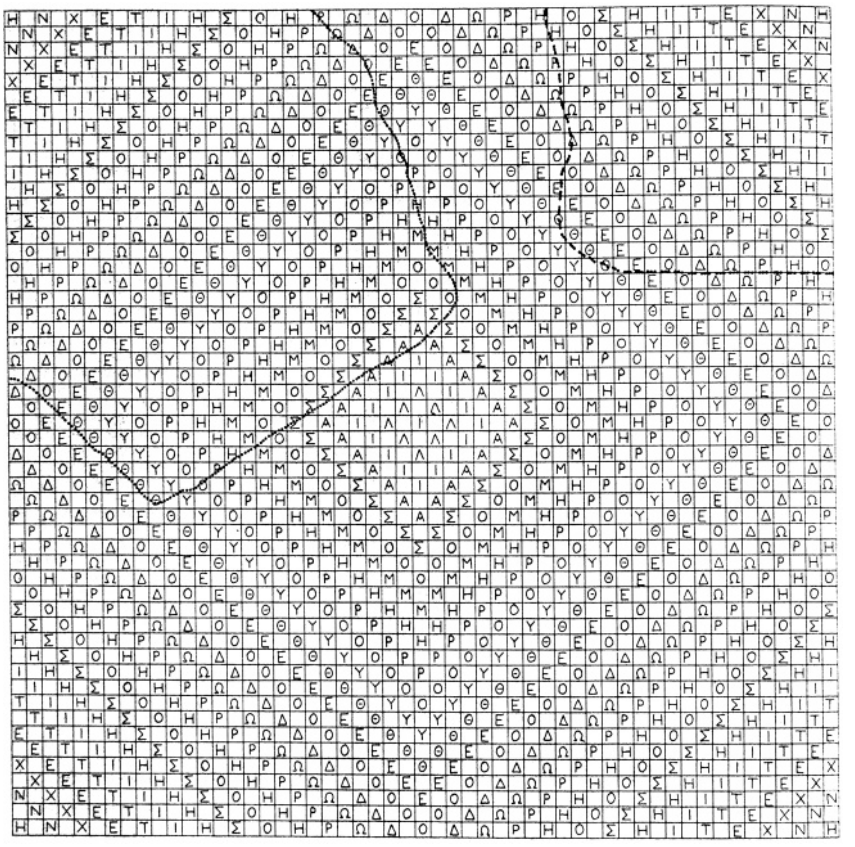


Figure 23 Reconstruction of the magic squares from 2NY and 3C. The dotted lines in the upper left and upper right quadrants indicate, respectively, the portions actually preserved on 2NY and 3C

square on the back apparently glosses this scene with a reference to the "treaty between kings" that allowed the duel between the two to take place.[51] In the following section I will focus on the extant letter grids from the Sack of Troy series and the two Shields. All of these name the creator of the tablets, Theodorus, and thus act as artist's signatures rather different from the epigram we analyzed in the previous sections.

Though the magic squares are often treated merely as curiosities,[52] they have an integral role to play in Theodorus' overall design. Five of the six

[51] The message in the grid is ἀνά]κ̣τ̣ων σύνθεσ[ις. Not enough remains to infer the grid's original outline or extent.

[52] For Horsfall they are instances of the "trivial and bizarre uses" to which the artisans of the *Tabulae* devoted their skill (Horsfall 1979: 29). VM: 349 denies them any deeper significance beyond advertising the skill of the artisans.

Figure 24 Line drawing of the magic square from 4N

Tabulae that bear his name also carry a letter grid on the back[53]; the *Capitolina* is the only monument signed by the artist that lacks such a grid. Theodorus appears to have taken great care, furthermore, to correlate the content and shape of his magic squares with the material that appears on the recto side of each plaque. The *Tabulae* depicting the Shield of Achilles, 4N

[53] 2NY, 3C, 4N, 5O, 20Par.

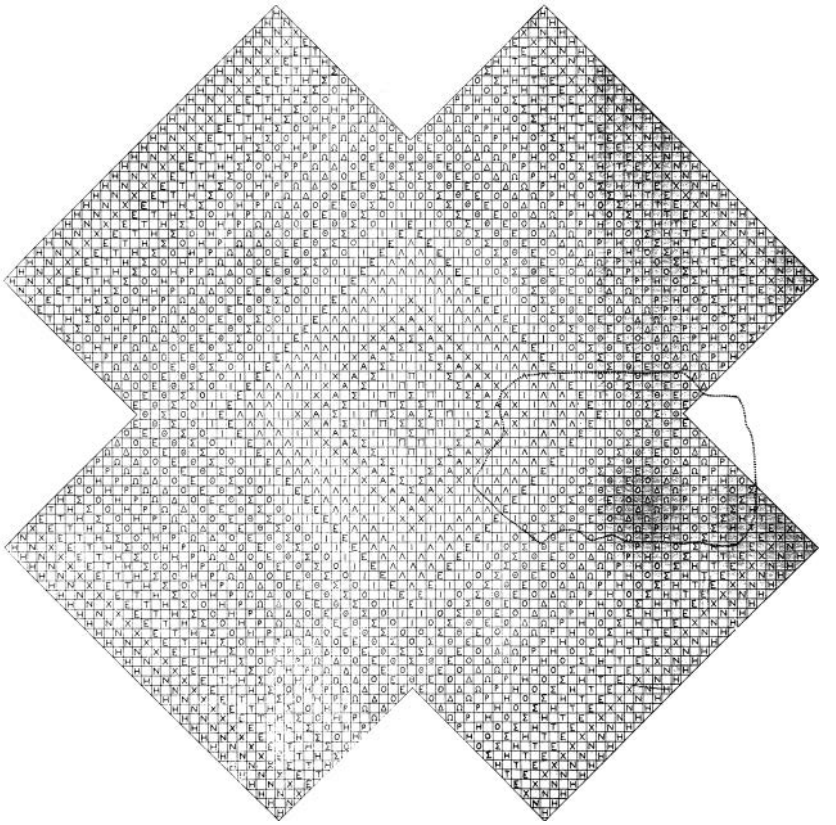


Figure 25 Reconstruction of the magic square from 5O. The dotted line indicates the portion actually preserved

and 5O, have "squares" in the form of an altar and a twelve-sided figure, respectively, shapes that complement the unusual circular design of the two pieces (Figures 24 and 25). The message inscribed in the letter grid refers to the principal subject of the recto, as in the hexameter inscription from 4N:

> ἀσπὶς Ἀχίλληος Θεοδώρηος καθ' Ὅμηρον.
>
> Theodorus' shield of Achilles according to Homer.[54]

[54] 5O transmits a different, non metrical version of the inscription: [ἀσπὶς] Ἀχίλλειος Θεοδώρηος ἡ τ[έχνη], "the shield of Achilles, the *technē* of Theodorus": on the variation between ειος and ηος as the spelling of the adjectival suffix, see below. In light of this variation, it is likely that Ἀχιλληος from 4N is the adjective Ἀχίλληος, as I printed it above, rather than the genitive singular Ἀχιλλῆος, as it is usually written (elsewhere on the *Tabulae* the genitive of Achilles' name is Ἀχιλλέως, though all of the occurrences are in prose contexts). Because ἀσπίς is a feminine noun, Theodorus evidently uses Ἀχίλληος in the same way he does Θεοδώρηος, as an adjective of two terminations (i.e., without distinctive feminine endings). Despite the entry in LSJ s.v. Ἀχίλλειος, literary sources too occasionally treat this adjective as two termination (e.g., Appian, *Italica* 8.5: τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχήν).

4N appears to carry the same inscription on its recto as well,[55] written normally from left to right over a band that bisects the circular expanse of the shield. The repetition reinforces the close link between recto and verso.

Three of the *Tabulae* with a Sack of Troy panel, by contrast (2NY, 3C, 20Par), offer a different, non-metrical inscription in keeping with their different subject mattter (quoted from 2NY):

> [ʾΙλι]ὰς Ὁμήρου Θεοδώρηος ἡ{ι} τέχνη.
>
> The Iliad of Homer, the art of Theodorus.[56]

Theodorus has arranged this message in the shape of a square on all three *Tabulae*, a counterpart to the rectilinear *taxis* of the recto with its square panel and rectangular bands: see Figure 23 for a reconstruction, Figures 8, 10 and 19 (at the back of the book) for the inscriptions themselves.[57]

The very fact that Theodorus has managed to align the letters of these three inscriptions in a perfect, square grid affirms the artist's preoccupation with matters of arrangement. A text must have an odd number of letters if it is to be accommodated in a perfect square, but the message ʾΙλιὰς Ὁμήρου Θεοδώρηος ἡ τέχνη has twenty-six, an intractable number! Undaunted, Theodorus varied his orthography to produce the desired outline, inserting an extra iota after the definite article ἡ in 2NY and 3C and thereby bringing the total to twenty-seven letters (this is the version of the message quoted above).[58] The device was probably suggested by the tendency of inscriptions on the tablets to insert an incorrect iota even without the prompting of design concerns (a common itacistic error).[59] On 20Par Theodorus rejected this expedient and instead produced the odd number of letters by writing the adjective derived from his name with the diphthong ει (Θεοδώρειος), the standard spelling in literary

[55] The first three words are preserved: ἀσπὶς Ἀχίλληος Θεοδώρ[ηος (on the form of the second word, see the previous note). Sadurska proposes to complete the inscription with ἡ τέχνη, as in the verso inscriptions from 2NY, 3C, 5O, and 20Par (see below); VM argues that this supplement is too short to fill the original diameter of the shield and that we should restore καθ' Ὅμηρον, as on the verso of 4N itself (239 240, following Bieńkowski 1891: 185 and Guarducci 1967 1978: III, 431).

[56] This inscription appears in varying states of preservation on each of the three *Tabulae*; 20Par features a slight but significant variation in spelling that we will consider below.

[57] The central panel of 20Par is no longer extant (Sadurska 1966).

[58] See Bua 1971: 14; on earlier interpretations of the iota see Sadurska: 42. The preserved portion of the magic square on 3C reads only Θεοδώρηος ἡι τέχνη, but in this fragment the additional iota produces an *even* number of letters that would have been of no use to the artist. There must once have been more letters, and Bua 1971: 8 10 demonstrates that the message of 3C was originally identical to that of 2NY: ʾΙλιὰς Ὁμήρου] Θεοδώρηος ἡ{ι} τέχνη.

[59] For itacism on the *Tabulae*, see J M: 78.

texts.[60] These small variations demonstrate the care Theodorus took to create square-shaped grids for his Sack of Troy *Tabulae*.

The manner in which the magic squares must be read offers further evidence that the artist has tailored their arrangement to complement the recto side. All of Theodorus' squares work on a principle attested here for the first time in antiquity:[61] a prospective reader must begin with the letter in the middle of the grid and from there proceed outward, going up, down or diagonally in order to finish the inscription.[62] A hexameter whose beginning and end appear, respectively, on 2NY and 3C above the magic squares themselves, makes these directions explicit:

> γράμμα μέσον καθ[ορῶν παραλάμβα]νε οὗ ποτε βούλει.
>
> Look for the middle letter and continue wherever you wish.[63]

2NY also carries a version of the *Capitolina* epigram on its recto. Both sides of the monument thus offer inscriptions that are connected by their meter and by their use of imperatives to address the viewer; the message written within the grid of the magic square refers to material on the other side and thus forges an additional link to the recto. These links point again to more general similarities between the magic squares and the illustrations of the Epic Cycle on the other side, for both exhibit a rectilinear form and centrally focused arrangement, particularly the highly symmetrical Sack of Troy panel.

Through the unusual principle of *gramma meson* ("middle letter"), Theodorus has created in his squares a mirror of his epic *taxis*, and the instructions for reading these squares might accordingly offer a model for going through the material on the recto as well.[64] Certainly an injunction to start at the center fits very well with the layout of the central panel of the *Capitolina*, where the rigorous symmetries of Troy's architecture draw the eye

[60] Ἰλιὰς Ὁμ]ήρου Θεοδώρει[ος ἡ τέχνη] (for the text and explanation of the spelling variation, see Horsfall 1983: 144). The interchange between η and ει is another itacistic error common on the *Tabulae* (cf., e.g., Πενθεσίλεια on 1A versus Πενθεσίληα on 7Ti, or the different spellings of the adjectival suffix ειος on the verso of 5O).

[61] Bua 1971: 23. [62] 4N does not allow diagonal reading.

[63] The supplement was proposed by C. Gallavotti (1989: 49 n. 2). Editors normally print instead the following supplement by M. Guarducci: γράμμα μέσον καθ[ελὼν παρολίσθα]νε οὗ ποτε βούλει, "Take down the middle letter and slip wherever you wish" (see Bua 1971: 8 9, Guarducci 1967 1978: III, 426; my translation conveys the awkwardness of the supplements). The basic meaning of the line is identical with either supplement, but Gallavotti's version should be preferred because it produces a hexameter that makes a more competent use of poetic diction and is more in keeping with the sophistication of the *Capitolina* epigram. For details on the merits of his proposal versus Guarducci's, see Petrain 2010.

[64] For previous attempts to connect the magic squares to material on the recto, see Rypson 1986; Ernst 1991: 390 391 (both of these focus on the Shield of Achilles *Tabulae*). See also the next note.

to the central group of Aeneas and his family: framed by the city's gate and towers, and recalling a famous monument from Augustus' forum, these figures probably are the viewer's first and primary focus of attention. The magic squares of the *Tabulae* thus imply that a viewer may start with Aeneas' escape and then continue to whatever other scenes on the *Tabula* catch his fancy.[65]

Conclusions

The magic squares suggest a method of reading Theodorus' *taxis* that initially seems at odds with what we have learned from the couplet of the *Capitolina*. The epigram offers this *taxis* as a comprehensive introduction to the mysteries of Homer: the viewer should come away with a measure of "all wisdom," πάσης σοφίας, as if the monument's digest of the Epic Cycle offered an experience equivalent to going through Homer's epic book by book. Though the magic squares likewise evince a deep interest in the artist's arrangement of his work, they suggest a process considerably more casual, even playful: viewers should start with the central Aeneas group just as they begin with the middle square on the grid, and then allow their eyes to rove wherever they like (οὗ ποτε βούλει), wandering over the surrounding material and not necessarily exhausting all the information that the *Tabula* has to offer. This viewing process is governed by Theodorus' arrangement rather than the order of the story he depicts. It offers the viewer a set of general parameters for how to read the illustrations (begin in the middle), but emphasizes the role of the viewer's own choices in constructing a sequence.

The two sets of inscriptions that we have examined so far articulate two possible modes of viewing the epic narratives of the *Tabulae* that I would like to link with the categories of *fabula* and *sjuzhet*. As noted earlier, the epigram's stress on comprehensiveness promises a viewer the authoritative *fabula* of Homeric epic, while the magic squares outline a pattern of telling or *sjuzhet* that offers multiple viewing sequences and respects the distinctive, centrally focused *taxis* designed by Theodorus. In the next chapter we will focus on how this *taxis* encourages viewers to conduct a selective reading of the illustrations on the recto while constantly reminding them of the presence of the epic *fabula*.

[65] Squire 2009: 137–139 likewise connects the squares to the images on the recto. He attractively argues that the squares prompt "a mode of multi-directional viewing centred around the subjective engagement of the viewer" (139). I agree, though I think it equally relevant that the squares try to center the viewer's subjective engagement around a normative starting point.

3 | The semantics of the center

In the first two chapters, I traced a discourse on viewing multiscenic visual narratives through literary texts and key inscriptions from the tablets themselves. I argued that ancient viewers were attuned to how spatial arrangement inflects the way we process a series of scenes, and that the tablets explicitly thematize how a viewer might neglect an underlying narrative chronology in favor of other principles of ordering. If viewers attempt to follow the story of the Trojan War in order through the bands and panels of the *Capitolina* and related *Tabulae*, perhaps taking their cue from the invitation of the *Capitolina* epigram to imbibe Homer's wisdom, they privilege the chronological, linear plotline of Greek epic, what I termed in Chapter 1 the *fabula*.[1] Viewers who begin in the center with Aeneas' flight respect instead the spatial organization of the scenes in a manner suggested by the magic squares on the verso side, whose messages begin in the middle and proceed outward on a variety of routes: this is a viewing guided not by narrative chronology, but by how Theodorus arranges the images so as to guide the viewer's gaze in certain directions or a certain pattern, what I have called the visual *sjuzhet*.

The present chapter examines this pattern of viewing in the nine tablets that feature a central panel with the Sack of Troy surrounded by friezes or other material. I begin by considering briefly the possibility of reading the *Tabulae* in strict chronological sequence, in an effort to highlight some of the inconsistencies and pitfalls involved if we rely too closely on the order of Homer's epic to structure our viewing. The next sections turn to how the visual field of the tablets is organized and what patterns of viewing it encourages: after presenting the so-called *Tabula Odysseaca* (16Sa) as a test case, I go through the nine tablets with Troy narratives one by one and sketch out the system that governs their selection of material. This comparison of tablets not only clarifies the relationship between the central panels and the elements that frame them, but also suggests a new way to

[1] To be sure, a poem like Homer's *Iliad* admits flashbacks and other anachronies, but the tablets generally represent the plots of the Greek epics as a linear progression in which each scene advances the chronology of the narrative. For the narrative modes of the tablets, see Chapter 4.

understand the role of the inscribed labels and captions. These participate in a rhetoric of documentation that is intimately related to the visual dynamics of Theodorus' creations; this rhetoric suggests in turn a way of reframing the vexed question of the Stesichorus citation on the *Tabula Capitolina*, a topic that I will consider in the final section.

Following the *fabula*

As I noted in the introduction, Horsfall offered a powerful and highly influential reading of the *Tabulae* based upon a book by book analysis of the textual and pictorial summaries they offer, testing how well these reinforce each other's content and how well they transmit the events of Homeric epic.[2] Even when he focuses on the pictorial qualities of the reliefs, Homer's poetry still governs his analysis: as the individual pictures are too small for the artist to add much of "his own emotions and interpretations to the narrative," they must be intended as simple aids to help an ignorant and unimaginitive clientele recall the original text.[3] An apparent obstacle to this interpretation are discrepancies in the content of different *Tabulae*: we might expect elementary memory aids to provide consistent help with the poems they illustrate. The *Tabulae* however offer extremely varied levels of textual support for their reliefs, from the full summary of the *Capitolina* pilaster to terse labels for each band, and these texts are often very poor captions, failing to identify key events or else mentioning ones not actually depicted.[4] Even the extensive summary of the *Capitolina* pilaster unhelpfully glosses books 13–15 of the *Iliad* with a single phrase, "while the battle was becoming even."[5]

Horsfall makes use of such inconsistencies to draw inferences about the attitudes of Theodorus' clientele: they were not very exacting of the artist, and satisfied with inadequate summaries. Similarly, because the *Tabulae* tend not to offer any summaries at all of the poems that follow the *Iliad* in the Epic Cycle, their owners must not have felt obliged to know the plots of the *Aethiopis, Little Iliad* or *Sack of Troy* as thoroughly as that of Homer's epic.[6] They were content instead with a "confused visual impression of what

[2] Horsfall 1979. [3] Ibid. 34.

[4] Horsfall lists several discrepancies between the pictures, the explanatory texts, and the *Iliad* itself (ibid. 34, 46); Mancuso (1909: 671 697) and VM (33 95) provide exhaustive treatments of such discrepancies in the course of their analyses of the reliefs on the *Capitolina*.

[5] τῆς δ' ὁμαλῆς γινομένης (lines 54 55). For the inscription, and the problems with this phrase, see Appendix 2.

[6] Horsfall 1979: 47.

the cyclic poems had recounted"[7] – a surprising conclusion given that the panel devoted to the Sack of Troy is both the most striking feature of the *Tabulae* and, as we shall see, the one with the most consistent iconography. A further difficulty is that one *Tabula* offers labels for the *Aethiopis*, but not the *Iliad* (9D; both poems appear), and another omits the *Iliad* altogether in favor of the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* (7Ti). Horsfall must contend as well with features of the *Tabulae* that seem to have little to do with basic instruction: 8E offers a pilaster inscribed with a treatise by Zenodotus on the chronology of the *Iliad* but no illustrations of the poem itself. He argues that such material is to be counted as sham erudition, an idle display of learning that might have appealed to Theodorus' uncultured audience: "[n]ot all the *Tabulae* are equally suitable as vehicles for elementary adult education, but the needs of this curious market are met sufficiently."[8] There is a problem here. In essence, Horsfall tries to demonstrate the low cultural attainments of the owners of the *Tabulae* by showing that the objects fulfill very badly the purpose he has postulated for them; any evidence suggesting that they were unsuited to basic instruction merely indicates how poor the standards were. Horsfall's thesis thus seems to absolve us from looking for any sort of coherence in the *Tabulae*: all discordant or troublesome features can be explained with a further reference to the foolishness of the owners or the ineptitude of the artist.[9]

Other difficulties emerge when we examine Horsfall's style of reading in connection with how the epic summaries of the *Tabulae* are arranged in space. It requires a fair amount of visual gymnastics to follow the story of the *Iliad* and Epic Cycle in sequence on the *Capitolina*: for the Iliadic material we start with the left-hand section and move over to the one on the right, then we skip back to the middle section below the panel for the friezes of the Cyclic poems before moving up to the end of the story in the center. The task becomes rather more involved if we try to use the textual summaries of the pilasters to supplement our understanding of the illustrations in the bands. The extant pilaster on the right starts with the final section of book 7 of the *Iliad* and follows through to the end of the poem in book 24, leaving books 1–6 and the rest of 7 for the pilaster on the left (now lost). Viewers would thus begin by following the first bands of Iliadic illustrations downward as they read the left-hand pilaster (the two will not proceed downward at the same rate). Starting with book 7, however, viewers would have to direct their gaze constantly from side to side as they used the pilaster on the

[7] Ibid. 34. [8] Ibid. 35.

[9] For critiques of Horsfall's thesis on similar lines cf. Salimbene 2002: 9 and VM: 408 409.

right to explicate bands 7–12 on the left. At *Iliad* 13 they may again confine their viewing to a single side of the monument, but for the illustrated bands of *Iliad* 13–24 they must move *upward* while trying to correlate the bands with the text of the pilaster that, of course, runs *downward*.

It is important to note that the text of the pilaster contains no indication of book divisions, nor indeed does it divide its words or provide any other sort of punctuation. The lettering gives instead the impression of a continuous stream, and word breaks at the edges of the pilaster pay no heed to syllabic boundaries. Consider, for instance, lines 43–46:

> Ἀγαμέμ
> νων Διομήδης Ὀδυσσεὺς Μ
> αχάων Εὐρύπυλος ἐπὶ τὰ
> ς ναῦς ἀναχωροῦσιν.
>
> Agamemnon, Diomedes, Odysseus, Machaon, Eurypylus withdraw to the ships.

Given the character of the pilaster's text, even keeping one's place in its summary relative to the illustrations would be a considerable challenge. It thus seems fairly mild of Horsfall to censure only mismatches between the content of the pilaster and bands, when Theodorus' overall design introduces so many other obstacles to a reading that tries to follow both text and illustration in a strict narrative sequence.

A viewer would probably need to know the events of the *Iliad* very well in order to correlate the texts and reliefs of the *Capitolina* into a connected account of the poem. The other *Tabulae* only confirm this impression: some feature an organization analagous to that of the *Capitolina*, but others dispose their Iiadic bands in a number of arrangements, setting, e.g., *Iliad* 13–24 on the left and *Iliad* 1–12 on the right, so that the usual order of reading is disrupted (9D). Such variations seem perverse if viewers were primarily interested in acquiring a basic acquaintance with the plot of the *Iliad*. One might argue that Theodorus is inept or simply showing off, neglecting his audience's needs in favor of the arrangement or *taxis* advertised in his signature, and producing puzzles likely to defeat the majority of them. As incoherencies multiply, however, it becomes clear that Horsfall's style of reading the *Tabulae* leads to an account of the objects in which their most striking features are at odds with his initial assumption about their purpose. We have seen evidence, furthermore, for the complexity and sophistication of the *Tabulae*, in the literary echoes of the *Capitolina* epigram, and in the subtle connections of the magic squares to the artist's *taxis*

on the recto. What we need is a way of reading the *Tabulae* that respects this *taxis*, and in particular the special status of the central panel as the feature that has the strongest claims on the viewer's attention. I will argue below that it is through the arrangement of their disparate elements, rather than in the individual contents of each illustration, that the *Tabulae* contribute their own interpretations to the stories of Greek epic.

An alternative approach: The middle letter and the *taxis* of Theodorus

To Horsfall's sequential analysis I oppose what I might dub as the *gramma meson* ("middle letter") reading, borrowing the phrase and the concept from the hexameter written above the magic squares on 2NY and 3C. These magic squares mark the middle letter as the specific place to begin reading the enclosed message, but they offer progressively more freedom as viewers work their way to the edge of the grid. For the epic *taxis* on the recto, the principle of *gramma meson* would imply that the viewer should concentrate on how the surrounding bands and textual summaries relate to the central panel, without necessarily trying to override this spatial order and read them sequentially. It should be emphasized, first, that this principle is as much descriptive as prescriptive, for the panel's centrality, perspectival cityscape, and eye-catching Aeneas group will draw the viewer's eye in any case. Theodorus' innovation is to engage with this visual tendency and make it explicit by means of his magic squares and their instructions. The analogy of the magic squares to the reliefs on the recto is also not exact: every reading of the magic squares has a definite endpoint in one of the corners of the letter grid, whereas viewers do not in any sense finish the epic scenes on the recto when they reach one of the scenes on the edge. It seems reasonable nonetheless to borrow from the emphasis on the center of the magic squares an approximate image of the viewing pattern encouraged by the recto, as well as a term to describe it.

To demonstrate how a reading according to the principle of *gramma meson* might impact an interpretation of the illustrations on the recto sides of the tablets, I propose to turn to the so-called *Tabula Odysseaca* (16Sa), whose layout resembles that of the *Capitolina* and its relatives, but allows for a simplified analysis (Figures 26 and 27). The *Odysseaca* features a central panel with a picture of Poseidon riding a sea creature and holding a trident as his mantle blows about his head. The panel is surrounded by smaller rectangles that each contain scenes involving minute figures (the Roman

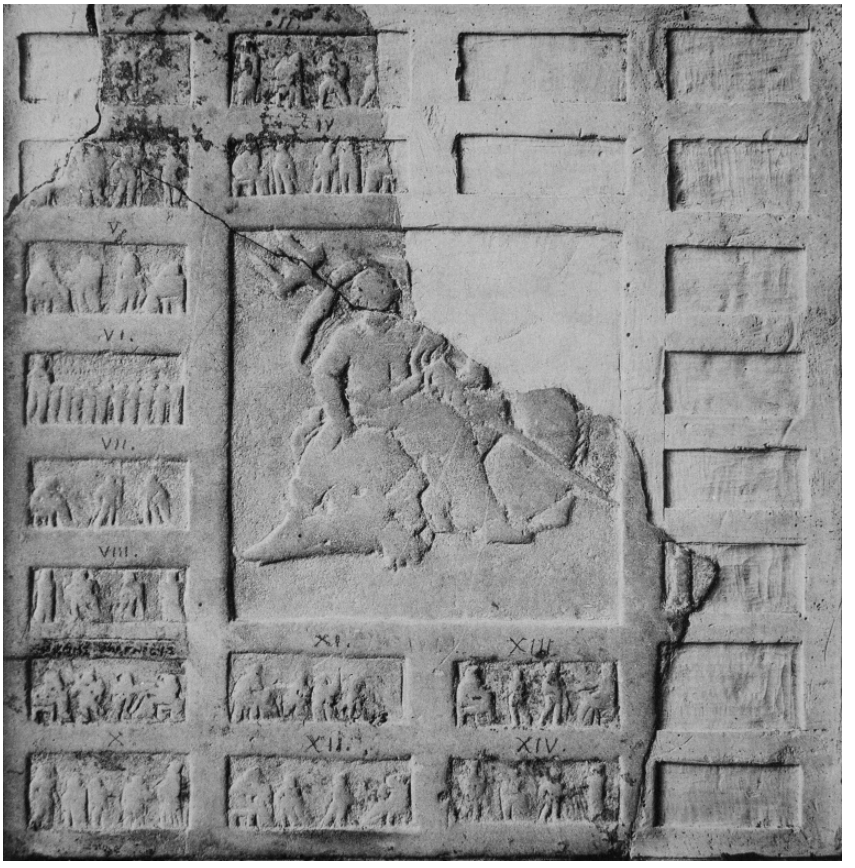


Figure 26 *Tabula Odysseaca* (16Sa), recto. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Museo Sacro. The Roman numerals are a modern addition

numerals that appear above each rectangle are a modern addition). Fifteen of the rectangles survive, in whole or in part, on the fragmentary plaque, but its overall layout allows us to infer securely that there were once twenty-four rectangles in all. The arrangement of twenty-four miniatures around a central panel is clearly inspired by the works of Theodorus, though the tablet differs substantially from the other works associated with his name. Almost no inscriptions accompany the reliefs of the *Odysseaca*. There are traces of gilding on its border and the remains of some painted letters (now almost illegible) above one rectangle, however, suggesting that all the figures might originally have been identified by painted labels.[10] The unusual style of the reliefs, shallow and highly frontalized, has also plausibly been

[10] For the gilding and paint see Sadurska: 72. Weitzmann 1941: 167 suggests instead that the dividing bands of the *Odysseaca* were once covered by shallow inscriptions that have since been worn away.

Figure 27 *Tabula Odysseaca* (16Sa), line drawing of recto

explained as due to the importance of painting on this monument.[11] In their present state the bands give an impression of monotony because they depict scenes using a limited number of stock motifs with few distinguishing features. By contrast, the figure of Poseidon is carefully modeled, and his name is inscribed (though partially effaced) on the lower border of the central panel.[12]

The scenes in the rectangles of the *Odysseaca* are so stereotyped that they went unidentified until 1941, when K. Weitzmann in an important article observed that twenty-four bands arrayed around Poseidon might,

[11] Sadurska: 73. [12] Ibid.

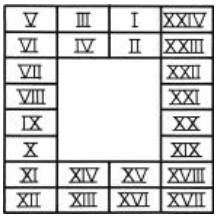


Figure 28 Schematic indicating the arrangement of the twenty four books of the *Odyssey* on 16Sa

by analogy with other *Tabulae*, be illustrating sections of an epic poem that had something to do with the god. Noting "the complete absence of fighting scenes" among the surviving reliefs, he proposed as the tablet's likely subject the twenty-four books of the *Odyssey*, a poem in which Poseidon is the one who causes Odysseus' wanderings and must be propitiated in order for them to end.[13] Turning to individual bands, Weitzmann was able to detect scenes from the individual books of the *Odyssey* but found that the artist's choice of what to portray was peculiar: rather than selecting subjects that were particularly important, memorable or otherwise conducive to illustration, in most cases he simply represented whatever scene or scenes happened to fall close to the beginning of a given book. Hence most of the pictures lack iconographic parallels and are highly conventional: the pairing of a seated and a standing figure, for instance, becomes a standardized representation of conversation between two characters that is employed in seven of the bands, usually twice in the same one.[14]

We could hardly assign these scenes a specific interpretation if we did not know the principle of selection governing the sequence,[15] and indeed not all of Weitzmann's identifications are equally secure. He assumes that the artist consulted a text of the *Odyssey* directly when choosing his subjects, but an epitome would have worked just as well: surviving epitomes of the poem tend to mention precisely those scenes that Weitzmann finds illustrated,[16]

[13] Weitzmann 1941: 167 169 (see 170 179 for a detailed analysis of individual bands). Further analysis of Poseidon's role in the monument at Brilliant 1984: 58 59.

[14] Such scenes serve as illustrations for books 4(×2), 7(×2), 9, 11(×2), 13(×2), 14, 15(×2).

[15] Weitzmann 1941: 180 181.

[16] E.g., for book 6 we see one figure handing an object to another; the epitomes describe Odysseus' receipt of clothing from Nausicaa. The band for book 8 shows a large figure facing a group of ten smaller ones; the epitomes note that this book begins with an assembly at which Odysseus is introduced to the Phaeacians. (The *Odyssey* epitomes, preserved by the ancient scholia and Eustathius, are conveniently collected by Michaelis at J M: 112 121.)

but occasionally they suggest different interpretations.[17] His general approach is nonetheless sound.[18] Figure 28 offers a schematic of how the books of the epic are arranged on the *Odysseaca* according to Weitzmann's analysis.

The creator of the *Odysseaca* was clearly not trying to provide a useful conspectus of the contents of the *Odyssey*. Its viewer would, for instance, find no indication of the encounter with the Cyclops: the band for book 9 shows instead Odysseus standing before Alcinous, about to begin his story. For book 13 we have two scenes, Odysseus depicted twice standing before two seated figures, probably Alcinous and Arete offering him gifts – there is no indication of the homecoming to Ithaca. The distinctive events of individual books were not the artist's concern, and his articulation of the poem into a series of opening scenes makes the narrative impossible to follow. The arrangement of the sequence of books too seems capricious in the way the story winds around Poseidon and apparently adopts a kind of meander pattern in the lower sections.

The one important factor is apparently that every book should be represented, and herein lies the key to interpreting the piece. The *Odysseaca* creates an emblematic view of its subject matter that may be taken in at a glance. It suggests that Poseidon is a figure of central importance in the *Odyssey*, and to make this point it employs a visual, iconic argumentation: Poseidon is *literally* at the center of the poem's twenty-four books, as well as being the most easily recognizable figure in the piece. His name, carved below him, does not function to identify him (we do not need it for that purpose), but rather to underscore the significance of his identity. This arrangement produces a gradation of semantic relevance: the content of the Poseidon panel is crucial to the message of the monument, while the bands derive their importance not from the specific scenes they depict, but from their number and their relationship to the center. The *Odysseaca* thus seems

[17] E.g., for book 11, Odysseus' trip to the underworld, we see two "conversation groups" of a seated and a standing figure. Weitzmann links the groups to Odysseus' encounters with Circe and Elpenor, the first two related in book 11 (1941: 175 176); the epitomes, however, mention only the conversations in the underworld and highlight Tiresias' role, so that it may be more plausible to identify the prophet in one of the seated figures.

[18] VM: 334 335 considers Weitzmann's arguments too uncertain, brands the *Odysseaca* an imitation ("ein Imitat"), and excludes it from the class of the *Tabulae Iliacae* altogether because it lacks inscriptions and iconographic parallels. Yet by her own demonstration (ibid. 414), the artisans of the *Tabulae* have recourse to highly conventional figures when there is no pre existing iconography for the scenes they are attempting to illustrate, as would be the case for much of the Odyssean material. Imitation or no, the *Odysseaca* bears an unmistakable resemblance to the tablets with a Sack of Troy panel and needs to be investigated in conjunction with them.

designed for a reading that notices Poseidon and then makes casual, rather than exhaustive, forays into the surrounding material, always returning to the middle.

The *Odysseaca* shows how the principle of *gramma meson* might apply to a reading of the images on the recto sides of the *Tabulae*, even though the illustrations grouped around the central panel obviously have more semantic content than the letters in grids of the magic squares. Our analysis suggests that the central panel organizes our reading of the scenes that surround it and determines their significance. Their content is of literally marginal importance, for the impact of the *Odysseaca* arguably consists in our recognizing in a general way that the twenty-four bands represent the *Odyssey*, and then appreciating the visual impression made by their arrangement around a thematic and attractively carved center. The viewer would find it much more difficult to follow the bands in order, and would reap little reward, in terms of knowledge of the *Odyssey*, from doing so. The *Odysseaca* demonstrates as well that this visual hierarchy can allow suggestions to be made about an underlying narrative that would not stand up to a reading of the text. Poseidon may be an important figure in the journeys over sea that occupy the first twelve books of the *Odyssey*, but he has little to do with the events in Ithaca from books 13–24. An attempt to encapsulate the *Odyssey*'s theme in a single image has led to a focus on the first half of the poem, and we might compare the practice of ancient lexicographers and epitomators, who typically draw the majority of their material from the earlier sections of a given work.[19] All of these features of the *gramma meson* reading – gradations of semantic relevance, appropriation of surrounding bands by a thematic center, possible distortions of an underlying narrative – will come up again as we turn back now to the *Capitolina* and its fellows.

Comparison of the *Tabulae* featuring Troy narratives

The peculiarities of the *Odysseaca* allowed it to submit very easily to an analysis according to the principle of *gramma meson* because the linear narrative it offers is so impoverished in comparison to its spatial organization. In the case of the *Capitolina* and related *Tabulae*, however, it is not so obvious that the content of the margins is subordinate to that of the center. Often easy to recognize and supported by inscriptions, the material flanking the central panel offers a narrative sequence that seems far more viable as a

[19] The phenomenon is perhaps too general to require illustration; cf., e.g., Skutsch 1975: 232 233.

focus of interest. As noted above, some scholars have located in the summaries of the *Iliad* on the *Capitolina* that tablet's principal *raison d'être*, and indeed the epigram from the *Capitolina* entices viewers with its claim to provide a perfect knowledge of Homer.

In trying to interpret the visual organization of the *Tabulae* with a Sack of Troy panel, however, we need not limit ourselves to drawing inferences from the content of individual plaques. Nine different tablets exist carrying nine unique realizations of Theodorus' distinctive *taxis*. Taken together these tablets show that the artist's *taxis* is anything but inert or committed to providing a single version of the Epic Cycle; rather, variations among their reliefs reveal the operation of a dynamic system that regulates the content in different areas of the visual field, establishing for each section a range of permissible substitutions. In the following section I will compare these nine tablets in order to establish which elements are integral to their layout, and which dispensable or prone to substitution. An investigation of this sort can reveal whether any hierarchy or gradation of relevance governs the choice of what additional material is included on those *Tabulae* featuring the Sack of Troy.

Tabula Capitolina (1A)

The *Capitolina* has already received a full description in the Introduction. It presents a broad range of the elements Theodorus has at his disposal to organize his Troy narratives: the central Sack of Troy panel has longer friezes above and below devoted to *Iliad* 1 and to the poems of the Epic Cycle that follow the *Iliad*; the panel was originally flanked by two pilasters with a textual summary of the *Iliad* and two stacks of twelve friezes, each devoted to a book of the *Iliad*. Most of the friezes are labeled, and several preserve the Greek letter corresponding to their book in the upper left corner.

Tabula Iliaca of New York (2NY)

The *Tabula Iliaca of New York* is a fragment of an upper right corner that preserves bands illustrating *Iliad* 18–24 set around the *Sack of Troy* panel; there is no pilaster with a textual summary to separate this panel from the bands on the right (Figures 7 and 8). The scenes in the panel have the same disposition as those on the *Capitolina*: Troy is organized into three horizontal registers featuring, from top to bottom, battles around the Trojan Horse, the murder of Priam in his palace, and Aeneas with his family fleeing

through the Scaean Gates (the top of this group can still be discerned on 2NY). Books 18–23 are arranged in ascending order on the right, running from the bottom to the top; by analogy with the *Capitolina*, the first half of the poem would have appeared in descending order on the missing left-hand section.

The *Capitolina* devoted the space over its central panel to *Iliad* 1 and placed *Iliad* 24 next to this band in the upper right corner; 2NY, by contrast, positions *Iliad* 23 in the upper right corner and *Iliad* 24 to its left above the right half of the panel, so that the final books of the poem wrap around the corner of the tablet. The tablet's representation of *Iliad* 1 no longer survives but must have been shorter than the one on the *Capitolina* because it does not fill the entire space over the panel. Our only parallel for a *Tabula* that divides the space over its central panel into different sections is the *Odysseaca*, which featured bands of the same size throughout. It therefore seems likely, as Bulas has conjectured,[20] that *Iliad* 1 was the same size as *Iliad* 24, and that the upper margin of 2NY carried a total of four sections, *Iliad* 1 and 24 over the central panel, *Iliad* 2 and 23 in the upper left and right corners, respectively. The version of *Iliad* 1 on 2NY would thus be drastically reduced in comparison to that featured on the *Capitolina*.

2NY may also have offered a reduced treatment of the poems of the Epic Cycle. The *Capitolina* devotes one lengthy band apiece to the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*, and Bulas believed that 2NY did the same in its missing bottom half.[21] Sadurska counters, however, that the *Iliad* alone may have been featured, noting that the inscription on the upper border of the panel probably did not mention the Cyclic poems: though fragmentary, it seems to refer only to "the *Iliad* according to Homer and the Sack of Troy."[22] The message in the magic square on the verso likewise mentions only Homer's *Iliad*.[23] An exclusive focus on the *Iliad* would accord well with the emphatic, almost redundant way in which 2NY labels its *Iliad* bands, the only feature in which it offers more information than the *Capitolina*. Each band has inscriptions in both its upper and lower borders: the upper border contains the poem's title, the number of the book being illustrated, and the title of the book (e.g., "*Iliad* 23: Funeral games of Patroclus"),[24] while the lower border contains more specific labels attached to the characters and events depicted. Thus the word *Iliad* appeared at the beginning of the top border on every

[20] 1950: 112. [21] Ibid.

[22] Sadurska: 39 (for the inscription see Appendix 2). VM: 186 is agnostic on the question of whether the Cyclic poems were included.

[23] On the magic square, see Chapter 2.

[24] Ἰλιάδος Ψ. Ἐπιτάφιος ἀγὼν Π[ατρόκλου. See Appendix 2 for the rest of the inscriptions.

Iliadic band, a repetition that might strengthen the notion that here the *Iliad* is the sole focus in the material surrounding the center (the *Capitolina* does not offer titles for poems or books in its bands). At any rate, it is clear that 2NY offers less information than the *Capitolina* in some respects (a reduced presentation of *Iliad* 1) but more in others (poem and book titles for each band). On its topmost border 2NY displays a version of the couplet from the *Capitolina* that likewise mentions "the measure of wisdom,"[25] but there is a substantial discrepancy between the promises of comprehensive knowledge made by the two tablets, and the different selection of information that each delivers.

Tabula Veronensis I (3C)

The *Tabula Veronensis I* corroborates the pattern of similarity in the center versus variation in the margins that is already emerging. Now housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, 3C was taken there from Verona as spoils during the Napoleonic Wars, hence its name. It is a fragment of an upper left corner that gives us an idea of how the lost left-hand portion of the *Capitolina* may have looked (Figures 9 and 10). It has a lengthy *Iliad* 1 band at the top that extends over the central panel, and below this *Iliad* 2–5 in descending order. There are labels below each band. To the right of the bands, the border of the central panel offers minute numbers and titles for each of the books illustrated, using a more abbreviated format than 2NY (e.g., "5. The *aristeia* of Diomedes").[26] Though the panel is almost entirely lost, the tiny portion that remains copies the disposition of the *Capitolina* panel closely,[27] and the single inscription remaining on it refers to Aeneas and thus confirms that Rome's hero did appear.[28] An inscription over the central panel reads "the *Iliad* of Homer,"[29] and the magic square on the back originally contained a reference to the same poem,[30] but in the absence of further evidence it is, again, impossible to determine whether the *Iliad* was the only subject treated in the margins, or if 3C included the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* as well.[31]

[25] τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχῃς σο[φίας. See Chapter 2. [26] Ε. Διομήδους ἀριστήα [*sic*].

[27] Sadurska: 43; VM: 170.

[28] To judge by its placement, the inscription probably labeled the scene of Aeneas receiving the Penates. For further detail see Appendix 2.

[29] Ἰλιὰς Ὁ[μήρου. The inscription will have been longer than this, but it is impossible to restore the rest with confidence.

[30] For the magic square, see Chapter 2.

[31] Because 3C definitely does admit bands of varying sizes, it is perhaps more likely than 2NY to have featured the cyclic poems in long friezes below the central panel.

Tabula Sarti (6B)

The *Tabula Sarti* is now lost and exists only in a design executed by Emiliano Sarti, first published in 1863 (Figure 11).[32] Like 3C, it is a fragment from the left side of a *Tabula* and has a lengthy *Iliad* 1 band extending over the central panel, followed by *Iliad* 2–9 in descending order below it. Each band has labels and, in the left margin, book numbers followed by a brief summary of each book (e.g., "5. Five: Diomedes has his *aristeia*; Hector goes to Ilium")[33] that is written in an unusual poetic meter (anapestic tetrameter catalectic). This meter yields a long line whose second half corresponds in rhythm to the dactylic hexameter, the epic meter *par excellence*, and thus allows for Homer's own words to be adapted into the summary.[34]

An inscription along the top of the *Tabula* indicates that the books of the *Odyssey* were illustrated as well elsewhere on the monument. Weitzmann suggests that these may have appeared below the central panel,[35] but whatever their position, they seem to preclude the presence of other poems from the Epic Cycle. The central panel differs in part from what we have seen so far: a portion on top features Thetis holding one side of the shield of Achilles (the other side is lost), while below her are visible the familiar towers and walls of a city that must be Troy.

Tabula Thierry (7Ti)

On 6B, the prominent summary of the *Iliad* had to share pride of place with an equally extensive summary of another poem, the *Odyssey*; the *Tabula Thierry* eliminates the *Iliad* altogether (Figure 12). It was discovered by the architect Ch. A. Thierry in 1860 near the sanctuary to Hercules in Tivoli but has since been lost, and its present whereabouts are unknown; a heliogravure of the recto side exists.[36] This fragment from an upper left corner has a lengthy first band that runs along the top of the central panel, with three bands below it along the panel's side. The arrangement is familiar, but

[32] The original design appeared in Henzen 1863 (reproduced in Figure 11). The version of the design published by Jahn and Michaelis (1873: Taf. II) is not trustworthy: it erroneously alters several of the tablet's images and texts. See Petrain 2012: 621 623 for details.

[33] Ε. Εἴ· Διομήδης μὲν ἀριστεύει, πρὸς δὲ Ἴλιον ἔρχεται Ἕκτωρ.

[34] For the inscriptions see Appendix 2, and for further on the meter and its adaptations of Homer, see Petrain 2012: 619 630 (with bibliography). 12F, a tablet devoted to *Iliad* 24 alone, carries a summary of that book in the same meter.

[35] Weitzmann 1941: 168.

[36] Rayet 1882 is the initial publication, with the heliogravure. Sadurska: 51 offers an account of the discovery of 7Ti and its later fate.

the scenes depicted are all drawn from the *Aethiopis*. The narrative sequence in the first band runs from right to left, a departure from the direction of reading that is customary on the *Tabulae*: above the central panel is the arrival of Penthesileia, leading a large horse behind her as she meets Priam at Troy, while to the left of this scene is preserved part of her duel with Achilles.[37] Some poorly preserved labels identify one or two of the main characters in the remaining bands. An inscription on the upper border of the central panel reads ("The *Little Iliad* [and the *Sack of Troy*]"),[38] indicating that the *Little Iliad* appeared elsewhere, perhaps to the right of the panel. The panel shows the top two registers of the typical Sack of Troy scene, with battles surrounding the Trojan Horse (the Horse itself is no longer extant) and the murder of Priam below. To the left of Priam's palace is a pair of figures that represent Aeneas receiving the Penates.[39] The message in the magic square on the back should probably be restored as "Sack of Troy,"[40] confirming the object's interest in the Sack of Troy despite the different subject matter in the margins of the recto.

Tabula of Zenodotus (8E)

The *Tabula of Zenodotus* (Figure 13) preserves a portion from the left half of a Sack of Troy panel flanked by a pilaster inscribed with text, an arrangement that recalls that of the *Capitolina*. Rather than being unified by the topography of Troy, the panel is split into two registers. The lower register is occupied by part of a trapezoidal portico that represents the palace of Priam according to a pattern recognizable from the panels we have already examined, to judge from the group of a Greek warrior and kneeling woman on its left (similar groups flank Priam's palace on the *Capitolina* and 2NY).[41] Unlike the representations of the palace on the *Capitolina* and 2NY, however, the portico here has sufficient vertical space to accommodate two rows of figures rather than just one. Within the portico the only surviving figure is a warrior in its upper left corner who may be drawing a bow; the scene of Priam's murder probably appeared in the missing space below. In the upper portion of the panel, where 6B had Thetis standing in an unspecified space

[37] A label identifies her in the second scene. The first scene lacks labels and has in the past been connected with the entrance of the Trojan Horse into the city: for the history of this mistaken identification see Sadurska: 51 and the extensive discussion of the iconography at VM: 200 201.

[38] ʾΙλιὰς Μεικρὰ κα[ὶ ʾΙλίου Πέρσις. For the supplement see Appendix 2.

[39] Sadurska: 52.

[40] ʾΙλίου π]έρσις. Because no image of the verso exists, we rely entirely on the description of it offered by Rayet in his 1882 study.

[41] Cf. Sadurska: 53.

with her shield, 8E shows a general melee between pairs of Greeks and Trojans that lacks any indications of architecture; this unlocalized scene of combat replaces the register depicting the Trojan Horse in the precinct of Athena's temple that usually appears above Priam's palace. The lower part of the central panel (now lost) would likely have continued the typical representation of Troy and featured Aeneas.

8E presents two surprises with respect to the tablets we have considered so far. While the pilaster on the *Capitolina* offered a summary of the *Iliad*, the one on 8E has instead a treatise about the chronology of the poem attributed to the Alexandrian scholar Zenodotus (third century BCE), hence the tablet's name.[42] The surviving portion focuses closely on the number of days required for the action in *Iliad* 1, citing verses to support its analysis, and breaks off just as it begins to list in telegraphic fashion the events of the first day of battle (lines 52–57): "the twenty-first day arrives, in which there is: the council of the Greeks, the catalogue of ships, the assembly of the Greeks and the oaths and the single combat of Menelaus and Alexander and. . ."[43] This list belongs to a genre of ancient summary of Homer that Rossum-Steenbeek has dubbed "nominal," in which the events of the poem are presented through a series of noun phrases linked by a simple connective. This type is to be distinguished from a "discourse" summary like that on the *Capitolina* pilaster, which is more syntactically ambitious and uses complete sentences.[44] Though similar in form, the two pilasters offer readers quite different sorts of information about the *Iliad*, and on the pilaster of 8E the actual events of the poem are something of an afterthought.

To the left of the pilaster on 8E is a smooth, narrow border that preserves the original left edge of the tablet in its lower half. There is no room for pictorial material, and we may infer that 8E did not surround its central panel with bands illustrating the events that lead up to Troy's sack, at least not on its left-hand side – and probably not on the right either, for symmetry's sake. In its original state, then, 8E would have presented a peculiar aspect, its panel of the Sack of Troy surrounded by an idiosyncratic, textual digest of the *Iliad* that referred to no events actually depicted on the monument.

[42] The beginning of the inscription is missing: . . .]ουν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Ζηνοδότου.

[43] See Appendix 2.

[44] See Rossum Steenbeek 1998: 54 55 for her typology of Homeric summaries. VM: 368 376 works through similar material.

Tabula Veronensis II (9D)

The *Tabula Veronensis II* has the same provenance as its namesake 3C and is likewise a fragment from the left-hand side (Figures 14 and 15). The tablet originally featured a central panel with *two* columns of bands on either side: the surviving portion preserves both of the columns on the left along with traces of the cityscape in the central panel. The outer column has *Iliad* 22–24 in ascending order, without any inscriptions. The inner column shows five scenes from the *Aethiopis* in descending order, beginning again with the arrival of Penthesilea; unlike on 7Ti, the first band does not seem to have been longer than the others or to have extended over the central panel. On analogy with other *Tabulae*, 9D as a whole probably featured *Iliad* 13–24 in ascending order on the left, with *Iliad* 1–12 in descending order on the right,[45] an arrangement that reverses the sides on which these two columns appear in the *Capitolina*. Since five *Aethiopis* scenes (the first partially effaced) occur in the vertical space required for just three Iliadic scenes, it is likely that the whole of the *Aethiopis* could have been represented on just one side of the monument, leaving the inner border on the right free for, say, the *Little Iliad*. The border between the two columns provides short summaries of the *Aethiopis* scenes (e.g., for the first scene: "Penthesileia the Amazon arrives").[46] The border between the inner column and the central panel describes the panel's contents. Though none of the figures from the panel is preserved, the inscriptions mention battles between Greeks and Trojans and begin with the murder of Priam and Agenor by Neoptolemus, an indication that the panel portrayed the usual scene within Priam's palace.[47]

The inscription on the verso of 9D is an outlier. It is a digest of Theban myths, organized as a list of the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia and concluding with an attempt to date them by reference to the contemporaneous priestess of Hera at Argos. Another tablet, the *Tabula Borgia* (10K), carries a version of the same inscription on its recto accompanied by badly worn reliefs that may illustrate the same myths.[48] In the case of 9D, by contrast, the inscription has nothing to do with the material from the Troy saga featured on the recto, a far cry from the magic squares that are always tightly linked with the opposite side and name the principal subject of the illustrations there. In the fifth chapter I will suggest a way of understanding

[45] Sadurska: 57. [46] Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζὼν παραγίνεται.
[47] See Appendix 2 for the other inscriptions.
[48] For discussion of the inscriptions on 9D and 10K, see McLeod 1973, 1985, and Petrain 2008.

what the Theban myths are doing on 9D; here it will suffice to note the contrast with the verso inscriptions of the other tablets.

Tabula Froehner (20Par)

The final two fragments will showcase the variety of ways in which the bands with Iliadic illustrations can be arranged on the *Tabulae*. The *Tabula Froehner* was originally acquired by the Classical scholar Wilhelm Froehner and is now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[49] Like 9D, 20Par once had a central panel flanked on either side by two columns of bands, for a total of four columns in all (Figures 18 and 19).[50] The surviving fragment comes from the left-hand section of the original monument and preserves parts of both the columns on this side as well as minute traces of the central panel. The two fully intact bands from the inner column on the right illustrate *Iliad* 18 and 19 in ascending order, with labels on their lower border and book numbers in the middle of the border on the right. At the very top of the fragment the labels for *Iliad* 20 are also preserved, though not the illustrations or book number. The remains of three bands from the outer, left-hand column preserve exiguous traces of reliefs and inscriptions that do not permit a secure identification. Sadurska suggests that they portray *Iliad* 4–6 in descending order: this would be a novel arrangement in which the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* are confined to the left side of the central panel in one descending and one ascending column.[51] Valenzuela Montenegro reasonably counters, however, that it is more likely the *Iliad* would be accompanied by illustrations from one of the Cyclic poems such as the *Aethiopis*, as on 9D.[52] At any rate, 20Par places the final books of the *Iliad* on the left rather than the right side of the monument, the same reversal with respect to the other tablets that we saw on 9D. The four columns of bands allow for another poem or poems to be illustrated as extensively as the *Iliad*, though we cannot say for sure what these poems were. The magic square on the back of 20Par contains the usual reference to the *Iliad* without any indication of what the other contents of the recto might have been: "the *Iliad* of Homer, the art of Theodorus."

Lytra (21Fro)

Also from the Froehner collection, 21Fro is a small fragment that shows yet another possible arrangement of the *Iliad* (Figures 20 and 21): books 22–24

[49] Horsfall (1983: 146 147) provides a biographical sketch of Froehner.
[50] Sadurska 1966: 656. [51] Ibid. 655. [52] VM: 179.

appear in *descending* order, a unique disposition among the *Tabulae* (usually the latter half of the *Iliad* ascends). Only *Iliad* 24 has inscriptions: a brief caption of the scene in the lower border (". . .ransoming the body of Hector"), and in the upper one the book title that gives the tablet its name, "Ransom (*lytra*) of the corpse."[53] The fragment is not sufficiently preserved for speculation on the composition of the original, though the presence of stacked Iliadic friezes in numerical order should suggest, on analogy with the other eight tablets considered so far, that there was once a central Troy panel.[54]

This brief survey of the *Tabulae* has demonstrated a key characteristic of the *taxis* of Theodorus: it allows greater freedom of substitution the further one moves from the center. The panel is the only stable point in the visual field. Always in the middle, it must contain the city of Troy and, whenever the relevant portions are preserved, we can observe that it features the palace of Priam and escape of Aeneas. The panel's top register most often portrays the precinct of Athena's temple and the battles around the Trojan Horse, but other subjects are possible in this area as well: a general scene of battle seems to replace Athena's precinct on 8E; the shield of Achilles features at the top of the panel on 6B, but we cannot tell what scenes were shown in the city below.

The margins around the central panel, by contrast, admit a wide range of variations and belie the notion that a close summary of the *Iliad* is somehow integral to Theodorus' project. The particular combination of poems that the *Capitolina* illustrates (*Iliad*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*) may not occur elsewhere: 6B included the *Odyssey* with the *Iliad*; 9D allots equal space to the *Iliad* and *Aethiopis*; 7Ti omits the *Iliad* in favor of the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*; 8E entirely lacks illustrations in the margins. Instead of one vertical column of bands the tablets may offer two (9D, 20Par) or none (8E), pilasters may be included (*Capitolina*, 8E) or left out, and the long band over the central panel is occasionally split into separate sections (2NY, and cf. the *Odysseaca*). The treatment of narrative order on the *Capitolina*, where the books of the *Iliad* descend on the left and ascend on the right, is most common, but we have seen several other possibilities: the direction may be reversed so that the *Iliad* starts on the right and continues on the left (9D); the final books of the poem may descend (21Fro) or wrap around the top of the central panel (2NY); possibly the descending and ascending columns may appear together on one side of the monument (20Par). Even

[53] λυ]τρούμενος τὸ Ἕ[κτορος σῶμα; νέκρο]υ λύτρα. The supplements are Horsfall's (Horsfall 1983: 145 146).

[54] Likewise VM: 183.

among *Tabulae* whose arrangements follow that of the *Capitolina* closely, there are no exact equivalences, for the *Capitolina* does not consistently provide the book titles given by 2NY, 3C and 6B for every band, and each of these tablets carries the titles in a different format. Few restrictions regarding content or order seem to apply to this kaleidoscope of possibilities. The two most striking consistencies are that the surrounding bands always illustrate poems from the Troy saga other than the Sack of Troy (reserved for the center) and that, when present, they flank the central panel, reinforcing its symmetry.

An identical pattern of similarity and divergence emerges when we shift focus from questions of overall arrangement to a comparison of how different *Tabulae* handle illustrations of the same subject. In the middle, of course, Priam and Aeneas are constant themes in the portrayal of the Sack of Troy, but treatments of the same book of the *Iliad* can differ remarkably from monument to monument. One example will suffice.[55] *Iliad* 23 is preserved on four different *Tabulae*: *Capitolina*, 2NY, 9D, and 21Fro.[56] The *Capitolina* and 21Fro have two scenes, Patroclus on the pyre to the left and the chariot race at his funeral games on the right. On 21 Fro no figures are visible around the pyre, while the *Capitolina* includes on its left a figure making a libation (probably Achilles) and an attendant holding a vase; 21Fro has no additional figures in the second scene either, but on the *Capitolina* a figure (once again, probably Achilles) stands to the left of the chariots and monitors the race. The remaining two *Tabulae* each omit one of these scenes: 2NY shows only the chariot race, with Achilles at left; 9D shows only the pyre, surrounded by Achilles, another warrior, and two smaller figures (either attendants or Trojan prisoners about to be sacrificed).[57] Neither 9D nor 21Fro has any labels, but 2NY entitles the book "funeral games" and labels Achilles and the race itself, while the *Capitolina* identifies Achilles at the pyre and labels the two scenes as "cremation of Patroclus" and, again, "funeral games."[58] Further examples of this kind of variation could easily be adduced. It seems sufficiently clear, however, that the visual system created by Theodorus is not tied to a single account of the *Iliad* but is free instead to change the number of scenes and points of emphasis.[59]

[55] For further ones, see Bulas 1950: 112 113; Sadurska: 40, 43, 50 *et al.*; Horsfall 1979: 44.

[56] VM: 84 88 is now the most detailed account of the iconography in this band.

[57] For identification of the figures see Sadurska: 56, 58; VM: 195 196.

[58] 2NY: ἐπιτάφιος ἀγὼν Π[ατρόκλου; ἁρματοδρομία. *Capitolina*: καῦσις Πατρόκλο(υ); ἐπιτάφιος ἀγ(ὼν).

[59] VM: 234 235 similarly stresses the mutability of Theodorus' *Iliad* narratives, but in the service of reconstructing their iconographic prototype.

Case study: The centrality and marginality of Aeneas

Given the key role of Aeneas in the central panels of the *Tabulae*, we might expect that his actions at least would receive consistent treatment in the material surrounding the panel as well. Several scholars have in fact asserted that there is a pronounced focus on Rome's hero throughout the illustrations to the *Iliad*,[60] but this view is based primarily upon the reliefs of the *Capitolina* considered in isolation and does not stand up to an examination of the evidence presented by the other *Tabulae*. For instance, both 3C and 6B feature the duel between Aeneas and Diomedes in *Iliad* 5. In the band from 3C Aphrodite bears him away from Diomedes, and in another scene he perhaps appears again being protected by Apollo;[61] none of the figures is labeled, though the border containing the inscriptions may simply have been effaced. 6B labels Aeneas but shows him only once, fleeing Diomedes (also labeled) and surrounded by Aphrodite's robe (the goddess herself does not appear). A second scene is devoted to Diomedes' combat with Ares, so that here Diomedes rather than Aeneas seems to be the focus of interest. Both 3C and 6B mention Diomedes rather than Aeneas in their book titles, in keeping with the ancient designation of *Iliad* 5 as "the *aristeia* of Diomedes."[62]

Let us turn to the latter half of the *Iliad*. The *Capitolina* shows Aeneas in *Iliad* 13, 15, and 20. His presence in the first two is something of a surprise: the battle between him and Aphareus, one of the scenes illustrated for book 13, lasts a grand total of four verses in the *Iliad*'s text[63]; the band for book 15 portrays him at the battle before the Greek ships, though the *Iliad* does not explicitly describe his participation in that scene.[64] Do we have here evidence for an interest in portraying Aeneas wherever possible? Some interest, perhaps, but we should note that both bands depict a number of characters who are either obscure or seem not to belong. Labels signal the presence of such minor figures as Asius in book 13 or Kleitus in book 15.[65] The Trojan princes Paris and Helenus are also placed at the battle of the ships, even though the text of the *Iliad* confines Paris' exploits in this book to an earlier skirmish, and a single verse at that (line 341), while Helenus does not appear in the text of book 15 at all. Ancient

[60] Cf. Sadurska 1966: 657; Galinsky 1969: 32 34. [61] See the description in Appendix 2.
[62] See J M: 100. [63] *Il.* 13.541 544.
[64] He does appear at 15.332, in the skirmish just before Hector begins the Trojans' charge toward the ships.
[65] *Il.* 13.384 393; 15.445 447.

epitomes of the *Iliad* tend to neglect the battles of books 13–15 as not integral to the arc of the plot,[66] and it appears that the artisans of the *Tabulae* are struggling to fill these books through whatever expedient they can, drawing on obscure figures or, failing that, at least including ones whose names everyone would recognize.[67]

More telling is the tablets' treatment of *Iliad* 20, which contains the famous duel between Achilles and Aeneas that ends with Poseidon rescuing the latter and prophesying his future rule over the Trojans. The version of *Iliad* 20 on the *Capitolina* leaves Aeneas unlabeled and even seems to relegate him to the margins: Poseidon stands near him at left, but Achilles has already turned away to assail two other Trojans on the right, and a third scene probably shows a battle between Achilles and Hector (only Poseidon and Achilles in his first appearance are labeled). Both Achilles' and our attention seems to be diverted from the unidentified figure to whom Poseidon brings aid. We may contrast the other surviving representation of *Iliad* 20, on 2NY. Here the duel is the sole subject: Poseidon stands between the two heroes and pushes Achilles to the ground while Aeneas maintains an aggressive posture on the right (all the figures are labeled).[68] It is surprising that the *Capitolina* and 2NY assign to Aeneas such differing levels of prominence in this scene that was so crucial for later elaborations of the myth of his subsequent travels.

The pilaster on the *Capitolina* confirms the impression that the tablet's focus on Aeneas is desultory. Its lengthy summary of *Iliad* 7–24 does not mention him at all and indeed omits book 20 altogether. Since an ancient epitome of the *Iliad* attributed to Apollodorus leaves out the same book and otherwise closely resembles the text of the pilaster, the two likely share a common source that exhibited the omission.[69] Yet the telegraphic summary of *Iliad* 5 from the *Tabula of Zenodotus* (8E) twice finds room for Aeneas despite Diomedes' starring role in that book:

. . .Δι[ομήδους ἀριστεί
α καὶ Αἰνήου [καὶ Ἀφροδίτης

[66] Recall that the pilaster of the *Capitolina* skips over the three books with a single phrase; the epitome of the *Iliad* attributed to Apollodorus likewise omits books 13–15 (more on Apollodorus' epitome below).

[67] For a similar interpretation of the labels of book 15, see VM: 55.

[68] The illustration for *Iliad* 20 is missing from the surviving portion of 20 Par, but a fragment of the label belonging to it names Aeneas and Poseidon, suggesting that the portrayal was similar to the one on 2NY.

[69] For a detailed discussion of agreements between the two texts, see Rossum-Steenbeek 1998: 70–71, 176–179. Cf. VM: 374–376.

τρ[ῶ]σις, πε[ριαίρεσις τοῦ Αἰ
νήου [

. . .the *aristeia* of Diomedes and the wounding of Aeneas and of Aphrodite and the retrieval of Aeneas. . .

As we noted above, this text is linked with the so-called "nominal" summaries of the *Iliad* that lay out the poem's plot in a series of noun phrases. No surviving nominal summary highlights Aeneas' role in book 5 as much as we see here:[70] a possible indication that the artisan of 8E has taken special care to include him? Perhaps, but we must acknowledge that the miniature lettering of the 8E pilaster is not much easier to decipher than the one on 1A, and both inscriptions divide words between lines in a way that hardly facilitates reading.

A viewer of those *Tabulae* that feature the *Iliad* would thus encounter a portrayal of Aeneas that was inconsistent and might as soon pass over the hero's principal exploits in that poem as mention them. In the case of *Tabulae* that lack representations of the *Iliad* entirely (7Ti, 8E), the hero would not have appeared in the marginal illustrations at all.[71] Though the Iliadic material surrounding the central panel *does* show occasional traces of an interest in Aeneas, these are sporadic and must be contrasted sharply with the consistent iconography and uniform selection of subjects that characterize the scenes from the Sack of Troy.

In both overall arrangement and the content of individual sections, we have noted stability in the center of the *Tabulae* accompanied by what amounts to free variation in the outer bands. I suggest that this pattern is analogous to the hierarchy that we explored on the *Tabula Odysseaca*. There, the artist's principles of selection suggested that the central image of Poseidon communicated the piece's theme, while the marginal material was important more for its arrangement and relationship to the center than for its content. If we treat Theodorus' *Tabulae* as different realizations of the same visual schema, the same *taxis*, a similar gradation of relevance becomes apparent: the high degree of variation in the surrounding bands shows that their content too was of less concern than their position around a fixed center. Under the principle of *gramma meson*, Theodorus' arrangement not only emphasizes Aeneas but marks him as the starting point for any reading of the marginal material, arguing in visual terms that Rome's national hero is the central focus and culmination of Greek epic.

[70] For other nominal summaries see J M: 100; Rossum Steenbeek 1998: 54 55; VM: 373.
[71] Aeneas never appears in illustrations from the *Aethiopis* or *Little Iliad*.

Vital to Theodorus' project is a slippage from content to connotation. Despite their claims to reproduce Greek epic, the *Tabulae* make points about the poems that distort their content: a reading of the *Iliad* would not support the idea that Aeneas is the central figure within it, just as Poseidon's wrath could not be said to organize the whole of the *Odyssey* in the way it seems to on the *Odysseaca*. The poems illustrated in the margins are included rather for their connotations of authority and cultural prestige, for the epic pedigree that they lend the events of the central panel. Their actual contents, however, the details of their plots, are not allowed to interfere with the novel points of emphasis that Theodorus introduces. In his influential essay "Myth Today," R. Barthes has written illuminatingly about this process whereby content yields to connotation, naming it "the naturalization of the concept."[72] "Concept" is Barthes' term for the latent meaning that arises by implication from the way in which an image treats its subject matter (elsewhere he refers to the same phenomenon more transparently as "connotation").[73] Because the concept emerges as a connotation of the underlying material and is not stated outright, it seems to be inherent in the subject matter rather than a meaning constructed by the image's particular manner of treatment: "everything happens as if the picture *naturally* conjured up the concept" (Barthes' emphasis).[74] Placed at the service of the concept and thus rendered into a signifier of something else, the content becomes a "tamed richness," to use Barthes' suggestive phrase,[75] that guarantees the truth of the image's ideological agenda.

Theodorus' *taxis* seems designed to achieve a delicate balance between the goals of evoking the poems of Homer and the Cycle, and of taming them. The miniaturization of the external bands, their odd arrangements, and their sometimes inadequate labels conspire with the clarity of the central panel to encourage a synoptic viewing of the *Tabulae*, in which we process the bands as a group, arranged around the center, rather than proceeding through them sequentially. Though the illustrations in the margins must be derived from Greek epic, the identity of the poems treated there is less important: hence the *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, and *Odyssey* are sometimes as prominent as the *Iliad* on the *Tabulae*, or even displace it altogether. We likewise notice no consistent effort to highlight Aeneas in the Iliadic illustrations or their supporting texts: it is the *arrangement* of this material, not its content, that reinforces the central panel's message, and

[72] Barthes 1972: 127 131 (the quotation is from 131).

[73] "Concept" is defined at Barthes 1972: 117; for "connotation" in the same sense, see Barthes 1967: 89 92.

[74] Barthes 1972: 129 130. [75] Ibid. 118.

indeed any focus on the story of the *Iliad*, even to emphasize Aeneas, might divert our attention to the true hero of that poem, Achilles, and detract from the tendentious notion that the entire Epic Cycle, *Iliad* included, literally revolves around Aeneas' escape in Troy's final moments.[76]

The rhetoric of documentation

The citations of epic poems on the *Capitolina* and other tablets have been extensively analyzed for what information they can provide about the tablets' sources, while the placement of these citations in the visual field is seldom considered. I argue that their placement offers striking support for the centrally focused reading process I have just outlined. Not only that, but a better understanding of how poetic citations and other textual supports function in the dynamics of Theodorus' *taxis* will offer a new approach to the difficult question of how we should interpret the inscription on the *Capitolina* that seems to claim as a source for the central panel Stesichorus' *Sack of Troy*.

On the *Capitolina*, an inscription beginning directly below the Aeneas group provides title and author for all of the poems depicted on the panel and outlying bands (the words are interrupted by an illustration of the Greek ships):

> ᾽Ιλίου πέρσις
> κατὰ Στησίχορον.
> Τρωϊκός.
>
> ᾽Ιλιὰς
> κατὰ Ὅμηρον,
> Αἰθιοπὶς κατὰ Ἀρκτῖ
> νον τὸν Μιλήσιον,
> ᾽Ιλιὰς ἡ μικρὰ λε
> γομένη κατὰ
> Λέσχην Πυρραῖον.

[76] Cf. Horsfall 1979: 37: "[t]he cycle of antecedent events and poems 'encircles' and here Theodorus *may* be perpetrating a minor verbal/visual pun the climax, that is, Aeneas' departure" (Horsfall's emphasis); Brilliant 1984: 58: "the viewer is made aware of a progressive, continuous series of actions, culminating in a departure, which in this case seems to have a special purpose. The Flight of Aeneas tied together the Greek past and the Roman present . . . Theodorus has converted the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina into a preface to Roman history."

Sack of Troy according to Stesichorus. Trojan.[77]
Iliad according to Homer, *Aethiopis* according to Arctinus of Miletus, the *Iliad* known as
"*Little*" according to Lesches of Pyrrha.

Thanks to their large lettering these citations are some of the most striking and easily legible inscriptions in the entire piece. Their position is no accident: they catch the viewer's eye along with the emblematic Aeneas group and allow him to comprehend in a single, comprehensive glance both the principal figures of the central panel and the identity of the poems contained in the outer bands. The citations offer no help in determining *which* poem is depicted in each section of the monument, of course, but this is not their purpose; they aim instead to produce a general impression that the Epic Cycle is surrounding Aeneas and terminating with him, information that frees us from the necessity of scanning the margins systematically to determine what appears there. To return to the terminology developed in Chapter 1, the citations assure us that the tablets are following the authoritative, linear *fabula* of Greek epic even as their spatial organization encourages us to pursue a *sjuzhet* that begins at the end with Rome's foundation myths. As our eye then wanders from the middle with its prominent images and inscriptions to whichever of the outer bands we choose, the direction of our gaze continuously reinforces the suggestion of Aeneas' centrality, while the citations secure that we will equate the surrounding material with Homer and Greek epic. The *Tabulae* that offer citations on the upper border of their panel (2NY, 3C, 7Ti) permit a similar process: the viewer learns from the center what each piece contains and may proceed outward on a number of different routes, just as in the magic squares.

Once we are aware that the inscriptions of the *Tabulae* may serve purposes other than that of simply documenting sources, it becomes easier to explain the peculiar combination of care and inaccuracy that characterizes their other texts. These texts participate in a rhetoric of documentation, using copious labels, titles, captions, and summaries to anchor Theodorus' version of epic in the poetic works themselves and suggest that it is a faithful copy. Adequate explication of the illustrations is a secondary concern to the sheer accumulation of written material, and the artist is free to increase or decrease the amount of text on each *Tabula* at whim, for each inscription simply adds its weight to the message already expressed in the *taxis*. Theodorus was extraordinarily inventive in the variety of ways that he

[77] I offer a discussion of this enigmatic adjective below.

found to employ the authority of text in his work. The book titles on some *Tabulae*, for instance – the title "*Iliad*" over every band of 2NY, the metrical summaries of 6B which open with a single letter, then spell out that same letter and incorporate it into a verse – offer texts that repeat information but contribute to the impression that Aeneas is surrounded by the *Iliad*. The pilasters too are best understood in terms of their visual impact: though minute and hard to read, their inscriptions make of the *Iliad*'s plot an imposing physical presence that both reinforces the panel's symmetry and provides Aeneas with an almost architectural frame.

Perhaps the premiere instance of this rhetoric of documentation on the tablets, however, is the adjective *Trōikos*, "Trojan," on the central panel of the *Capitolina*. It appears directly after the citation of Stesichorus, written in the largest letters used on the entire monument, but despite its prominence it lacks an expressed object. *What* is "Trojan"? All recent treatments of the inscription assert that the correct supplement is *kuklos*, "cycle": the "Trojan [Cycle]" would refer to the subset of poems within the Epic Cycle that treat the Troy saga.[78]

Modern scholars, to be sure, might informally refer to the epic poems treating the Trojan War as a sort of Troy cycle, but ancient viewers are highly unlikely to have construed the inscription in this way for the simple reason that the designation "Trojan Cycle" did not exist in antiquity. The idea that the inscription on the *Capitolina* refers to a "Trojan Cycle" may apparently be traced back to Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who asserted rather than argued that only one interpretation was possible: "in the middle of the extremely important tablet A [= *Capitolina*], *Trōikos* stands as an overall title. The only possible supplement is *kuklos*."[79] But no ancient text employs the term Τρωϊκὸς κύκλος, "Trojan Cycle," nor was Wilamowitz able to adduce any true parallels for a more general practice of attaching attributes to the noun *kuklos* in order to signify thematic subsets of the epic tradition.[80] The only terms attested are *epikos kuklos*, "Epic Cycle," or simply *kuklos* without an epithet: both refer to the group of epic poems whose content ranged from the creation of the world to the death of Odysseus.[81]

[78] See, e.g., Mancuso 1909: 670; Sadurska 1963: 36 47; 1964: 31 32; Guarducci 1967 1978: III, 428; VM: 32. Petrain 2010: 51 53 is a fuller treatment of the material I develop in this paragraph and the next.

[79] ". . .steht mitten auf der wichtigsten tafel A [*Capitolina*] als gesamttitel Τρωικός. man kann nur κύκλος ergänzen." (1884: 333).

[80] See Petrain 2010: 52 53 for details.

[81] For exhaustive collections of the relevant testimonia see Bernabé 1987: 1 8 (Cyclus Epicus T 1 35); Davies 1988: 13 16 (Epicus Cyclus T 1 10). Davies 1989 offers an accessible introduction to the Epic Cycle; Burgess 2001: 7 33 discusses theories about its genesis.

In the earliest monograph on the *Tabulae Iliacae*, Otto Jahn preferred to supplement the adjective "Trojan" from the *Capitolina* with the word *pinax*, "tablet."[82] This neglected supplement has the advantage of requiring only that viewers apply the adjective to the object they see before them, rather than presupposing a way of referring to Greek epic that is nowhere attested. I suggest, however, that Theodorus has left the adjective unspecified intentionally. The floating modifier spreads indiscriminately over the entire piece and, in a ploy typical of Theodorus, sanctions the whole of the artist's work with its Roman biases as "Trojan."

Other texts from the *Capitolina* display a similar sort of imprecision that betrays an ulterior motive. The epigram that we examined at length in the previous chapter, for instance, mentions only the poetry of Homer despite the other poets cited on the central panel, an apparent mismatch that Karl Schefold tried to explain by postulating a lost source. The *Capitolina* epigram, argues Schefold, originally appeared in a handbook at the head of a sequence of illustrations drawn solely from the *Iliad*, where its exclusive reference to Homer would have been appropriate. Transferred to its new context on the *Capitolina*, the epigram no longer fits and indeed might leave the viewer with a mistaken impression: "on the tablet it is applied in such a way that one automatically refers it to the entire tablet."[83] Schefold's arguments about a prior source do not convince, but his insight stands that the epigram appears to make Homer responsible for the entire visual field. I would suggest that any confusion arising from the couplet is intentional.[84] Theodorus shrewdly highlights the most prestigious poet featured on the *Capitolina* – supreme poet and font of all knowledge – thereby implying that all of his *taxis* (not just the Iliadic portions) is under Homer's protection and offers his wisdom.[85]

Several of the magic squares employ an analogous gambit. On 2NY, 3C, and 20Par, the message in the squares advertises just Homer's *Iliad*, though the recto sides also of course carry the Sack of Troy and, on 20Par, at least

[82] J M: 3.

[83] "auf der Tafel ist es. . .so angebracht, dass man es unwillkürlich auf die ganze Tafel bezieht" (Schefold 1975: 130). On the identification of Theodorus as author of a handbook, see Chapter 2.

[84] VM (pp. 355 356) explains the apparent mismatch between the epigram and the rest of the tablet by suggesting that Theodorus has adapted a couplet intended for a different context (in her view, a mythographic compendium). I find this hypothesis unnecessary.

[85] Wilamowitz (1884: 353) sees in the epigram traces of the idea that Homer was the author of the entire Epic Cycle; Burgess 2001: 130, 239 n. 289 refines this notion and suggests that Homer's name might be used for the sake of convenience to denote epic poetry in general, even by those who did not consider him the Cycle's author. On the panel of the *Capitolina*, however, "Homer" is the author of the *Iliad*, distinguished from the cyclic poets, and it is doubtful that the same name could have an entirely different sense in the epigram directly below.

one other poem whose illustrations were allotted as much space as Homer's epic. The point is surely to impress the viewer with the key role played by Homer on the tablets.

Stesichorus and the *Capitolina*

Another possible (and notorious) discrepancy between text and illustration on the *Capitolina* is the citation of Stesichorus' *Sack of Troy*, which has probably generated more discussion than any other feature of the *Tabulae*. Indeed, in the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the entry on the *Tabulae Iliacae* is a simple cross-reference: "see STESICHORUS."

The Stesichorus citation is doubly surprising. Theodorus has violated the narrative order of the Troy saga by placing the *Sack of Troy* at the top of his list of poems rather than in its expected place at the end, after the three other poems whose sequence does respect the chronology of the story. The *Sack of Troy* that formed part of the Epic Cycle, furthermore, is a lost epic attributed to Arctinus of Miletus, whereas Stesichorus' is a lyric poem not elsewhere mentioned in connection with the cycle.[86] The list of citations thus mirrors the ideology of Theodorus' *taxis* by reordering epic material to give greater prominence to the sack of Troy. As we observed in the Introduction, however, discussion has more usually revolved around the vexed question of whether the *Capitolina* might provide evidence for the content of Stesichorus' lost poem.

Horsfall has argued that the *Capitolina* is not a reliable source from which to restore Stesichorus' work: he demonstrates that the panel deviates from the few preserved fragments of the poem, and suggests too that it seems to draw material from the *Aeneid* and various other contemporary sources (both literary and artistic).[87] His discussion has generated an equally strong backlash from proponents of keeping the panel as evidence for Stesichorus. They rightly question Horsfall's method of probing for minute correspondences between literary and pictorial sources without taking into account iconographic traditions for the Sack of Troy; they offer a number of

[86] For the cyclic *Sack of Troy* and its attribution, see Bernabé 1987: 86 92; Davies 1988: 61 66. Sadurska argues that Stesichorus' poem appears at the beginning of the list so that the adjective "Trojan" just below it may serve as a heading for the remaining three poems and indicate that they alone properly belong to the "Trojan Cycle" (31 32; cf. 1963: 36 37). But there is no "Trojan Cycle" (see above), and at any rate the adjective is separated from the following three poems by the carving of the Greek ships, so that it is hard to interpret it as a heading for them.

[87] Horsfall 1979: 35 43. His views are essentially unchanged at Horsfall 2008: 587 591 (where he responds to several of the discussions mentioned in the following note).

arguments designed to show that Stesichorus probably did treat Aeneas' voyage west in some fashion, and that Theodorus need not have derived the material for his panel from a more recent source, such as Vergil.[88] Because so little of Stesichorus' poem survives, much of the debate turns on pieces of circumstantial evidence that cannot decide the issue one way or the other; the more extensive recent discussions tend to rehearse the same arguments with varied points of emphasis but little discernible progress.[89]

A common feature of many of the responses to Horsfall is an insistence on the importance of the citation itself – not an unreasonable approach given that it is the one concrete piece of evidence we have for the panel's link to Stesichorus. The name of Stesichorus, they claim, "could serve no obvious propaganda purpose,"[90] prompting the question already asked by Galinsky before Horsfall's discussion appeared: "why should a rather obscure artist claim Stesichorus' *Iliupersis* as the source for his work without having some basis in fact?"[91] Horsfall has an answer in keeping with his dim view of the intellectual merits of the *Tabulae*: these objects indulge in "an ostentatious and confused display" of their learning, and "[a]ccording 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 a *Sack of Troy* was but to score a good point, though (H)agias of Troezen might have scored yet higher!"[92] As usual for Horsfall, Theodorus has not fully succeeded in what he set out to do. Yet it is hardly clear whether a Roman audience would have found Stesichorus a more recherché choice than Arctinus.[93] References to the latter are sparse

[88] Responses to Horsfall include Lloyd Jones 1980: 24 27 (cf. the partial rebuttal at Horsfall 1983: 147 n. 31); Davies 1991: 205 (*ad* Stesichorus 205); Gruen 1992: 13 14; Kazansky 1997: 55 79; Malkin 1998: 191 194; Debiasi 2004: 161 177; VM: 382 402; Scafoglio 2005. Dury Moyaers 1981: 48 53 cites evidence for the prominence of Aeneas' flight in artistic sources during Stesichorus' lifetime. For treatments of this issue that appeared before Horsfall's article, see the important discussion of Galinsky 1969: 106 113; Sadurska: 32 34 offers pointers to earlier scholarship.

[89] The discussions by Kazansky and Scafoglio (see the previous note) are vitiated by the untenable idea that the *Tabulae* are copies of a lost Greek artwork. Debiasi (2004: 164 167) seeks further evidence for the content of Stesichorus' poem by postulating that it would have closely resembled Arctinus' cyclic epic itself an unprovable assertion that does little to clarify matters. For Valenzuela Montenegro's admirably levelheaded treatment of these questions, see below.

[90] Malkin 1998: 192.

[91] Galinsky 1969: 107. Cf. Sadurska: 34; Dury Moyaers 1981: 49; Gruen 1992: 14; Debiasi 2004: 168; VM: 392 393; Scafoglio 2005: 116 117.

[92] Horsfall 1979: 43. The attribution of a *Sack of Troy* to one "(H)agias" depends on an emendation to a corrupt passage of Athenaeus (610c); recent editors emend the name to "Sakadas of Argos" instead (see Bernabé 1987: 87 [Ilii Excidium T 3] and Bethe's dicussion at *RE* 14.2205 s.v. "Hagias").

[93] For this point, cf. Debiasi 2004: 165 n. 265; Scafoglio 2005: 116 n.11.

even in Greek literature,[94] while Stesichorus is one of the nine lyric poets, a famous figure mentioned frequently in both Greek and Roman authors.[95] The poet's name might even have been familiar to casual game players: a roll of 8 in knucklebones was apparently known as the "Stesichorus throw."[96]

Both sides in the debate fail to consider the panel's reference to the lyric *Sack of Troy* in light of how Theodorus' other citations function. Neither precision nor obscurity is his primary concern. Rather, he highlights those poets with the greatest cultural cachet, as in the *Capitolina* epigram where he invoked Homer as source for the entirety of the tablet's reliefs. For the sack of Troy in his middle panel, Theodorus similarly required a poet whose name could bear the weight of his work's central content and ideological focus, but Homer, for whom no *Sack of Troy* is explicitly attested, was not a possibility. The artist simply opted for the next best thing:[97]

> si [Stesichorus] tenuisset modum, videtur aemulari proximus Homerum potuisse.
>
> If [Stesichorus] had observed moderation, it seems that he could have been Homer's closest rival.

It is a commonplace of ancient literary criticism that Stesichorus drew his inspiration from Homer and was a close second in terms of artistic merit. Simonides names the two poets together as sources for one of his own compositions: "thus Homer and Stesichorus sang to the peoples"[98]; in a poem from Philip's *Garland*, Stesichorus is Homer reincarnate.[99] Dio

[94] See Davies 1988: 80 (Arctinus Milesius). The reference most nearly contemporary to the *Tabulae* is from Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.68.2 (Bernabé 1987: 89 90 [Ilii Excidium F 1] Davies 1988: 65 66 [Iliupersis, "fragmentum dubium"]), who cites Arctinus as his oldest source for an elaborate story about the Palladium; the authenticity of this citation is doubted (cf. Davies 1989: 78 79), nor is it clear whether it would have come from Arctinus' *Aethiopis* or *Sack of Troy* (Burgess 2001: 142). The only sure mention of Arctinus in Latin is in Jerome's translation of the chronicle of Eusebius (Bernabé 1987: 65 [Aethiopis T4] Davies 1988: 45 [Aethiopis T1]; Bernabé 1987: 65 [Aethiopis T2] Davies 1988: 80 [Arctinus Milesius T1]); for an uncertain citation in the Latin grammarian Diomedes, cf. Bernabé 1987: 92 (Ilii Excidium F 7) Davies 1988: 165 (*dubia et spuria*, Arctinus F1).

[95] See the testimonia at Davies 1991: 134 151.

[96] Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9.100 and Suetonius, *On Greek games* 1.22 (p. 67 Taillardat). The roll of 8 belongs to Stesichorus, they claim, because his tomb in Sicily had eight corners; for additional sources and other explanations, see Taillardat 1967: 156. On the "literate games" of dice and knucklebones and the technical vocabulary employed by their players, see Purcell 1995, esp. 31 32.

[97] Quintilian 10.1.62.

[98] Fr. 564.4 West (Davies 1991: 134 [Stesichorus TA1a]): οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς.

[99] *AP* 7.75 Davies 1991: 146 (Stesichorus TB6). Cf. Gow Page 1968: 483.

Chrysostom singles out the poet's *Sack of Troy* as a creation worthy of "Homer's imitator."[100] This is a reputation that neither Arctinus nor (H)agias of Troezen could possibly match, and Theodorus surely cites Stesichorus because that poet was the most prestigious source possible for the Sack of Troy and the crucial scenes featuring Aeneas. Theodorus' choice supports his ideological preoccupations and affirms the stress he lays on the material in the center. Regardless of the panel's fidelity to its avowed source, then, its reference to the lyric *Sack of Troy* must be understood as part of Theodorus' strategy to convince the viewer that the tablets bear the wisdom of the most famous poets in the Greek tradition. He could hardly aim higher than Stesichorus and Homer, both given pride of place at the head of their respective sections in the tablet's list of its poetic sources. The citation of Stesichorus just below Aeneas' feet was so positioned as much for its rhetorical value as for its accuracy.

An awareness of the citation's rhetorical function may help to reframe the question of its reliability. In her exemplary synopsis of the debates that have swirled around this issue, Valenzuela Montenegro makes what is perhaps the strongest case possible for seeing a reflection of Stesichorus in the *Tabula Capitolina*. She assigns due weight to the obvious presence of contemporary Roman concerns on the tablet: the emphasis on Rome's founding myths must be Theodorus' contribution, not Stesichorus'; the scene of Aeneas' flight, which copies the famous statue group from Augustus' forum, demonstrates that the sources of the panel's iconography are eclectic.[101] She nonetheless argues that the tablet must follow Stesichorus' poem in its broad outlines, because it does so in the case of the poems for which we have the full text (*Iliad*) or summaries (*Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*), and because the tablets do not otherwise seem to invent their material out of whole cloth.[102] Similarities between the tablets and a Pompeian frieze of scenes from the Epic Cycle that dates to the 30s BCE suggest, furthermore, that Theodorus drew some of his material not from a contemporary source, but from one that at least predates the frieze[103] – and if so, why shouldn't this source be Stesichorus, perhaps mediated through an epitome?

These are reasonable points, but several reservations immediately suggest themselves. The stakes are simply much higher in the central panel:

[100] *Or*. 2.33 Davies 1991: 205 [Stesichorus 203]): Στησιχόρου δὲ καὶ Πινδάρου ἐπεμνήσθη, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι μιμητὴς Ὁμήρου γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν οὐκ ἀναξίως ἐποίησε τῆς Τροίας. Further references concerning Stesichorus and Homer at Davies 1991: 145 148.

[101] VM: 383. [102] Ibid. 393 395.

[103] Ibid. 390 391. I will consider the Pompeian cycles in the next chapter.

Theodorus would have had more motivation here than elsewhere to bend the truth (if that is what he did) in citing a prestigious source. More importantly, the format chosen for the panel differs fundamentally from that of the material bordering it, a crucial factor in the question of its reliability that most discussions have neglected. Whereas the bands array their scenes in sequence, the panel jettisons this sequential organization in favor of a spatial one and locates its vignettes within Troy's topography. This is a mode of narrative that allows the artist considerably more freedom in manipulating any underlying source and introducing new material, because he need not specify the temporal relationships between scenes. We need to take into account this potential for interference along with the pervasively rhetorical function of Theodorus' citations, and his demonstrable use of sources other than Stesichorus to tailor the Sack of Troy narrative for his Roman audience. It seems rash to assume even a general adherence to Stesichorus. Nor would a divergence from Theodorus' named source be remarkable: ancient commentaries and mythological handbooks do not scruple to cite as the source for entire narratives authors who may in fact have mentioned only one or two details of the story.[104] The simple fact that Stesichorus had recounted the Sack of Troy would render plausible the attribution to him of a panel that collects familiar vignettes from the city's downfall – some of which he must, after all, have mentioned – and links them with topically relevant material.

Despite these reasons for skepticism, there is one piece of evidence, curiously neglected in most recent contributions, that might establish a link between our tablet and Stesichorus' very text. As I noted in Chapter 2, a papyrus fragment of the lyric *Sack of Troy* describes Epeius, builder of the Trojan Horse, in language that recalls the diction of the couplet from the *Capitolina* through its reference to "measures," "wisdom," and the act of "having mastered" them.[105] The fragment appears to come from a programmatic passage in Stesichorus' poem,[106] so that it would be a good candidate for imitation by the author of the *Capitolina* epigram. Yet as we saw in Chapter 2, the two texts draw upon a nexus of concepts and terms that is amply attested in the poetic tradition, and they might well have hit on

[104] See, e.g., Gantz 1993: xix.

[105] Luigi Lehnus was first to note the connection and suggest that the author of the epigram was acquainted, perhaps indirectly, with Stesichorus (1972: 54 55). Horsfall first registers awareness of this contribution in his 2008 discussion. Of the sources listed above, only Kazansky makes use of Lehnus' discovery (1997: 58 59), though his assertion that "the direct influence of the beginning of Stesichorus' poem on the *Tabulae Iliacae* has been demonstrated" (ibid. 59) goes beyond what Lehnus claimed and the evidence will bear.

[106] Cf. Schade 2003: 199.

the same combination of three words independently. For its structure and sequence of thought, the couplet seems far more indebted to epigrams about poetic and visual art than it does to the lines of the fragment. I would argue that this piece of evidence too is inconclusive, though it may increase our confidence that the tablet has *some* legitimate connection to Stesichorus, even if not one of absolute fidelity.

While it is likely that Stesichorus mentioned Aeneas and his fortunes at some point in his *Sack of Troy*, it seems unlikely that we can reliably derive from the *Capitolina* any details about his treatment of the theme. A definitive answer to the question of how closely the tablet follows Stesichorus will have to await the discovery of new evidence.[107] As I hope to have shown, however, this is not the only question that we may ask of the tablet's citations: their ordering, their placement in the visual field, and the choice of which poets they name illustrate Theodorus' sophistication in utilizing the trappings of literary scholarship to further his appropriation of epic tradition.

Conclusions

Throughout the preceding analysis, I have tried to demonstrate how the spatial organization of the *Tabulae* offers us a plausible way of integrating their disparate elements into a coherent whole. Theodorus fills his work with indications that it is a transcript and highlights his claims to transmit faithfully the content of Greek epic: books and characters are labeled and illustrated, sources cited, and an attentive viewer may, he asserts, gain the sum of Homer's wisdom. The system of his *taxis*, however, tells a different story, quite literally: much like the magic squares with their principle of the "middle letter," it encourages viewers to begin in the middle with Aeneas and effectively rewrite the Epic Cycle with the direction of their gaze, assigning new prominence to Rome's foundation myths and allowing the rest of the material to fade into the background as a kind of prelude.[108] The subtlety of this message rests in how Theodorus implicates the narrative order (*fabula*) in his spatial one (*sjuzhet*): the *Tabulae* do not come across as bald statements of an ideology because their summaries, citations, and external bands connote, over and over again, the authority of Greek epic, lending innocence and legitimacy to the agenda of the artist's *taxis*.

[107] Cf. Horsfall 2008: 590: "we await further epigraphic or papyrological assistance."
[108] On the two kinds of stories offered by the *Tabulae*, cf. Brilliant 1984: 57 58.

4 | Narrative in frieze and panel

As I noted at the end of the last chapter, the artisans of the *Tabulae Iliacae* use two different narrative systems to convey a single story. The frieze-like narrative of the bands, in which scenes generally run from left to right, gives way in the central panel to a geographical organization, the cityscape of Troy, where the temporal relationships between scenes are considerably more complicated. Scholarship on the *Tabulae* has not called attention to their variation in narrative modes, but in fact it is no less noteworthy a feature than the organization of their visual field, the *taxis* that is Theodorus' self-advertised trademark: though there are a few earlier examples of artworks that frame a central panel with stacked, smaller images, the tablets are distinctive in using this arrangement to relay a connected series of events with a definite sequence that begins in one narrative format, but ends in another.[1] The tablets hold friezes and panel in deliberate counterpoise, narrative modes that are not just distinct but explicitly distinguished by the different spaces allotted to them in a single plane that confronts the gaze all at once: the viewer cannot help but notice that the conventions of storytelling shift abruptly in the middle of the story. Overt changes in narrative format can be a powerful tool for guiding a story's reception: consider V. Fleming's *The Wizard of Oz* (MGM, 1939), where the change from black-and-white images to color is the joint that articulates Kansas and Oz, reality and fantasy, framing device and principal narrative. The shift on the tablets from frieze to panel is similarly striking and merits closer scrutiny for what impact it may have had on the ancient viewer.

Any discussion of ancient visual narrative must first come to terms with the variety of systems proposed by modern scholars to describe and classify its phenomena: there exists no consensus regarding either the terms to be used or the theoretical assumptions that should inform the

[1] VM: 22 23 treats the antecedents for organization into a panel surrounded by smaller fields: none shows the clearly delimited narrative sequence emphasized by the *Tabulae*. From a slightly later period than our tablets, the Mithraic reliefs fill a central panel and surrounding images with scenes from the life of Mithras, but the narrative that ties these scenes together if indeed there is such a narrative is difficult to establish: see Gordon 1980, Elsner 1995: 220 221 (Clauss 2000 offers an introduction to this material).

analysis.[2] The system developed successively by C. Robert, F. Wickhoff, and K. Weitzmann has been influential: for each epoch of Classical antiquity, it postulated characteristic modes of visual narrative that succeed each other in a kind of evolutionary progression.[3] But later studies have distanced themselves from this evolutionary model, and our tablets would pose special problems for it: the very juxtaposition of different narrative modes prevents us from regarding the choice of mode as a simple reflex of historical period.

When defining individual modes of visual storytelling, several scholars have had recourse to criteria concerning how an image handles the relationship between space and time: Does the image depict a single moment of a story, or combine several? Does each character appear only once, or are some repeated in order to show the passage of time? Depending on the criteria one chooses to prioritize, a host of classifications become possible: M. Stansbury-O'Donnell samples the varied permutations in a convenient table at the start of his introduction to ancient Greek narrative art, though he himself prefers a framework based on R. Barthes' structural analysis of narrative.[4] L. Giuliani has lately elaborated an approach that emphasizes fundamental questions about iconography and identification: How may we distinguish narrative from non-narrative images in the earliest Greek art? What is the relationship between pictorial narratives and the texts that offer instantiations of the same stories, and how does this relationship change over time?[5]

It is not my intention here to adjudicate among rival accounts of ancient visual narrative, or to propose a characterization of the narrative art of an entire epoch or culture. For the more modest aim of offering a fine-grained analysis of a single class of objects, we must rather recognize the crucial, if banal, point that not all methods of approach are equally well suited to capturing the nuances of the evidence. For instance, the multiple appearances of Aeneas on the central panel of the *Tabula Capitolina* have been

[2] For a brief survey of approaches to visual narrative in ancient art, see Stansbury O'Donnell 1999: 1 8 (with bibliography).

[3] The seminal works are Robert 1881, Wickhoff 1895 and Weitzmann 1970 (first published 1947); for an account of the narrative modes and their respective historical periods, see Weitzmann (ibid. 12 33).

[4] Stansbury O'Donnell 1999 (page 7 for the table).

[5] Giuliani 2003. For Giuliani, the relationship between pictorial narrative and text becomes closer in the fourth century BCE and then narrows, with the so called Homeric bowls of the second century BCE, to something approximating illustration in our sense of the word (ibid. 231 280; cf. p. 18 for a capsule summary). Squire 2009: 120 139 offers a cogent critique of the notion that ancient artists were ever aiming at "illustration."

described as "a classic example of 'continuous narrative'," [6] that is, of a narrative in which several scenes involving the same, repeated characters are united in a single space (in this case, the city of Troy and its environs). Yet the rubric "continuous narrative" could also include a frieze in which the same characters are repeated at intervals without explicit divisions between the scenes, as on the reliefs that wind around Trajan's column: Wickhoff, who first proposed the term, in fact preferred to limit it to narratives in friezes.[7] In its present, expanded use, "continuous narrative" is not a particularly helpful term for understanding the *Tabulae* because it fails to register what is here a salient contrast between storytelling in frieze- and panel-form.[8]

Rather than beginning from such categories as "continuous narrative," then, I draw inspiration from discussions of pictorial narrative that have theorized the different ways in which a story's temporal order (*fabula*) and the order of viewing suggested by its visual organization (*sjuzhet*) interact in the context of particular artworks.[9] In the following chapter, I develop a framework for discussing the tablets' two modes of storytelling, the frieze and the panel, that embeds them in their cultural context, examining what associations they might have had for viewers and how these guided the reception of Theodorus' creations. The conceptual pair of *fabula* and *sjuzhet* will once again be a leitmotif in the discussion, though such disparate phenomena as Homeric book division and Roman cartography will also be relevant.

Time in the *Iliad* friezes

The horizontal band devoted to *Iliad* 16 on the *Tabula Capitolina* presents two scenes from that book.[10] At left, a figure helps Patroclus don Achilles' armor while Achilles looks on, seated and attended by other figures; on the right, Patroclus attacks one Trojan as another rushes away in a chariot. When we scan the frieze from left to right we link these two scenes in a sequence: the donning of the armor occurs before combat. This process is so

[6] Brilliant 1984: 56. [7] Cf. Weitzmann 1970: 35 36.

[8] von Blanckenhagen (1957) insisted on differentiating sharply between continuous narratives in friezes and those in panels (similarly Stewart 1996: 51; Stansbury O'Donnell 1999: 155 157), but the category tends to blur this distinction nonetheless (cf. the recent treatment of continuous narrative at Small 1999, esp. 568 571).

[9] Goodman 1981; Elkins 1991 (esp. 349 358 for Renaissance picture cycles); Steiner 2004 (esp. 150 154). For *fabula* and *sjuzhet* in a visual medium, see Chapter 1 above.

[10] See Appendix 2 for a full description.

natural that it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the space in which the frieze's figures are arrayed is serving two distinct functions. Within either scene, the relative position of the characters in space provides vital information about what is going on: the figure helping with the armor stands close to Patroclus and faces him, Patroclus rushes toward the Trojan he is attacking, and the scenes would become unintelligible if these spatial relationships were disrupted. We do not however infer that Patroclus' combat somehow occurs *to the right* of Achilles' seat. The relative position of the two scenes encodes a chronology but no longer provides information about their location in space with respect to each other.

I propose to name these two different uses of space with a concept borrowed from the field of semiotics, that of "motivation." A motivated sign is one in which signifier and signified are linked by some sort of analogy: a stick-figure drawing may represent a person because there is a visual analogy between the configuration of its lines and the shape of the human body. Linguistic signs, by contrast, are usually unmotivated: there is no analogical relationship between the word "ox" and the thing it denotes.[11] Narrative friezes show an alternation between what we might call motivated and unmotivated *space*. Within a scene space is motivated, for the positioning of the figures there is analogous to how we must imagine the actors arranged in our mental concept of the events themselves (Patroclus must face the figure he is attacking). The space between scenes is unmotivated, expressing the passage of time by a convention that might readily be changed (the sequence of Patroclus' arming and combat could run from left to right, right to left, or bottom to top without compromising the sense). My terminology of motivated and unmotivated space is simply one way of designating a feature common to all narratives in frieze form[12]; it will come in particularly handy below when we must contrast the Iliadic friezes with the different mode of visual narrative employed in the Sack of Troy panels.

From the fact that the space of a frieze may lose its motivation at any point and express time rather than position, two important consequences ensue for a viewer of the *Iliad* friezes. The first is that each band presents its scenes in a clearly defined sequence: viewers may generally assume that the order of presentation, the *sjuzhet*, runs from left to right, in the same direction as the

[11] This feature is obviously related to the celebrated arbitrariness of linguistic signs. What concerns me here, however, is not whether any sign might equally well have been *chosen* (the root meaning of "arbitrary"), but whether or not the choice is constrained by analogy (the phenomenon of "motivation"). For a discussion of the interrelated but distinct concepts of arbitrariness and motivation, see Barthes 1967: 50–54.

[12] On the development of narrative friezes in ancient art, see Stewart 1996: 39–48.

textual labels that accompany the scenes. Second, this *sjuzhet* is related in a predictable way to the chronology of the story's events, the *fabula*: the time of the story advances with each new scene that viewers encounter when they scan the frieze (since the friezes can offer as few as one and as many as three scenes, there may be no shift in time, or several). The *Iliad* itself, of course, contains flashbacks and flashforwards as the narrator and characters offer information about the past or make predictions for the future, but in the friezes time moves exclusively forward. Though the tablets occasionally present their Iliadic scenes in an order that differs from the text of the poem, these differences are minor,[13] and viewers are never required to infer an order of occurrence different from the order of presentation. The organization of the *Iliad* into friezes thus produces a visual narrative whose linearity recalls the experience of reading a text, and in which *fabula* and *sjuzhet* coincide.

Narrative by the book

The tablets confront viewers with the connection of their Iliadic narratives to text even more strongly through their division of the material into twenty-four bands, each devoted to a book of the poem: Theodorus has converted an aspect of the *Iliad*'s textual organization into a pictorial element and made of it a principle governing the layout of his tablets' visual field. It is important to stress that this is an unusual procedure, hardly an inevitable or even a typical way of illustrating the story of the poem. The closest parallel for the tablets' remarkable focus on book division is probably the so-called Homeric bowls:[14] dating to the second century BCE, these hemispherical terra cotta vessels can carry scenes on their exterior drawn from a single book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and they often equip these illustrations with inscriptions that specify the title of the poem and number of the book, just as the captions do on several of the *Tabulae*. Other bowls offer digests containing, e.g., one scene apiece from three successive books.[15] Provided they followed a consistent format throughout, a complete set of such bowls might offer a version of Homer's epics with an organization as regular as the one created by

[13] E.g., in its band for book 14, the *Capitolina* places the battle between Ajax and Archelochus (lines 442 468 in *Iliad* 14) before that between Ajax and Hector (lines 402 439), reversing the order in the text. VM: 236 offers a list of similar deviations.

[14] Sinn 1979 is the standard monograph. See Giuliani 2003: 263 280 and Small 2003: 80 90 for contrasting treatments of their narrative dynamics.

[15] For an overview of the different ways in which the bowls organize their illustrations of Homer, see Weitzmann 1970: 18 19, 26 27.

Theodorus. Yet it is not clear that complete sets ever existed,[16] and at any rate the pictures would be spread over a series of objects rather than unified in a single configuration. An almost complete absence of iconographic links between the bowls and *Tabulae*, furthermore, suggests that the bowls were not direct inspirations for Theodorus' focus on book number.[17]

Painted friezes of the Troy saga from Rome and Pompeii bring us closer to the *Tabulae* in terms of period and provenance, and will help throw into sharper relief the distinctiveness of Theodorus' organizational gambit. Vitruvius indicates that wall-paintings of "Trojan battles and the wanderings of Ulysses through landscapes"[18] were popular in Roman houses a few decades before the production of the *Tabulae*, and two examples from the mid- to late-first century BCE happen to survive.[19] The *Odyssey* frieze from the Esquiline hill in Rome shows Odysseus moving through an evocative landscape that dwarfs him, and that unfolds behind an illusionistically rendered portico whose pillars segment the terrain into individual panels.[20] His adventures there follow the sequence of events recounted in books 10–12 of Homer's epic,[21] but the space allotted to each episode bears no consistent relationship to the episode's length in the poem itself: his encounter with the Laestrygonians, for example, a mere 53 lines from book 10 (80–132), stretches over four panels, while the encounter with Circe in her palace, which takes up the remainder of the book (upwards of 400 lines), is telescoped into just one or two.[22] Though it labels many figures, the frieze does not equip its images with book numbers or any other indication of their relationship to the text of the poem. The painting creates for its narrative a new rhythm generated by the landscape setting and the disposition of the portico's pillars; reference to Homer's text has no role to play in the composition.

A frieze from the House of the Cryptoportico in Pompeii (I 6.2) once unfolded over the walls of its house's eponymous cryptoportico a version of the Troy saga as comprehensive as the one on our tablets.[23] Though the

[16] Weitzmann 1970: 38.

[17] On the independence of the bowls and *Tabulae*, see Horsfall 1979: 44; Kopff 1983: 58; VM: 232.

[18] *Troianas pugnas seu Ulixis errationes per topia* (*De arch.* 7.5.2). On the passage see Cam's commentary ad loc. (in Liou and Zuinghedau 1995).

[19] For the extant mythological friezes in Roman painting, the overviews of Schefold (1975: 129 134), Brilliant (1984: 59 65), Ling (1991: 107 112) and Croisille (2005: 154 168) are valuable.

[20] For the *Odyssey* frieze see von Blanckenhagen 1963; Biering 1995; O'Sullivan 2007. Datings of the frieze vary from the mid to late first century BCE (cf. Biering 1995: 181 190; O'Sullivan 2007: 499).

[21] Lost portions of the frieze continued onto adjacent walls and will presumably have offered further material (cf. O'Sullivan 2007: 502 503).

[22] On the discrepancies between textual and spatial length, see von Blanckenhagen 1963: 104 110.

[23] Sp A: 905 970 is the principal publication; see also *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici* 1.204 222 (I. Bragantini). The frieze is dated to the 30s BCE (ibid., 1.193).

paintings have suffered extensive damage, they appear to have followed the plot of the *Iliad* in its entirety, commencing with the plague from the poem's first book and continuing through to the climactic death of Hector and its aftermath. But the frieze does not stop there: it moves on to the arrival of Penthesilea from the beginning of the next poem in the Epic Cycle, the *Aethiopis*, and its final scene shows Aeneas and his family fleeing from the captured city under the guidance of Hermes. The god's involvement in the escape is a rare detail attested in visual art only here and on the *Tabula Capitolina*, though the two representations use different iconographic schemes to represent the Aeneas group.[24]

A bare recital of the frieze's content gives little indication of its layout and sheer spatial extent. It winds for over 300 feet along both walls of the cryptoportico's three wings, commencing near the main entrance to the underground passage and traversing its length before crossing to the opposite wall and doubling back to where the frieze began.[25] With the first book of the *Iliad* and the final departure of Aeneas juxtaposed at the spot where a viewer would first encounter the frieze, visitors could deduce at once the subject and extent of its narrative. An exhaustive viewing would involve navigating the whole of the cryptoportico twice, but the frieze did not require such diligence to achieve its intended effect: its length and abundance of images surely impressed viewers with a sense that Troy's whole story had been included, regardless of how closely they examined the individual vignettes.[26] Though the frieze carries labels for individual figures, it does not indicate poem titles or book numbers but rather, much like the *Odyssey* frieze, relies on a vertical element to set the pace: a series of painted herms segments the frieze at regular intervals and lends them a sense of forward momentum as they recede down the portico's long halls. The sections marked off by the herms do not necessarily correspond to the book divisions of the *Iliad*,[27] nor does the frieze always respect the sequence of events laid down by the text,[28] but such deviations must have gone largely unnoticed and were at any rate unimportant. The success of the frieze depends on accumulation of detail and a sense of spatial expansion rather than any claim of correspondence to Homer.

[24] On the final scene see Sp A: 955 956; Horsfall 1979: 41 42; VM: 132.

[25] For the entrance see Sp A: 907.

[26] As Brilliant (1984: 63) remarks, "[i]t is far more likely that the paintings were assimilated in the ensemble and only occasionally in the particular."

[27] E.g., at the western end of the north wing, a herm on the south wall divides Achilles' libation at the pyre of Patroclus from the funeral games for the same, both events from *Iliad* 23.

[28] E.g., the exchange of arms between Diomedes and Glaucus from *Iliad* 6 precedes Diomedes' fight with Ares (or Aeneas?) from *Iliad* 5. See Sp A: 907 908 for other possible divergences.

The *Tabulae*, by contrast, must appear to make good on the promise that all of Homer is included in their reliefs, and Theodorus' brilliant solution is to create an image not so much of the story of the *Iliad*, but of its very text. Rather than drawing out their illustrations of the poem in a single, long frieze, the tablets split them into twenty-four small rectangles and often equip these with inscribed numbers and titles as if to assure viewers that the representation is a reflex of the putative textual original. This is "book illustration" in its most literal sense, a device rhetorically asserting that every section of the narrative is accounted for in a way more economical and precise than the additive rhetoric of the Pompeian frieze. Any viewer who can count may verify at a glance that each book has been allotted its due space and that none has been omitted.

Theodorus was not the only one who hit upon book numbers as a means of signifying the completeness of Homeric narrative. The grammarian Apion, likewise active in the early imperial period, argued that Homer himself made a similar use of book numbers in order to establish the integrity of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and his authorship of both.[29] They have a total of 48 books between them, and according to Apion, Homer laid claim to them with the very first word of the *Iliad*, μῆνιν ("wrath"): the initial two letters, mu and eta, spell 48 in the Greek system of alphabetic numeration. Though ridiculed by Seneca (our sole source for the argument), Apion's fanciful idea illustrates how book numbers may harness control over the whole expanse of Homeric epic. By using Greek letters to label the books of the *Iliad* (a practice first attested in the late second century BCE[30]), Theodorus may also have meant to link the avowed comprehensiveness of his narrative with that other, instantly recognizable symbol of completeness, the alphabet.[31]

Theodorus' novel, systematic design for the Iliadic material, with its regular succession of duly labeled units running from alpha to omega, thus acts as a visual *sphragis*, a seal that backs up his claim to be transmitting Homer's epic in its entirety. The narrative that results is discontinuous: the reliefs tend not to provide enough information to make clear what the connections are between the events depicted in successive books, but when moving from one frieze to the next a viewer nonetheless knows that a segment of the story has passed. The book itself becomes the fundamental unit of time. It regulates the pace in much the same way, I would suggest, as

[29] See Seneca, *Ep.* 88.40. [30] Richardson 1993: 20 21.

[31] The *locus classicus* for this notion is the Book of Revelation 1:6, "I am the alpha and the omega, the first and the last." The alphabet was familiar at all levels of ancient society: inscribed abecedaria, both Greek and Latin, are common in Pompeian graffiti (*CIL* IV.2514 2549, with the discussion on p. 164).

the consular year does in annalistic histories of Rome such as Livy's *Ab urbe condita*. Livy scrupulously records the consular years from the first consulship of Brutus to the Augustan age: their orderly progression drives a narrative that, within a given year, may relate events out of chronological sequence, or even leave causal relationships between them unexplained.[32] In similar fashion, the tablets are less interested in the overall coherence of the individual vignettes of their version of the *Iliad*, and prefer instead to advertise the regular succession of its narrative units.

The *Capitolina* pilaster: An *Iliad* in the second degree

The *Tabula Capitolina* pairs its Iliadic registers with a minutely inscribed pilaster bearing a textual summary of the poem. As we observed in the previous chapter, the summary does not mark book divisions, but rather fills the surface of the pilaster in a continuous stream that provides no spacing between words and neglects syllabic boundaries. The text becomes coterminous with the object that supports it, and the specific identity of this object is vital for a full understanding of the text's significance.

In fact the *Capitolina* pilaster is characterized as a free-standing stele with a stepped base and pedimental crowning. It has a slight taper from the bottom to the top, a feature familiar from monumental stelai that nonetheless deviates from the otherwise rectilinear design of the panel and bands on the tablet's recto. This careful depiction of the summary's physical support is an example of what M. Corbier has named "epigraphy in the second degree": the term refers to inscribed objects that are represented within an image.[33] In a study of such second-degree inscriptions in the Roman world, Corbier shows that they are generally placed upon objects that could be inscribed in reality, and she argues that the allusion to actual types of inscription is an attempt to evoke the grandeur and official status that accrue to monumental texts.[34] The tablet's pilaster reproduces in miniature the sort of inscribed stele that might in the Greek world carry the text of an official decree. But perhaps there was a model in Rome as well. The missing left-hand section of the *Capitolina* featured a second pilaster that carried the beginning of the *Iliad* summary, and C. Robert thought it self-evident that

[32] E.g., Livy's notices of omens or elections often have no explicit connection, chronological or otherwise, to other happenings in the year. On Livy's annalistic structure and its deviations from chronology within the unit of the consular year, see Rich 1997.

[33] Corbier 2006: 94.

[34] Ibid. 91 130 (esp. 124 128 for the appropriation of the prestige of monumental texts).

two pilasters carrying a single, continuous text must be a reference to Augustus' record of his achievements, the *Res gestae*, which the emperor in his will ordered to be inscribed on bronze plaques and affixed to two pillars in front of his Mausoleum in the Campus Martius.[35]

All of the monumental texts just mentioned share with the *Capitolina* pilaster the characteristic that they are not designed to be read easily. A life-sized stele might be difficult to read because the text is placed too high or simply because it is too long and complex for a casual observer to decipher. Most viewers of an inscribed decree, or of the *Res gestae*, probably never took the trouble, but these monuments effectively communicated the importance of their texts nonetheless through their imposing dimensions and the permanence of their medium.[36] The small characters of the *Capitolina* pilaster and all the other obstacles to reading that they introduce mimic the effect of standing before a tall, overwhelming inscription. Rather than highlighting the canonical divisions of Homer's epic, the pilaster draws on viewers' lived experience of inscribed monuments and encourages them to treat the text as something not so much to be read as to be marveled at for its length and the care with which it was engraved. The humble epitome thus acquires the stability and weight of an architectural feature and reinforces the impression that the tablet's *Iliad* unfolds in an order that is fixed and predictable.

The long friezes

Four tablets (1A, 3C, 6B, 7Ti) incorporate into their compositions friezes that exceed the customary length of the *Iliad* bands stacked on each side of the central panel. These long friezes span the length of the panel on its upper or lower border and consequently allow a greater number of scenes to be included for the divisions of the Epic Cycle to which they are devoted: above the panel, the subject is usually the chronological beginning of the story, a detailed retelling of book 1 of the *Iliad* (1A, 3C, 6B);[37] below, the only tablet to preserve the relevant portion, the *Capitolina*, picks up where the *Iliad* leaves off and carries illustrations for the next poems in the Cycle, the

[35] Robert 1921: 424 n. 6 ("daß für die Anordnung auf zwei Pilaster & das Monumentum Ancyranum [*Res gestae*] das Vorbild war, braucht kaum gesagt zu werden"); Sadurska: 37 doubts that the *Res gestae* inscription was a direct insipiration for the tablets. On the original disposition of the *Res gestae* in Rome, see Scheid 2007: viii xi, xvii xix.

[36] On the illegibility of monumental texts, and the ways in which they communicate without the mediation of reading, see Veyne 2005: 379 418 (394 for the *Res gestae*).

[37] Above its panel, 7Ti features instead an extended version of the opening of the *Aethiopis*.

Aethiopis and *Little Iliad*. Although the long friezes preserve the chronological left-to-right movement of the shorter Iliadic registers, their selection of scenes introduces a new feature that allies them rather with the symmetrical organization of the panel's Troy landscape: the long friezes arrange their vignettes in such a way that a thematically significant subject appears in the middle and thereby participates in the panel's own focus on the centrally placed figures of Aeneas and his family. The narrative format of the long friezes might therefore be described as transitional, because they balance the linear presentation characteristic of a frieze with an alternative *sjuzhet* that encourages viewers to abstract from the story's temporal progress and keep returning to an emphasized middle scene.

On the *Capitolina* the three long friezes are nearly intact and their central subjects may be directly observed: in the middle of the *Iliad* 1 frieze is Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon at the assembly of the Achaeans; Achilles' death before the Scaean Gate occupies the center of the *Aethiopis* frieze; on the lower border of the tablet, the *Little Iliad* frieze places the Trojan Horse at center, being pulled toward the city by a long procession of Trojans. By comparing these friezes with the other tablets that offer treatments of the same subject matter (*Iliad* 1, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*), I will show that the positioning of the central vignettes on the *Capitolina* is a deliberate effect cultivated by Theodorus in order to create a formal and thematic relationship between the long friezes and the central panel.

I begin with the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*. We may best appreciate Theodorus' treatment of these two lost epics by noting first that they appear to have overlapped both with each other and with the next poem in the Epic Cycle, the *Sack of Troy*. A prose summary of the entire Cycle by one Proclus, for instance, places the suicide of Ajax in the *Little Iliad*, but other sources (the *Capitolina* among them) attribute it to the *Aethiopis*; extant fragments suggest that the *Little Iliad* included its own version of Troy's fall, though Proclus and the *Capitolina* end that poem just as the Trojan Horse reaches the city gates.[38] Any attempt to concatenate the Cyclic poems into a single narrative seems therefore to have involved making choices about which poem's version to follow and where each should begin and end. The *Tabulae* are some of the earliest examples we possess of a single, continuous narrative constructed out of the poems of the Cycle,[39] and as we just saw, Theodorus sets the boundary between the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* at a

[38] On the uncertain boundaries of the Cyclic poems, see Burgess 2001: 12 33, 135 148 (21 24 for Ajax's suicide and the endpoint of the *Little Iliad*); Rengakos 2004: 282.

[39] Kopff 1983: 57 58.

Table 1 *Illustrations of the* Aethiopis *on the* Tabulae Iliacae

	Capitolina (1A)	7Ti	9D
1	Arrival of Penthesilea (?)	Arrival of Penthesilea	Arrival of Penthesilea
2	Death of Penthesilea	Death of Penthesilea	Death of Penthesilea
3	Death of Thersites	Death of Memnon	Death of Antilochus
4	Death of Memnon and Antilochus	Death of Achilles	Death of Memnon
5	Death of Achilles	Funeral of Achilles	Death of Achilles
6	Recovery of Achilles' corpse		
7	Funeral of Achilles		
8	Suicide of Ajax		

point that differs from the one in the summary of Proclus. It is possible that Theodorus simply reproduced what he found in his source for the Cyclic poems (whatever its nature),[40] but evidence from the other tablets suggests rather that he may have taken a more active role, tailoring the beginning and end of the two poems to suit his design for the longer friezes.

The *Aethiopis* appears on three tablets. While the *Capitolina* devotes a single long frieze to the poem, both 7Ti and 9D position it to the left of their central panels and render it instead as a series of discrete vignettes stacked in a vertical column. Theodorus varies his selection of which scenes to portray based upon the different types of space that the poem must fill on each tablet (Table 1).[41]

Though Proclus' summary indicates that the *Aethiopis* comprised five books, our textual and visual sources for the poem carry no trace of these divisions,[42] and Theodorus seems to have felt himself at liberty to expand or compress his retelling without regard to the material's division into a canonical number of units.[43] Thus 7Ti reaches Achilles' death in the fourth register, while 9D postpones it to the fifth by placing the death of Achilles' comrade Antilochus at the hands of Memnon in its own, separate section, just before the scene of Achilles slaying Memnon in requital; the *Capitolina* combines Antilochus and Memnon's demises in a single, compendious image. Most revealing for Theodorus' criteria of selection, however, is the fact that 7Ti and 9D allow the *Aethiopis* considerably more space than the *Capitolina* does. On

[40] On Theodorus' sources, see Horsfall 1979: 47–48 and the Introduction.

[41] See Appendix 2 for descriptions of the individual scenes. The first scene on the *Capitolina* is barely preserved, and its identification is an inference based upon the other two tablets.

[42] For theories on when and how these book divisions arose, see Davies 1989: 2; Burgess 2001: 30–31.

[43] On expansion and compression of the *Aethiopis* narrative, see also VM: 235, who suggests the variation may be motivated by the available space or the artist's personal preference ("Platzangebot oder Gusto"). I believe it is possible to specify the reasons for the variation more closely.

the extant portion of 9D, for instance, the five scenes of the *Aethiopis* column take up the same vertical space as three registers devoted to books 22–24 of the *Iliad* in the matching column: presumably the *Iliad* column once contained about twelve books (as on the other *Tabulae*), so that the *Aethiopis* will have required a comparable number of registers, if not more, before it reached the bottom of the tablet. In order to fill out their columns, both 7Ti and 9D must have included quite a few scenes after Achilles' death and funeral; the frieze on the *Capitolina*, by contrast, accelerates the story after Achilles' death and concludes abruptly with the fate of Ajax. Theodorus regulates the pacing of the frieze so that the climactic defeat of Homer's hero may occupy the center (we will observe the same technique in the frieze for *Iliad* 1).

Unfortunately, none of the other tablets preserves comparanda for the *Little Iliad* frieze that might similarly illuminate Theodorus' handling of its narrative on the *Capitolina*. It is noteworthy, however, that the procession leading the Trojan Horse to the city gate takes up the entire right half of the frieze, the longest scene offered by any band on the *Tabulae*. The number of anonymous Trojans featured here is without parallel elsewhere in the bands, and I suspect that these figures function, at least in part, to increase the scene's length and thereby allow the horse to appear at center with the oversized gate at the far right.

In his friezes for *Iliad* 1, Theodorus intensifies the focus on the middle scene by selecting his subjects in such a way that they form symmetrical pairs and draw the viewer's gaze back to the center. All three tablets that carry the frieze (1A, 3C, 6B) agree in the inclusion of two early scenes involving Chryses, Apollo's priest, but only the *Capitolina* preserves the frieze's center and latter half, and only 3C carries the very first scene (a highly enigmatic conversation between Achilles and Diomedes that we will return to below). The extant scenes on the *Capitolina* run as follows:

- Chryses offers ransom for his daughter Chryseis to Agamemnon.[44]
- Chryses calls down the plague.
- Plague befalls the Greek army.
- Agamemnon and Achilles quarrel at the assembly.
- Odysseus returns Chryseis and Chryses prays for the plague to end.
- Thetis kneels before Zeus.

In the middle of the frieze, almost directly above Aeneas and his family in the central panel, Achilles and Agamemnon quarrel while Nestor intercedes.

[44] Only the two oxen yoked to the cart carrying the ransom are preserved. More on this scene below.

Calchas and Athena stand to the left and right, respectively: Calchas raises his arm as he rushes toward Agamemnon, Athena holds her hand over Achilles' head. To the right of this elaborate scene, Chryses prays before the temple of Apollo for the plague to end; Odysseus stands nearby with Chryseis and sacrificial victims to propitiate the god. To the left of the quarrel scene a similar subject appears, Chryses before an identical temple calling down the plague. It is worth noting that neither the text of the *Iliad* nor the epitomes place Chryses before a temple in this scene:[45] the inclusion of Apollo's temple here may be a pictorial means of indicating the god's involvement;[46] just as importantly, it makes of Chryses' first prayer a close visual match to his second. Both temples project noticeably outward from the surface of the monument and thereby render the connection between this pair of flanking scenes more salient (an effect of three-dimensional modeling that does not come through as clearly in photographs).

In its original state the *Iliad* 1 band will have offered an even more striking repetition of subjects. The scene of Chryses' ransom is only partly preserved on the *Capitolina*, but we may gain a clearer idea of the missing material from the two other tablets that carry the relevant portions (3C, 6B): both show Chryses kneeling before Agamemnon and behind him the cart bearing the ransom, its team still yoked. If the *Capitolina* featured a similar scene in its left-hand corner, the motif would match Priam's offer of ransom to Achilles from *Iliad* 24, which occupies the right-hand corner of the tablet, picking up after the *Iliad* 1 band concludes. As noted above, the only tablet whose left-hand corner is intact (3C) includes one additional scene before Chryses' ransom, a conversation between Achilles and Diomedes that may belong, not to *Iliad* 1, but to the conclusion of the *Cypria*, the prequel to the *Iliad* in the Epic Cycle. It is hard to say whether or not the *Capitolina* would have incorporated such a subject,[47] but even if so, the correspondence between its two ransom scenes would have been unmistakeable – and rendered more salient through a clever graphic device. On the *Capitolina*, the image of Priam's visit to the tent of Achilles is mirror-reversed with respect to the corresponding scene on other tablets: usually Achilles sits to the *left* of Priam, with the cart on the right;[48] by reversing the standard

[45] *Il.* 1.33 43; J M: 100 for the epitomes. The first century CE *Ilias Latina* does have Chryses seek out *Phoebeia templa* (l. 27) before making his first prayer (cf. Scaffai 1997 ad loc.).

[46] So Mancuso 1909: 672, VM: 34.

[47] VM: 35 thinks it plausible, because the left hand section of the *Capitolina* will have had space for an additional scene before Chryses' ransom.

[48] Cf. the *Iliad* 24 bands of 2NY, 9D, 12F, 21Fro. VM: 95 notes the reversal and mentions the explanation of Paulcke (1897: 33) and Mancuso (1909: 690) that it was meant to distinguish the *Iliad* 24 material from the subjects belonging to *Iliad* 1.

arrangement and placing Achilles at the extreme right, the *Capitolina* transforms this concluding scene into a mirror image of the initial encounter between Chryses and Agamemnon, where the Greek king occupied his usual place on the left. Though not perfect by any means, these symmetries overrun book divisions and organize the entire top border of the *Capitolina*. By linking *Iliad* 24 graphically with *Iliad* 1, Theodorus shapes his version of the poem into a visual ring composition.

In his study of book illustration in antiquity, K. Weitzmann arrived at a rather different assessment of the *Iliad* 1 frieze on the *Capitolina*: the frieze was the linchpin for his argument that ancient artists had illustrated papyri of the *Iliad* at their disposal from which to excerpt images.[49] The frieze's first three scenes (ransom, prayer, plague) cover lines 22–84 of book 1 closely, while the remaining three (quarrel, prayer, Thetis) are dispersed throughout the rest of book. Weitzmann concluded from this discrepancy that the creator of the frieze began by copying out a section from a full series of illustrations, but "when he realized that there was not space enough to continue on the same scale, he changed the system and filled the rest of the frieze with selected scenes."[50] As there is no physical evidence for such abundantly illustrated papyrus rolls in the relevant periods, modern scholarship appears to have reached a welcome consensus that it is not credible to postulate them as the source for cycles of Homeric illustrations;[51] what concerns me here, however, is rather Weitzmann's evaluation of the pacing of the frieze. While he regards the variations in narrative speed as essentially accidental, the pairs of matching subjects we noted above could not have been produced by such a haphazard process: the frieze is a closed set, its scenes tightly grouped to provide a series of nested frames for a thematically significant subject. To achieve this focus on the scene of Achilles and Agamemnon's quarrel, Theodorus adopts the same procedure that he used for the *Aethiopis*, following the narrative closely until he reaches the key central subject, and then accelerating the pace as he fills the latter half of the frieze with a selection of scenes (here chosen with an eye to producing a careful symmetry about the center).

The centered subjects of Theodorus' long friezes make up, together with Aeneas' flight from Troy, a vertical axis that runs down the middle of the *Capitolina* and cuts through its major divisions. At the very bottom, the Trojan Horse of the *Little Iliad* stands at the beginning of an ominous

[49] 1970: 38 39. [50] Ibid.

[51] See, e.g., Stewart 1996: 47; Small 2003 (93 96 on the *Tabulae*); VM: 339 344; and cf. my discussion of Theodorus' sources in the Introduction, above.

prologue to the events of the panel. As our gaze travels along the rest of the axis, a metanarrative about Achilles and Aeneas emerges, one that relies on juxtaposition and contrast rather than stricter relations of chronological sequence or cause and effect. Above the center of the panel we see the beginning of Achilles' conflict with Agamemnon, which will trigger his withdrawal and the events of the *Iliad*. If we follow the axis past Aeneas and below the panel, we intersect the *Aethiopis* frieze at about the point where it shows Achilles again as he dies under Troy's Scaean Gate. Achilles' role in the fight for Troy is summed up in two pictures, and we can hardly avoid comparing his final scene before the gate with Aeneas' emergence from the same directly above: the pairing contrasts Achilles' downfall with Aeneas' ascendancy. To read through the centers of the long friezes, then, is to escape the orderly presentation of the epic *fabula* and discover for oneself a new, chronologically transgressive *sjuzhet* with a Romanocentric twist.

On the lower edge of the *Capitolina*'s panel, just to the right of the middle, there is a column-like structure that may allow us to go even further with this reading. According to the label beside it, this is the Sigean promontory, generally identified as the site of Achilles' tomb (depicted just above) in ancient descriptions of the geography of Troy and its environs.[52] Theodorus pointedly locates his representation of the hero's death just below this site; above it, Aeneas escapes, and to its right, he departs for Hesperia. Unlike Achilles, Aeneas survives the Trojan War, and he leaves the stele of Homer's dead hero behind him as he sails away. The *Capitolina* is our only source for this evocative tradition that makes Aeneas embark at the site of Achilles' grave.[53]

Navigating Troy: Roman maps and "achronous" narrative

The long friezes cannot position their subjects in space without locating them in time as well. To return to the concept of "motivation" developed in this chapter's first section, the alternation between motivated and unmotivated space in the friezes entails that the chronology of the story has to advance with each new scene encountered, and if a given scene appears in the center, this is because the artist has shrewdly regulated the narrative pacing before and after it. In the Troy panel, however, space functions rather differently because the organizing principle is not sequential but topographical. The space within the

[52] See Strabo 13.1.32; Pliny, *NH* 5.125; and further references in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* IV.842–843 s.v. Sigeo (G. Bonamente). Burgess 2009: 112–126 treats ancient and modern attempts to locate Achilles' burial monument.

[53] See *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I.190–191 s.v. Antandro (G. Bonamente).

panel is entirely *motivated*, by a depiction of the city itself and its surrounding territory, so that Theodorus is able to place the flight of Aeneas and the promontory of Sigeum on the tablet's central axis simply through a judicious handling of Troy's architecture and coastline.

In his seminal account of narrative sequence, G. Genette attaches particular theoretical interest to this sort of story organized by geography because it offers the possibility of an "achronous" narrative, that is, one that presents a series of events without specifying their chronological sequence: Genette's example is a narrator who takes a train ride and recalls anecdotes associated with each location he passes.[54] The route of the train determines an order of presentation with no ties to chronology, a *sjuzhet* without a *fabula* – with characteristic terminological brio, Genette named the phenomenon "geographical syllepsis" ("the principle of narrative grouping in voyage narratives that are embellished by anecdotes").[55] Similarly, Theodorus' Troy panels tell us *where* events occur rather than *when*. The narrative is not purely achronous in Genette's sense because the relative chronology of vignettes may occasionally be inferred, but in sharp contrast to the linear, numbered friezes, the motivated space of the panel no longer encodes temporal information in a systematic or predictable way: there is no presumption that time flows from left to right, or indeed in any consistent direction – or even at all, as some scenes may be taken as occurring simultaneously. We might say that the panel's narrative mode is achronous in the sense that it is wholly up to viewers to contribute the element of time to the story, as they scan Troy and try to evaluate how the vignettes that dot its cityscape are connected.[56]

The format that Theodorus has chosen for his panels draws upon a method of representing space that is related to the conventions of ancient mapmaking.[57] In the early Empire, Rome's expanding sphere of influence produced a surge of interest in all aspects of geography and cartography that left its mark in public monuments and in literature:[58] Marcus Agrippa, the general, supporter, and sometime surrogate of Augustus, had a large map of the inhabited world set up in the portico in Rome that bore his family's name, the Porticus Vipsania; Strabo composed his *Geography* in seventeen books.

[54] Genette 1980: 83–85. [55] Ibid. 85 n. 119.

[56] For an extensive account of "continuous narrative" that highlights the way it demands active engagement from the viewer, see Leach 1988: 309–360.

[57] Leach 1988: 79–84 and VM: 23–25 also set out the cartographic parallels; here I am interested less in the origins of the compositional technique than in its impact on the process of viewing the panels. For ancient maps in general, see Dilke 1985.

[58] Cf. Nicolet 1991: 91, 95 and *passim*.

The type of map that concerns us here is one that Strabo calls "chorographic."[59] It was, he tells us, full of *poikilmata*, loosely, "ornaments": the word refers properly to decorative elements embroidered in a piece of fabric, but Strabo uses it to denote the vignettes of peoples, cities, and other landmark features that enliven the chorographic map.[60] From other sources we learn that such maps treat single regions rather than the whole world and focus on details of local geography; there was a significant pictorial element, because the maps required skill in painting, but these illustrations were not drawn to scale, with the result that everything in a chorographic map appears close together.[61] (A modern analogue might be the tourist map that bears outsized drawings of monuments and other places of interest in a given site.) Vitruvius adds that the pictures of a chorographic map were accompanied by text: one can find the sources of rivers "illustrated and labeled in the chorographies."[62]

No sure examples of a chorographic map survive,[63] but the type has long been of interest as a possible inspiration for that peculiarly Roman style of "continuous narrative" that places temporally distinct scenes in a single panel. As mediator between maps on the one hand, and narrative panels on the other, another lost genre of painting is often invoked, the images of battles successfully conducted that Roman generals commissioned to be carried in procession through the city when they returned in triumph.[64] We know, for instance, of a representation of Sardinia with illustrations of battles placed in the relevant localities; one L. Hostilius Mancinus had the layout of Carthage depicted along with the siege actions that led to its defeat, and caused the image to be set up in the Roman forum: Pliny includes the picturesque detail that Mancinus stood beside the image he had commissioned and narrated its contents to a receptive populace (they later elected him consul).[65]

It is not my purpose here, however, to advance an argument about the possible diachronic relationship of chorography to narratives in panel form; rather, I wish to suggest that ancient viewers would have perceived a

[59] On the genres of ancient cartography see Ferrari 1999: 376 380.

[60] ἤπειροί τε καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεων θέσεις εὐφυεῖς . . . καὶ τἆλλα ποικίλματα, ὅσων μεστός ἐστιν ὁ χωρογραφικὸς πίναξ (2.5.17). Cf. Plato's description of the robe presented to Athena at the Panathenaic festival, which was embroidered with *poikilmata* portraying divine battles: ὁ πέπλος μεστὸς τῶν τοιούτων ποικιλμάτων (*Euthyphro* 6c2 3).

[61] Ptolemy, *Geo.* 1.1.4 5; scholion to Aristophanes' *Clouds*, line 215 (διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς χωρογραφίαις σύνεγγυς πάντα εἶναι). For further discussion see Ferrari 1999: 379 380.

[62] *capita fluminum quae orbe terrarum chorographiis picta itemque scripta* (8.2.6; cf. Nicolet 1991: 113).

[63] The image that accompanies the geographical text on the recently published Artemidorus papyrus is a possible but controversial exception: see Brodersen and Elsner 2009.

[64] Cf. von Blanckenhagen 1957; Holliday 1997; 2002: 104 121.

[65] Livy 41.28.8 10 (Sardinia); Pliny, *NH* 35.23 (Carthage).

synchronic connection between Theodorus' cityscapes teeming with figures, and the typical features of a chorographic map. Troy and its environs were real places that Romans could and did visit,[66] and any depiction of this area on a panel might evoke a map just by virtue of its material support: usually drawn on flat boards that could be hung for display, ancient maps were often designated as simply *pinax* or *tabula* ("board" or "panel" is the primary meaning of both); Strabo refers to mapmaking as *pinakographia*, "board-painting."[67] The Troy panels fill a representation of a single region with labeled vignettes of monuments and figures, all oversized (the human figures are as tall as the city's walls): the agreement with attested features of chorographic maps is complete.

The schematic way in which Troy's environs and coastline are rendered, with structures and figures appearing against a neutral, plain background, also seems suited to a cartographic presentation, and as a visual parallel I tentatively adduce the illustrated maps that appear in the medieval manuscripts of ancient Roman texts on land-surveying.[68] Some of these maps show cities in bird's-eye perspective, and depict the surrounding countryside as a neutral ground into which are incorporated sketches of noteworthy structures duly provided with explanatory captions. Because these illustrations were copied in the medieval period, their precise relationship to ancient prototypes is difficult to determine and a subject of ongoing discussion. Some connection with the maps described in ancient sources is possible,[69] and in any case the resemblance of these maps to the schematic style of Theodorus' panels is suggestive.

Of course there is no question of anyone's mistaking one of the *Tabulae Iliacae* for a map, but I argue that the tablets deliberately evoke cartographic convention in order to take advantage of the achronous mode of narrative that chorographic maps make possible (more on this in a moment), and to associate their depictions of the epic past with Troy's actual territory, in the Troad on the northwest coast of modern-day Turkey. P. Holliday has suggested that, at least for the Republican period, representations of foreign lands in Roman art are usually "triumphal in nature,"[70] a way of showcasing areas conquered or controlled; a similar impulse doubtless animated Agrippa's decision to set up his map of the world in

[66] See Sage 2000. [67] Dilke 1985 (ancient terms for maps); Strabo 2.1.11.

[68] On these illustrations see Dilke 1971: 115 125, 131 132; Carder 1978; Campbell 2000: xxiii xxvi.

[69] Dilke (1971: 115 122) finds that some of the illustrations are modeled after actual details of the cities they represent; Campbell (2000: xxv xxvi) is skeptical.

[70] Holliday 2002: 118.

the middle of Rome.[71] In the case of the Troy panels we need to modify this model, but only slightly: the defeat of Rome's own ancestors and mother city is on display, but Aeneas escapes toward the future that awaits him and his descendants, a future in which Troy became a place visited by Rome's leaders; attacked by its generals; and, finally, rebuilt and indelibly marked by the conspicuous largesse of Augustus and his successors.[72] As we shall see, the cartographic format lets the tablets activate memory of Roman interventions at Troy in recent history even as they recount its mythological prehistory.

For the narrative possibilities of the Trojan landscape and its capacity to knit together multiple time periods, our most revealing sources are those Roman authors who incorporate the landscape into their text and use it to organize their stories of what happened there. In the first poem of the *Heroides*, for instance, Ovid comes close to the narrative technique of the *Tabulae* when he portrays how the Trojan War might be retold through the medium of a map. Penelope is writing a letter to her husband Odysseus and berating him for having not yet returned; she imagines the other Greek chieftains, now safely at home, conveying the war's events at the end of a banquet by drawing in wine spilled on the table:[73]

> iamque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa,
> pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero:
> 'hac ibat Simois, haec est Sigeia tellus,
> hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.
> illic Aeacides, illic tendebat Ulixes;
> hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.'
>
> And now, when the meal is set aside, someone points out the fierce battles and draws all of Troy in a little pool of wine: "Along here is where the Simois ran, this is the Sigean land, here the lofty palace of old Priam stood. There Achilles used to pitch his tent, there Ulysses; here mangled Hector terrified the horses who had been given the rein."

With the help of the chieftain's verbal commentary, his audience may gaze over the plains of Troy and recover from them traces of the war's most prominent heroes, traces related to each other by their location in the drawing rather than by chronology. The explication of the map is a pointed reminiscence of a scene from book 2 of the *Aeneid*, in which the Trojans leave their city to survey the fields apparently abandoned by the Greeks:[74]

[71] Cf. *OCD* s.v. "maps" (Purcell): Agrippa's map was "a potent symbol of the control of space by the Augustan regime."

[72] For Troy in the early imperial period, see Rose 2002 and below. [73] *Her.* 1.31 36.

[74] *Aen.* 2.27 30. On the allusion see Knox 1995: 95 96.

> panduntur portae, iuvat ire et Dorica castra
> desertosque videre locos litusque relictum:
> hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;
> classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.
>
> The gates are opened, we happily go and see the Greek camps, the deserted places and abandoned shore: Here the band of the Dolopes used to pitch their tents, here savage Achilles; here was the place for the fleets, here they used to contend in battle.

In this passage Aeneas is speaking at Dido's banquet in Carthage, so that his repeated references to what happened "here" suggest how vividly he is picturing his lost homeland in his mind's eye. By alluding to the situation from Vergil, Ovid assimilates the Greek chieftain's illustrated description of Troy to the Trojans' movement through the landscape itself – with the difference that the chieftain's map sets before his audience the entire region in miniature and thus provides them with a more concrete referent for his deictic adverbs, which now point to "there" as well as "here." Ovid recognized that the *Aeneid* passage employed landscape as a conduit for past experience; he takes the process a step further with his illustrated landscape that functions in the same way but allusively brings together different moments in the encounter with Troy from both Greek and Trojan points of view.

In the ninth book of his *Civil War*, Lucan includes an episode that fully exploits the potential complexity of a Roman's interaction with the region of Troy.[75] He represents Julius Caesar making a detour from his pursuit of Pompey in order to visit the fabled ruins, a vignette of doubtful historicity but rich in narrative possibilities. As Lucan's Caesar skirts the coast of the Troad he passes the graves of famous Greek heroes:[76]

> Sigeasque petit famae mirator harenas
> et Simoentis aquas et Graio nobile busto
> Rhoetion et multum debentis vatibus umbras.
>
> As an admirer of their repute, he makes for the sands of Sigeum and the waters of the Simois and Rhoetion, renowned for its Greek tomb, and shades that owe much to the poets.

As on the *Tabula Capitolina*, the sands of Sigeum are where the Greeks moored their ships, and also the location of Achilles' tomb. Ajax was buried

[75] On Lucan's Troy episode, see Rossi 2001 and the extensive commentary at Wick 2004: 401–424 (both with further bibliography on this much discussed passage).

[76] *De bello civili* 9.961–963.

at the promontory of Rhoetium,[77] and the mention of the two sites together calls to mind the story of Achilles' death and the subsequent quarrel over his arms that led to Ajax's suicide. Even before Caesar arrives at Troy, the landscape is shot through with traces of stories waiting to be recalled.

His visit to the city is entirely governed by such traces, as Lucan highlights in the bold metaphor that opens the scene:[78]

> circumit exustae nomen memorabile Troiae
> magnaque Phoebei quaerit vestigia muri.
>
> He walks about the famed memory of burnt out Troy and looks for the great traces of Phoebus' wall.

The memory of Troy is not set out for Caesar to read in a linear, prescribed sequence. Instead it is a space through which he can move and seek whatever traces of the city's famed past he can find. This space of memory will both encourage and frustrate the formation of narrative sequences:[79]

> aspicit Hesiones scopulos silvaque latentis
> Anchisae thalamos; quo iudex sederit antro,
> unde puer raptus caelo, quo vertice Nais
> luxerit Oenone: nullum est sine nomine saxum.
>
> He looks toward the cliffs of Hesione, and the bed chamber of Anchises, hidden in the wood, what grotto the judge sat in, from what place the boy was snatched to heaven, on what height Oenone mourned. No stone lacked a name.

Features outside the city recall for Caesar events that precede the Trojan War. With the exception of the rocks on the coast where Heracles rescued Hesione from the sea monster, all of these events are associated with Mount Ida, the mountain to the southeast of Troy.[80] Lucan naturalistically imagines Caesar's eye being drawn by the most prominent landmark in the surrounding terrain. Ida first prompts the recall of two incidents that led up to the war itself: the union of Aphrodite and Anchises, parents of Aeneas, and Paris' fateful judgment of the three goddesses while he was still a shepherd on the mountain's slopes. Oenone was Paris' wife on the same mountain before he left her for Helen;[81] her sorrow over being abandoned is a natural sequel to Paris' judgment and ensuing departure to seek a new bride. But the abduction of

[77] In his description of the Troad, Strabo mentions the harbor of the Greeks and both tombs (13.1.30 32).

[78] 964 965. [79] 970 973. [80] For the localization of these myths, see Wick 2004: 413 415.

[81] *Pace* Wick, Lucan surely meant his "height on which Oenone mourned" to evoke Mount Ida, not an anonymous cliff by the sea ("die Felsen der Hesione und der Oinone am Meer liegen,"

Ganymede, the boy snatched to heaven, interpolates into this clear sequence a different event, one that is likewise suggested by the sight of Ida but belongs to an earlier period of Troy's mythic history.

As Caesar draws nearer to the city, his motion through the landscape triggers a corresponding movement forward in the time of the narrative:[82]

> inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum
> transierat, qui Xanthus erat. securus in alto
> gramine ponebat gressus: Phryx incola manes
> Hectoreos calcare vetat. discussa iacebant
> saxa nec ullius faciem servantia sacri:
> 'Herceas' monstrator ait 'non respicis aras?'
>
> Without realizing it, he had crossed a stream snaking through the dry dust this was the river Xanthus. He was about to set his foot carelessly in the deep grass; a Phrygian native forbids him to trample on Hector's spirit. Scattered stones were lying about, preserving no semblance of a sacred monument: "The Hercean altar!" says the guide. "Have you no respect for it?"

A native of the area points out Hector's tomb outside the city, then the altar within at which Priam was famously slaughtered: here Caesar's itinerary recapitulates the chronology of the two deaths. Lucan's Troy is thus a land of temporal sequences and distortions. Extracting these sequences requires not just Caesar's own initiative to seek and to look (*quaerit*; *aspicit*) but also, as in the case of Ovid's map, or indeed of the image of Carthage explicated by Mancinus, the verbal interventions of a guide.

Lucan emphasizes the desolation that surrounds Caesar at Troy – as he writes, "even the ruins have perished"[83] – but this desolation is no less temporally variegated than any other feature in the landscape. We automatically link it to the city's destruction after the Trojan War, but a Roman reader will also remember another episode in the region's history: in 85 BCE, toward the end of Rome's first war with Mithridates, the Roman general Fimbria was denied entrance to the city of Ilium (identified with Troy), and attacked it in retaliation.[84] This was a relatively minor action in the war, and archaeological evidence suggests that, far from being a catastrophe for Ilium, it caused only

2004: 413): Ovid's version of the story does bring Oenone to an unnamed mountain near the water so that she can witness the return of Paris' ship (*Her.* 5.61 63), but she returns to Ida for her lament (*Her.* 5.73 74), and this is the location with which our sources consistently associate her (see also Parthenius, *Erot. path.* 4.1; ps. Apollodorus 3.155).

[82] 974 949. [83] *etiam periere ruinae* (9.969).

[84] On Fimbria's assault see Erskine 2001: 237 245 (with sources and bibliography). Though common and apparently endorsed by Roman interventions in the city, the identification of Ilium with Troy was not without its critics in ancient times: see Strabo 13.1.40 41 and Sage 2000: 214.

partial damage to some of the city's structures.[85] Yet the incident is prominent in our literary sources, which tend to portray it as if Fimbria had wrought Troy's destruction once again. Strabo, for instance, (13.1.27) has Fimbria styling himself a more efficient Agamemnon: the city fell on the tenth day rather than the tenth year; in Livy (*Per*. 83), Fimbria "stormed and destroyed" Ilium.[86] Even the terse chronicle of historical events inscribed on one of the *Tabulae Iliacae* (not part of the Sack of Troy group) finds room to mention that Fimbria "took Ilium by siege."[87] Whatever the details, the impression that Fimbria's assault made on the Roman historical imagination is umistakeable and necessarily colors our reading of Lucan's episode.[88] His reader might be expected to wonder who caused the devastation that Caesar looks at, and whether it is of ancient or more recent vintage: the Trojan landscape and its scars conjure up memory of Roman activity at the site as well as Greek.

During Augustus' reign, by contrast, Ilium entered a period of rebuilding and renewal sparked by the emperor's interest in the region.[89] He made a show of returning to Rhoetium a statue of Ajax that had been taken by Marc Antony,[90] and he visited Ilium itself around 20 BCE.[91] It was at about this time that Ilium began to mint coins with Augustus on one side, Aeneas and Anchises on the other.[92] Several inscriptions honoring the Julio-Claudians have been recovered from the site, and the name of Augustus appears, in Greek, on the architrave of the city's temple to Athena Ilias[93] – a later incarnation of the very temple represented at the top of Theodorus' Troy panels. Ilium's high visibility and improved fortunes in the early Empire contribute an additional layer of meaning to contemporaneous depictions of Troy: viewers of the Troy panels know that Augustus will return to the site Aeneas leaves; Lucan's readers may contemplate that, for better or worse, Augustus and his successors accomplished the rebuilding and appropriation of Troy that Caesar vows at the conclusion of the scene with the words, "a Roman Troy will rise!"[94]

[85] Erskine 2001: 240 242; Rose 2003: 43 45.

[86] Strabo 13.1.27; Livy, *Per*. 83 (*expugnavit ac delevit*).

[87] 18L, the Roman Chronicle: Φιμβρίας . . . Ἴλιον ἐξεπολιόρκησεν (*IG* XIV.1297, col. 1, lines 16 17).

[88] Wick (2004: 401) suggests that the attack of Fimbria is irrelevant because Sulla had restored the city decades before Caesar's imagined visit. But Sulla's intervention left no trace in the archaeological record (Rose 2002: 38) and is mentioned vaguely in only two sources that need not imply any rebuilding was involved (Strabo 13.1.27; Orosius, *Pag*. 6.2.11; cf. Erskine 2001: 242). Far more important is the popular perception that Ilium's destruction by Fimbria was complete.

[89] Erskine 2001: 245 253; Rose 2002: 38 44.

[90] Strabo 13.1.30.

[91] Rose 2002: 38 (with bibliography).

[92] Sage 2000: 213 214; Rose 2002: 39.

[93] Inscriptions: Sage 2000: 213 214; Rose 2002: 38 40. Architrave of Athena Ilias (where Augustus is apparently honored for some benefaction connected to the temple): Rose 2003: 44 45, 65 66.

[94] *Romanaque Pergama surgent* (Lucan, *BC* 9.999).

Taken together, the passages from Vergil, Ovid, and Lucan illustrate the process of reading out Troy's story from its landscape. A geographical organization, as Genette saw, frees the story from temporal constraint by grouping events in spatially determined sequences that are potentially achronous, leaving temporal or causal connections unspecified. But for a Roman audience, such an organization also recalls the chorographic map, and the themes of appropriation associated with displaying representations of a foreign land: the territory of Troy throws open any story told within its matrix to the history of later Roman interventions at the site, interventions that exist in an implicit counterpoint to the epic past with which they share a common landscape.

Viewing and reading the Troy panel of the *Tabula Capitolina*

The scenes placed inside and outside the city walls in Theodorus' Troy panels may, like the vignettes of a chorographic map, be viewed in a variety of orders that need not correspond to any temporal sequence. While the texts examined in the previous section necessarily impose on us the one order of viewing Troy chosen by the narrator or his characters, a viewer of the Troy panels is more in the position of the narrator himself, apparently able to move through the city at whim. Yet this freedom is not complete: the central panel's images and the inscriptions accompanying them favor some viewing sequences over others and nudge viewers toward noticing specific chronological relationships between scenes. The panel's organization in fact serves a purpose analogous to that of Caesar's guide, or of Ovid's chieftain who narrates his own map: in the following discussion I will examine the textual and visual signposts that guide us through the terrain of the tablets' Sack of Troy, and consider where they lead. As in the case of the long friezes, the *Tabula Capitolina* will be my focus because its panel is the only one well enough preserved to permit detailed analysis.[95]

But where to begin? The question is not simply rhetorical, for the panel with its map-like format does not explicitly signal a normative starting point in the way that, say, the numbered *Iliad* friezes do; we might reasonably question whether chorographic maps have beginnings and endings at all. I will proceed from top to bottom – from inside Troy to outside – and argue that this is the path the panel encourages us to follow. The panel's two

[95] For a detailed description of the panel, see Appendix 2. VM: 116 145 is the fullest treatment of the iconography of the individual vignettes.

uppermost sections depict first the precinct of the temple of Athena, and below that the palace of Priam. The Trojan Horse itself is in the corner opposite Athena's temple. A nearby label names it the "Wooden Horse" (*Dourēos hippos*), the same text that accompanied the representation of the horse in the procession into Troy that concludes the *Little Iliad* frieze below. Viewers hardly need the label in either case to identify such a recognizable element, but the two identical inscriptions may serve an indexical function. They forge a close link between the final scene of the *Little Iliad* and the ensuing events of the panel, and imply that the horse is an entry point not just for the marauding Greeks but for viewers as well, from which they might begin examining the panorama of Troy's fall.

Among the other vignettes that play out in the upper sections, a few are as easily recognizable as the horse: Ajax dragging Cassandra away from Athena's temple; Priam and Hecuba being attacked within the palace; to the right of the palace, Menelaus threatening Helen with his sword. All three episodes belong to a standard repertoire in ancient art for depicting the fall of Troy.[96] Only Ajax is explicitly named on the tablet, though an inscription identifies the building to the right of Helen and Menelaus, themselves unlabeled, as the temple of Aphrodite (*hieron Aphroditēs*), an ironic backdrop for the fraught reunion of the pair whom the goddess was instrumental in separating. Nonetheless viewers must generally cope without textual aid in interpreting the iconography of these three common scenes, and in picking them out from the figures of Greeks and Trojans that fill the remainder of the temple precinct and palace, and do not require or permit closer identification. By intermingling famous episodes with generic scenes of fighting, this section of the panel approaches the pure achrony observed by Genette in narratives organized by geography: we cannot place the rape of Cassandra, murder of Priam, or recovery of Helen in a timeline of events relative to each other or to the battles that rage around them. (To say that all these events happen simultaneously would be to misunderstand the conventions of chorographic representation: the motivated space of the panel shows us *where* events occurred rather than *when*.) The upper reaches of Theodorus' Troy are thus structured to present a familiar, readily intelligible tableau of the city's capture, which serves as context and narrative baseline for the more iconographically innovative and interpretively challenging material that fills the rest of the panel.

As we scan downward toward the city's walls and gate, inscriptions become more numerous, and with this proliferation of text the landscape

[96] Cf. Anderson 1997: 179 181.

acquires a temporal dimension. The imposing Scaean Gate is a second element that also figured in the final scene of the *Little Iliad* frieze, and like the Trojan Horse it functions for the viewer as another entry point into the story of the panel, a status reinforced by its central position and by the figures it frames. Set off by the arch of the gate, unadorned stretches of city wall to the left and right, and an empty space reserved for an inscription below, Aeneas and his family adopt a posture that originated in the monumental statue group of the same erected by Augustus in his forum: the hero carries his father Anchises on his shoulder and holds his son Ascanius by the hand.[97] In the forum, the representation of Aeneas' flight was isolated as a fixed moment and surrounded by statues of the other illustrious ancestors claimed by the emperor. As we shall see, the Troy panel appropriates the iconography of this urban monument, and embeds it instead in a rich narrative continuum.

To the group adapted from Augustus' monument, the tablet makes a surprising addition:[98] the god Hermes, standing on the right and leading Aeneas and his family away. In ancient art, the only other example of Hermes in this role is from the painted frieze in Pompeii's House of the Cryptoportico, but that scene depicted Aeneas and Anchises according to a much older iconographic model (with the father perched on his son's back).[99] Our tablet integrates Hermes so closely with the forum group that he becomes a pendant to Ascanius on the other side of Aeneas, and just as prominent. As the divine guide *par excellence*, Hermes lends the group a forward momentum and helps convey that Aeneas and family are progressing to the next stage of their story. It is also worth noting that, to the best of our knowledge, Hermes' only other appearance on the *Capitolina* happens at the conclusion of the *Iliad* in book 24, where he attends Priam at the tent of Achilles. The god's dual role, in the center of the tablet and at its upper right corner, highlights that while Homer's story is ending, Aeneas' is moving ahead.

Another scene in the vicinity of Troy's walls fills in the events that lead up to Aeneas' flight. To the left of the Scaean Gate and just within the walls, Aeaneas participates in the exchange of the casket containing the Penates, Troy's ancestral gods[100] – the same casket that Anchises, now

[97] For Augustus' forum see *LTUR* II.289 295 s.v. Forum Augustum (V. Kockel) and Spannagel 1999. On the link between the *Tabulae* and the statue group, see Spannagel 1999: 90 131 (fundamental); VM: 131, 306 307; and the Introduction.

[98] Traces above Ascanius have been taken to represent yet another figure involved in the scene, Aeneas' wife, but the identification is uncertain (see VM: 132 133 for the debate).

[99] See Sp A: 955 956; Horsfall 1979: 41 42; VM: 132.

[100] See Appendix 2 for a discussion of the scene.

perched atop Aeneas' shoulder, holds in the vignette just considered. Aeneas is labeled in both appearances: the repeated text clinches that the two scenes portray a temporal progression and that Aeneas is the sequence's principal character. In thus linking the group from Augustus' forum with its narrative antecedents and consequences, the tablets partake of a tendency in early imperial art to narrativize iconographic schemes made popular in public monuments, that is, to show what happened before and after the moment chosen for an official commission.[101] The transfer of Augustus' statue group to Theodorus' Troy panels may reciprocally affect the reception of both artworks: the tablets install at the center of Troy a contemporary image sure to catch the viewer's attention and evoke recent appropriations of the Aeneas story; the panorama of the falling city in turn legitimates the group in Augustus' forum by returning it to its putative place of origin and surrounding it with canonical episodes from Troy's final moments.

Three figures just to the right of the Scaean Gate, but still within Troy's walls, offer a reflection on the thematic importance of Aeneas' flight. Aethra, mother of Theseus and handmaid of Helen, is being rescued by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas (Aethra and Demophon are labeled). There is no way to place this event in time relative to Aeneas' two scenes, but the juxtaposition eloquently implies a paradigmatic connection: the panel is inviting us to compare Trojan and Greek paragons of filial piety, Aeneas' characteristic virtue. Yet a pendant scene to the left of the Scaean Gate, a figure with a sword advancing on another who has fallen, is a generic grouping, and serves simply to show that the fighting continues nearby as Aeneas departs. We see here the flexibility and potential complexity of the chorographic mode of presentation, which asks viewers to evaluate a variety of possible relationships – sequential, symbolic, or merely local – between vignettes. From the largely achronous narrative of Troy's interior, Aeneas emerges as the hero and clear focus of interest because he is the only character to move through time.

Outside Troy there are no more generic scenes of battle and few unlabeled characters; as we shall see, narrative achrony here gives way to a dense array of repeated characters and overlapping chronologies. The tombs of Hector and Achilles on the left and right, respectively, are surrounded by captured Trojans and victorious Greeks, a stage of action subsequent to the Sack of Troy itself. The city walls thus articulate a temporal as well as a physical boundary, and time moves forward along with Aeneas as he flees through the gate and out into the surrounding coastal plain. (Lucan

[101] For this tendency see Kuttner 1995: 204 206.

employed the same articulation in reverse, for Caesar's experience of the epic past moved forward in time as he entered the city and approached its center.) Within this broad temporal movement there are a number of subsidiary chronologies: several of the characters around the tombs appear twice (always labeled in both appearances), and each repetition generates a sequence like the one within Troy featuring Aeneas. A crucial difference, however, is that the majority of these scenes are iconographically rare or unique, and the stories that they tell unclear, so that we seem deliberately invited to consider alternate plotlines, diverse interpretations. The two graves offer a primer in how to infer the consequences of the war and the fates of its participants from oblique indications.

I begin with two straightforward examples of the kinds of demands this part of the Troy panel makes on its viewers. The panel represents the murder of Polyxena explicitly, in two stages: at left where the two visible sides of Hector's tomb meet in a corner, Hecuba clutches her daughter protectively (the scene may be unique),[102] but at Achilles' grave Neoptolemus is about to plunge his sword into her throat, a sequence that joins both halves of the register. The death of Astyanax, by contrast, is present only by implication. On the shorter side of Hector's tomb Andromache holds her son in her lap,[103] while on the longer one to the right she is alone with her face enfolded in her hands. The murder of her child is the missing connection, whose suppression forces the viewer to engage closely with the illustrations in order to bridge the gap.

Other sequences seem calculated to thwart any definitive resolution of what story is being told. The Trojan prince Helenus, a son of Priam endowed with the gift of prophecy, appears on both sides of Hector's tomb, facing his twin sister Cassandra at the left but in conversation with Odysseus on the right. The latter scene is unknown in other artistic representations,[104] and the only version of the encounter mentioned by our literary sources takes place before the fall of Troy altogether: Helenus is captured by Odysseus and prophesies that Philoctetes and his bow must be retrieved before the city can be taken.[105] To account for the inclusion of this encounter among events

[102] Cf. *LIMC* VII.432 s.v. "Polyxene" (Touchefeu Meynier), VM: 139 140.

[103] So Mancuso 1909: 717; Sadurska: 29. VM: 136 suggests that the relief is too damaged here for us to be sure whether Astyanax is actually depicted, or simply a product of the viewer's imagination ("nur der Phantasie der Betrachter entsprungen"): but there seems clearly to be a shape in Andromache's lap, and it is indeed hard to imagine any other way of interpreting it. (For further discussion and bibliography see VM: 136 138.)

[104] According to Pausanias (5.22.2), a group of statues in Olympia paired Helenus and Odysseus because of their reputation for wisdom, clearly not the localized scene we are dealing with here.

[105] Gantz (1993: 635 638) offers an overview of the different versions of the story.

following Troy's capture, we must either allow for greater temporal incoherency than we have seen so far on the *Tabula*, or else assign to the vignette a symbolic value. Perhaps the scene is a kind of flashback meant to recall the causes of the fall of Troy; perhaps Helenus is introduced here as a witness to the atrocities that result from his prophecy.[106]

Both interpretations may find support in Helenus' other appearance, where he sits near his sister with his head hunched forward and one leg drawn up in his hands. His lack of activity here does not suggest an immediate connection to the meeting with Odysseus, but Helenus does appear to have been featured in a similar attitude on the famous painting of the Sack of Troy by Polygnotus, the only artistic representation of him we know of that is comparable to the *Capitolina* scene.[107] We owe our knowledge of the painting to Pausanias, who describes how he was able to recognize Helenus:[108]

> κάθηται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλένην πορφυροῦν ἀνὴρ ἀμπεχόμενος ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα κατηφής· Ἕλενον εἶναι τεκμήραιο ἂν τὸν Πριάμου καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιλέξασθαι.
>
> Above Helen sits a man wrapped in a dark mantle and greatly downcast: you would guess that he is Helenus, Priam's son, even before reading the inscription.

For Pausanias, Helenus' dejection renders him instantly identifiable. If this dejection is likewise the figure's salient characteristic in the scene on the left side of Hector's tomb, then we might treat his two appearances as together making explicit what Polygnotus only implies: we see Helenus not only in the grips of sorrow, but also in a conversation resembling the one that he regrets so bitterly, a sequence that gives us insight into his psychology. It may also be relevant that Helenus is close to Andromache on both sides of the tomb: we may recall the tradition according to which both he and Andromache leave Troy with Neoptolemus, and later marry. First attested in Euripides' *Andromache*,[109] this marriage would be familiar to a Roman audience especially because of the elaborate episode featuring the couple in the third book of the *Aeneid*.[110] Unlike the sequences involving Astyanax and Polyxena, then, the two Helenus vignettes do not so much relay familiar stories from the Sack

[106] The latter suggestion is Jahn's (J M: 36). Other suggestions at VM: 139.

[107] See *LIMC Suppl.* 613 614 s.v. "Helenos" (Icard Gianolio). VM: 139 mentions Polygnotus' image but considers it unhelpful in interpreting our tablet.

[108] 10.25.5. [109] *Andr.* 1243 1245. Cf. Gantz 1993: 692.

[110] *Aen.* 3.294 505. For the likelihood that the tablets postdate publication of the *Aeneid* (*c.* 19 BCE), see the Introduction.

of Troy as give us a kind of character portrait, one that draws attention to significant events leading up to and following the final battle.

A similarly drawn out process of interpretation is required to explain the connection between Odysseus' two appearances in the plain outside Troy, first conversing with Helenus near Hector's monument but then witnessing the sacrifice of Polyxena at the grave of Achilles. Polyxena appears at both tombs as well, and we might conjecture that Odysseus' mission on the left is to retrieve Polyxena from her mother, despite the fact that there he is shown engaged with Helenus.[111] One of the only literary sources to attribute such a role to him is Euripides' *Hecuba*, which adds the detail that he was the one who convinced the Greek host to sacrifice Polyxena in the first place[112]; visual sources do not include him in the scene of sacrifice.[113] If we thus bring Odysseus into contact with Hecuba and Polyxena at the other end of Hector's tomb, then we can hardly avoid considering his connection with the figure of Andromache, who huddles in the middle of the tomb's long side between Hecuba and Helenus. In several accounts Odysseus is also responsible for hurling Astyanax from the walls of Troy,[114] so that his proximity to a grieving Andromache may also have significant and disturbing implications. Everywhere we turn in this section of the panel, new stories present themselves.

To the left of Hector's tomb stands the Greek herald Talthybius, a pendant to the figure of Odysseus who is involved in a similarly wide variety of relationships. With the exception of our panel, artistic representations of Talthybius are silent about his involvement in the aftermath of the Trojan War.[115] Among literary sources it is again Euripides who most develops the herald's role in the events following the sack: in his *Trojan Women*, Talthybius leads Cassandra away from Hecuba, and takes Astyanax from Andromache.[116] All three women are shown nearby: we have discussed how Andromache's two appearances allude to the loss of Astyanax; as Valenzuela Montenegro suggests,[117] the image may also allude to the departure of Cassandra because she is the only figure on the shorter side of Hector's tomb who is not depicted a second time on the longer side.

[111] For this interpretation see Mancuso 1909: 717; (tentatively) VM: 139.

[112] *Hec.* 130 143, 218 223. The other source is Dictys Cretensis 5.13 (cf. *RE* XLII.1842 s.v. "Polyxena" [Wüst]).

[113] On an amphora of the fifth century BCE, Odysseus and Neoptolemus lead Polyxena away: see *LIMC* IV.479 number 57 s.v. "Hekabe" (Laurens).

[114] See Burgess 2001: 21 22. Other sources make Neoptolemus the murderer.

[115] *LIMC* VII.837 839 s.v. "Talthybios" (Touchefeu Meynier), VM: 136.

[116] *Tr.* 408 423, 709 789. [117] VM: 138.

The inscription to the left of Talthybius reads "Talthybius and the Trojan women," *Talthubios kai Trōiades*, an oddly imprecise label given that a Trojan *man*, Helenus, is also depicted nearby.[118] Could "Trojan women" be a reminiscence of the title of Euripides' play? Such an allusion would be consistent with the figures in this section, who all seem to recall the plays of Euripides as often as they do the stories of the Epic Cycle.[119] The covert citation would flatter the intelligence of any viewer shrewd enough to notice it. Be that as it may, the tomb of Hector is a feat of compression within an already compressed artwork: the static figures who throng both its sides, like elements of a frieze carved into the walls of the monument, evoke varied traditions of the war's aftermath. The identical postures of Talthybius and Odysseus at either end of the tomb frame the stories implied there with two characters who have a part to play in each.

Though far less intricate, the scene at Achilles' grave-stele also presents the viewer with interpretive challenges. The slaying of Polyxena by Neoptolemus is easy to make out, but why are Odysseus and Calchas the seer shown on the right of the stele as spectators? Neither has this role in other visual representations,[120] and Odysseus' pensive attitude, head rested on his right hand, makes it hard to tell how we should understand his involvement here.[121] Perhaps their presence implies a narrative function: Odysseus may have just delivered Polyxena after retrieving her from Hector's tomb; in some later sources, it is Calchas who advises the Greeks that she must be sacrificed before they can set sail from Troy.[122] Or perhaps both are fitting witnesses to this prelude to the Greeks' departure, Calchas as the prophet who predicted the duration of the war at its inception, Odysseus as mastermind of the strategems that enabled Troy's capture.[123] It is less important to choose among these possibilities than to recognize the contrast with Troy's interior: the vignettes that fill the city are easy to identify and discrete, but outside, unfamiliar iconography and repetitions of intimately related characters conspire to produce a tangle of overlapping sequences.

[118] Contrast the caption for the procession in the *Little Iliad* frieze, which specifies that "Trojan women *and* Phrygian men" (*Trōiades kai Phruges*) are involved in leading up the Trojan Horse. VM: 136 suggests the point is to exclude any direct connection between Talthybius and Helenus.

[119] For a similar suggestion see VM: 140.

[120] For the sources on Odysseus and Polyxena see above; for Calchas see *LIMC* V.931 935 s.v. Kalchas (Saladino), VM: 141 142.

[121] Cf. the description at *LIMC* VII.1.431 n.33 s.v. "Polyxene" (Touchfeu Maynier): "Ulysse dans une attitude pensive qui cadre mal avec la scène." VM: 141 notes that this is a typical attitude for Odysseus in ancient art.

[122] Seneca, *Troades* 360 370; Servius on *Aeneid* 3.321; Dares Phrygius 43. Cf. VM: 141.

[123] For this suggestion see J M: 37.

The panel is stimulating viewers to consider the more distant antecedents and consequences of Troy's fall as they follow Aeneas out the gate and approach the climactic scene at the lower right.

Aeneas' final scene at the bottom of the panel is accompanied by the most texts of any scene on the entire piece: double captions to the left and right of the ship speak with particular emphasis first of "Aeneas together with his comrades departing for Hesperia," and then, just above the prow, "the departure of Aeneas."[124] The scene is truly final because it concludes both the left-to-right movement of the two vignettes involving Aeneas at the city walls, and the temporal progression downward from Troy's sack to its denouement in the terrain outside. The panel's two temporal axes converge in the lower right-hand corner and thereby introduce into the chorographic representation something like an ending. It is an ending *in medias res*: Aeneas' ship points toward regions that we cannot see, and as in the Andromache sequence above, we supply what is missing, the Land of the West and Aeneas' adventures there.

Conclusions

The departure scene is emblematic of how Theodorus employs the two narrative modes at his disposal to manage the degree of participation required of the viewer in different sections of the tablets: the central panel demands that the viewer take the initiative to assemble the story and infer what is missing; the surrounding friezes tell a story that is already complete without the viewer's help. The *Iliad* friezes place each scene in a strict sequence, like the words of a text, and indeed everything about the presentation signals its derivation from text: the book divisions that articulate the narrative and guarantee its comprehensiveness; the treatment of space that allows reading from left to right; even the pairing of the Iliadic illustrations with the summaries inscribed on pilasters. This part of the story asks for little contribution from the viewer, a mode of narrative that accords well with Theodorus' *taxis* and its tendency to relegate the friezes to a status of literally marginal importance.

By contrast, the Troy panels draw us in, their bird's-eye view of the city receding from the flat frontality of the surrounding friezes as if we were looking through a window into a landscape. In the center, the image of Aeneas and his family in flight imports a contemporary urban monument

[124] Αἰνήας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαί[ρ]ων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν; ἀπόπλους Αἰνήου.

into the epic past, and at the same time brings this past into contact with the viewer's present in which Augustus and his successors were returning to Troy and leaving their mark there. This landscape no longer offers any simple correspondence between *fabula* and *sjuzhet*: rather, the viewer must piece together the stories scattered over the terrain. Because viewers are so closely involved in forming these stories they may experience them as a personal creation, the product of their own interpretive activity rather than the artist's construct. Theodorus in fact exploits this possibility with the figures clustered around the two tombs where, as we saw, there actually is scope for differing, individual interpretations.

Yet Theodorus keeps the range of possible interpretations carefully under control even as he gives viewers the freedom to range over Troy's cityscape. Because he chooses which episodes each locale evokes, he can manipulate the Sack of Troy much more easily than he could the books of the *Iliad*, in which the narrative divisions were predetermined. As a result, the places where Aeneas escapes Troy and from which he sets sail become landmarks on a par with the altar of Priam and tomb of Hector: the chorographic mode of presentation lends each vignette the verisimilitude of being located on a map. Viewers of this map internalize Theodorus' novel points of emphasis and become complicit in constructing his tendentious version of the story. Their own experience of Troy's geography seems to sanction the idea that Aeneas is hero of Troy's final moments, and his departure the conclusion toward which the entire Cycle was tending.

5 | Findspots, display contexts, and the Roman public library
(Narrative pragmatics 1)

Up to this point we have studied the visual organization and narrative structures of the *Tabulae*, and the role of viewers in processing their dense array of images and texts. We have explored the background and associations of the storytelling techniques of the tablets, and have tried to reconstruct the various cultural competencies that the tablets draw upon in order to make their stories comprehensible and persuasive to a Roman audience. Yet viewers did not approach the narratives of the *Tabulae* in a vacuum. They necessarily interacted with the tablets as objects displayed in specific locations. Their experience of the content of the tablets must have been shaped not just by the immediate physical context but also by the broader context of Rome itself, around which their findspots are concentrated, and whose monuments their reliefs evoke through the quotation of the Aeneas group in Augustus' forum, and also in other ways to be discussed below. The particular motivations that viewers had for examining the tablets in the first place are also important to consider. Accordingly, in the final two chapters we widen our view to take in, as much as possible, the extra-narrative elements that may have affected the significance of the tablets for their viewers.

In essence I am proposing to study here the narrative pragmatics of the *Tabulae*, that is, to consider their carved stories as acts of communication that take place under specific conditions and that are instantiated by viewers who have their own expectations and agenda.[1] This issue of pragmatics may be resolved into two broad sets of questions that will be the subject of this chapter and the next. We are interested in what connections the tablets had to their immediate surroundings and to the urban milieu of early imperial Rome: Where did their owners display them? What aspects of their viewers' experience with the urban environment do the tablets activate and draw upon? And perhaps most importantly, how do these factors affect the reception of the tablets? Because the tablets are small and often carved on front and back, a viewer would need to get very close to them and have access to both sides in order to examine their content in detail. These two constraints, I will argue, impose significant limitations on the ways in which

[1] On narrative pragmatics see the helpful introduction of Mey 2005.

the tablets could have been used, and prompt a second set of questions: In what ways could the tablets have been displayed? What can these possible display mechanisms tell us about how viewers must have interacted with the plaques, and the extra-narrative purposes that the *Tabulae* might reasonably have served for their owners and their audience?

Questions of pragmatics might seem to belong at the opening of any study of the *Tabulae*: when viewers first approached the tablets, after all, they would have been aware of the tablets' environment, of how they were displayed and how one could interact with them, before even beginning to navigate the narrative material that we analyzed in previous chapters. Display context and the viewers' own purposes obviously affect the interpretive process from its very inception. Indeed, Sadurska seems to structure her monograph in recognition of this fact when she places a discussion of the possible uses of the tablets at its head and only afterwards turns to a detailed examination of the individual objects.[2]

I would argue, however, that the nature of our evidence requires us to postpone a consideration of narrative pragmatics to the end, as I have done here.[3] The only one of the *Tabulae* that comes from a scientifically excavated context is 23Ky, whose pertinence to the class is uncertain.[4] For most we have no information about provenance beyond vague indications that they were found in Rome or close by.[5] With no independent sources from which to draw data about how the tablets were displayed or used, we must fall back on inferring the answers to such questions from features of the tablets themselves. There is a danger of circularity here. Clearly, our estimation of the external context and uses of the tablets should influence our interpretation of their content, but if our estimation is itself derived from this content, then we run the risk of falling into a kind of positive feedback loop, where *a priori* assumptions about the putative didactic or mnemonic functions of the plaques cause us to infer a particular context and audience; this inference in turn colors our interpretation of individual details in ways that reinforce our initial assumptions, and so on. I have tried to show in earlier chapters that the subtlety and complexity of the stories carved on the tablets may easily be obscured by hasty assumptions about the purpose for

[2] Sadurska: 17 20.

[3] VM: (402 412) also reserves the treatment of display context and use to the end of her monograph.

[4] See Gasparri 2009 and the Introduction.

[5] 8E, the *Tabula of Zenodotus*, was purchased in Lyon in 1844 from an antiquarian who implausibly claimed it had been found in the south of France (Sadurska: 52); 13Ta, the *Tabula Tarentina*, was said by its former owner to have been uncovered in Tarentum (Sadurska: 67). Sadurska deems both data points "très incertaine" (13), as does Horsfall 1983: 147, Salimbene 2002: 15 17, 27.

which they were intended. Here I propose instead to build on the preceding analysis, and to use the detailed understanding of the different elements of the texts and reliefs, and how they work together, that we gained in earlier chapters in order to draw more soundly based inferences about the pragmatics of the reception of the tablets.

This chapter focuses on display context, both immediate context and the broader one of Augustan Rome. I begin with the meager evidence for where the tablets were found, and then set out a new method for using the unique constellation of elements that they feature to tell us more about their possible display venues, and the urban environments that their reliefs and texts may have been designed to evoke. The next chapter pursues the closely related questions of how the *Tabulae* were displayed and what purposes they may have served.

Findspots

Although specific information on provenance is lacking for most of the *Tabulae*, the record is not a complete blank. For three tablets we have more detailed accounts of the circumstances of their discovery that are relevant to the question of display context.[6] The *Tabula Thierry* (7Ti) was found in 1860 near the temple to Hercules Victor in Tivoli by the French architect Ch. A. Thierry, who worked on the restoration of that temple from about 1859 to 1863.[7] By virtue of the findspot some have supposed that 7Ti played a role in the cult of the temple,[8] but in fact its precise connection to the temple's site is unclear, and it might just as easily have come from one of the several villas surrounding the temple's precinct.[9]

Somewhat more illuminating are the origins of the *Tabula Chigi* (17M), which features two female figures, personifications of Europe and Asia, holding aloft a shield that depicts Alexander's victory against Darius at Gaugamela. The tablet came to light during Sigismondo Chigi's excavation of a seaside Roman villa at the site of Porcigliano (Castel Porziano), in 1777–1778.[10] The villa is located near the ancient city of Laurentum, about fifteen

[6] The tablet recently excavated at Cumae, 23Ky, comes from a layer of modern fill and thus contributes no new information on this question (Gasparri 2009: 255).

[7] Sadurska: 51. [8] E.g., Sadurska (13). [9] Salimbene 2002: 29.

[10] The earliest sources show a minor disagreement about the year. In the first full publication, Visconti (1810: 777) dated the find to 1780. But inventories from the site reveal that there were two campaigns of excavation, one in 1777 1778 and one in 1779 1780, and that the tablet was uncovered during the first one (see Pietrangeli 1958: 127). Further details at Petrain 2012: 600 n. 4.

miles southwest of Rome at the end of the Via Laurentina.[11] This site yielded an abundance of columns and colored marbles, as well as fragments of statues representing members of the imperial household (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Philip the Arab), and more literary figures such as the Muses, a seated poet, and perhaps even Homer.[12] Such a collection of finds that connote both literary themes and an interest in the emperor is certainly an intriguing backdrop for the *Tabula Chigi*, and might tend to reinforce the idea that the *Tabulae* as a group are concerned with manipulating Greek culture for ideological, perhaps dynastic ends.[13]

By a fortunate coincidence, the tablet about whose origins we have the most information is the *Capitolina* itself.[14] In his 1683 monograph on the column of Trajan, R. Fabretti also offers the first published description of the *Capitolina* and tells us that the tablet was found "not many years ago" (*non multis ab hinc annis*, 316) by the canon Arcangelo Spagna, who afterwards "spared no effort to recover its missing portion, but the labor of several workmen and his own solicitude were of no avail" (ibid.).[15] Fabretti says the discovery was made near the ancient city of Bovillae (*apud Bovillas*, 383) in the same place as where two other objects came to light, the so-called Apotheosis of Homer relief by Archelaos of Priene (now in the British Museum) and a bust of the deified emperor Claudius (now lost, though its base is still preserved in Madrid).[16] From contemporary documents we know that both these monuments, and therefore the *Capitolina*, come from a site known as Tor Ser Paolo, a prominence about ten miles southeast of Rome along the Via Appia that held the remains of an ancient villa.[17] Tor Ser Paolo lies on the opposite side of the Via Appia from Bovillae, in the suburbs outside the ancient city, but it has sometimes been confused with the city itself.[18]

[11] Not six miles from Rome, *pace* Sadurska: 74 (E. Q. Visconti, her source, had written that the site was six *leagues*, "six lieues," from the city). For bibliography on the villa see Salimbene 2002: 29 n. 37.

[12] Cf. the full list of sculptural finds at Neudecker 1988: 237 240.

[13] For further discussion of the Chigi tablet, see Petrain 2012: 600 614 (with bibliography).

[14] As VM notes (26), the earlier monographs offer only a compressed and unclear account of where and how the *Capitolina* was found (J M: 2, Sadurska: 24), but VM's own discussion (26 27) misses some evidence and registers uncertainties where there are none. What follows is, I believe, the fullest account of the origins of the *Capitolina* currently available.

[15] *nec diligentiae pepercit, quo parte deficiente potiretur; sed nequidquam labor plurium operarum, eiusque solicitudo cessit*. See Herczog 1993 and Lundgren for the biography of Spagna (not "de Spagna," *pace* J M: 2 and Sadurska: 24); he is best known for his treatises on the sacred oratorio.

[16] On the discovery and subsequent fortunes of both these objects see Granino Cecere 1995: 377 380.

[17] Carinci 1990: 21 22 sets out the relevant archival documents, which designate the site by the name "Re Pavolo" (on the variants of its name, see Del Lungo 1996: 208, s.v. Tor Ser Paolo).

[18] See the map at De Rossi 1979 (after page 396) for Bovillae (304 on the map) and Tor Ser Paolo (432).

The circumstances surrounding Spagna's discovery are peculiar: he stumbled on the *Capitolina* apparently by chance where it lay in the dirt – while he was out hunting, according to Winckelmann[19] – yet as we just saw, he had ready access to a team of laborers (*labor plurium operarum*) to help search for the missing piece. Another oddity is that the *Capitolina* does not figure in the most extensive description of seventeenth-century excavations at Tor Ser Paolo, written by a contemporary observer, P. S. Bartoli (1635–1700).[20] Bartoli notes that the Archelaos relief and bust of Claudius were unearthed there in excavations sponsored by the Colonna family around 1645.[21] Many years later ("dopo molti anni," Bartoli writes), Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679) reopened excavations at the site and uncovered several structures, but was stopped soon after because of unspecified "differences" with the Colonna ("per alcune differenze"). Doubtless the dispute had to do with the fact that both the Barberini and the Colonna controlled territories near Tor Ser Paolo during the relevant period and thus had rival claims on jurisdiction over the ruins there.[22] It has been suggested that Spagna's chance find of the *Capitolina* was what first piqued the Colonna family's interest in the site and set off the series of competing digs.[23] Spagna was born around 1632, however, probably too young to be out roaming the Roman countryside with his band of laborers a little over a decade later, prior to the first Colonna excavation of 1645. At what point in Bartoli's sequence did he come upon the tablet, then, and why was he at Tor Ser Paolo in the first place?

The missing piece in this puzzle is Spagna's own relationship with the Barberini family. From 1655 to 1679, he served as Francesco Barberini's house chaplain.[24] Presumably it was thanks to this connection, and to the cardinal's position as titular abbot of nearby Grottaferrata,[25] that Spagna came to Tor Ser Paolo with workmen at his disposal. As a man of letters "no less outstanding in genius than in erudition" (so Fabretti's description, 316),[26] Spagna was qualified to handle any objects he came across, and he would have communicated his discovery to his employer and patron, who might then have opened the excavation that caused him to run afoul of the Colonna. Does the story of Spagna's serendipitous hunting trip owe its

[19] Winckelmann 1776: book 9, chapter 2, section 35.

[20] Bartoli 1741: 351 352. (Most of the text is reprinted at Granino Cecere 1995: 377 379.)

[21] For the date see Carinci 1990: 21 22.

[22] For the rival claims see Tomassetti 1979: 250; Carinci 1990: 22, 46 n. 120.

[23] Ashby 1910: 283. [24] Herczog 1993: xix.

[25] On the appointment to Grottaferrata, see Tomassetti 1979: 297.

[26] *ingenio non minus, quam eruditione praestans*. On Spagna's intellectual pursuits and association with literary academies in Rome, see Herczog 1993: xxi.

origins to an attempt to mask a possibly illicit search for antiquities at the site? Be that as it may, documents show that Cardinal Barberini formally ceded Tor Ser Paolo to the Colonna in 1671[27] – a possible *terminus ante quem*, therefore, for his and Spagna's activity there. Spagna's connection with the Barberini may help account for why the *Capitolina*, apparently alone of all the objects found at Tor Ser Paolo, did not become part of the Colonna family's collection.

The fraught history of our tablet's passage into the modern world illustrates well the congeries of chance finds and opportunistic excavations that constitute our main evidence for its ancient context. In fact both of the tablet's topographical connections, with Tor Ser Paolo and with the nearby city of Bovillae, shed some light, albeit obliquely, on the cultural milieu to which it once belonged. Let us take them one at a time, beginning with Bovillae.[28] In the early imperial period the city received a great deal of attention from the Julio-Claudians. Three of its main structures, a circus, a theater, and a large tomb, were constructed in the Augustan age,[29] possible evidence for a building program that involved shifting the site of Bovillae closer to Rome and creating for it a new, monumental urban center.[30] After Augustus' death in 14 CE, his body was borne from Nola to Bovillae before being conducted back to Rome,[31] and two years later Tiberius established there a *sacrarium* dedicated to the Julian family, setting up a statue of Augustus besides.[32] The shrine, which has not been definitively located, may have served as headquarters for the *sodales Augustales*, an elite company of priests drawn by lot from the highest echelons of society that was likewise established by Tiberius in honor of Augustus after his death, and probably based at Bovillae, to judge from the fragmentary inscriptions pertaining to the company that have been found there.[33] Tiberius' promotion of his adoptive father and family seems to find its echo in the way the *Capitolina* celebrates Aeneas, the founding hero of the Julian *gens*, and several earlier studies tried to cement this connection topographically by supposing that the tablet was actually discovered in the ruins of the Bovillan *sacrarium*.[34]

[27] Tomassetti 1979: 250.

[28] For the literary and archeological evidence pertaining to Bovillae see De Rossi 1979: 298 323; Granino Cecere 1991.

[29] De Rossi 1979: 307, 317 318.

[30] On the shift in the city's position, see De Rossi 1979: 303 304 (with figure 503); Granino Cecere 1991: 241 n. 4, 256 257.

[31] Suetonius, *Aug.* 100. [32] Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.41.

[33] For the new priesthood, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.54; for the inscriptions, Degrassi 1947: 311 315.

[34] For the history of this mistaken notion, see Horsfall 1979: 32.

Though the plaque's provenance from Tor Ser Paolo excludes any direct link with the urban shrine, there are nonetheless undeniable points of contact between the content of its reliefs and the religious traditions of the city. Even before Tiberius' foundation, Bovillae was a center of cultic activity on the part of the Julians by virtue of its association with Alba Longa, the fabled city believed to have been founded by the Julians' eponym Iulus and destroyed in the seventh century BCE.[35] Bovillae derived its very name, sources tell us, from an incident in which a bull (*bos*) already consecrated for sacrifice on the nearby Alban Mount fled and was recaptured there;[36] in the historical period, the Julians still conducted their family's private festivals in the city.[37] With the ascendancy of the Julio-Claudian emperors Bovillae was evidently at pains to advertise its Alban lineage: several inscriptions of the imperial age designate its citizens with the cumbersome title *Albani Longani Bovillenses*,[38] as if to leave no doubt that they were the heirs to the rites and traditions of the city founded by Iulus. An altar with an arresting inscription that was discovered there around 1826 may represent an additional attempt at civic self-presentation. The altar probably dates to the latter half of the second century BCE and names, with archaic orthography, a group of members of the Julian family (*genteiles Iuliei*) who dedicate it to father Vediovis "according to the Alban law" (*leege Albana dicata*).[39] Though carved at least a century earlier, the altar was found surrounded by walls and set into a pavement of large stones outside the theater that the city received in the Augustan period; the altar's uninscribed lower half seemed to have been fashioned from a different, more recent stone, and excavators judged it to be an ancient restoration.[40] Perhaps the city had sought to preserve, even monumentalize, an old epigraphic record of the Julians' activity at the site. The city's ties to the mythic ancestry of the Julians, long-standing but newly salient with the establishment of Tiberius' shrine and priesthood, might well have influenced the proprietor of the nearby villa at Tor Ser Paolo to display an object like the *Tabula Capitolina* that portrayed the history of Aeneas and his family.

The villa itself has undergone over the centuries a chequered history of excavations that have effectively effaced most physical traces of the

[35] On this association see Alföldi 1965: 241; Weinstock 1971: 5 7; Farney 2007: 54 58.

[36] Schol. *ad* Persius 6.55; Nonius 122 M s.v. *hillas* (cf. Weinstock 1971: 6).

[37] Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.23; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.16.7 (cf. Weinstock 1971: 7).

[38] *CIL* VI.1851; XIV.2405, 2406, 2409, 2411.

[39] *CIL* XIV.2387. For images and bibliography, see Granino Cecere 2005: 192 193 (number 212).

[40] For the altar's findspot and original appearance, see Poletti 1826 (the excavator's account); Doboși 1935: 266 267; Castagnoli 1959: 160. The lower half is no longer extant.

structure, but reports of earlier finds on the site may still give us a sense of the luxurious buildings and decoration once to be found there.[41] In his account of the site already mentioned above, Bartoli notes that antiquities were said to have been recovered there in the time of pope Paul III (1534–1549): we know in fact that under Paul III the legs of the Farnese Hercules were discovered at Frattocchie, a site about a kilometer from both Tor Ser Paolo and ancient Bovillae, and later under the control of the Colonna family.[42] In the next century, as we saw, the Colonna family's excavations at Tor Ser Paolo yielded the Apotheosis of Homer relief and the bust of Claudius, along with a quantity of other statuary and marbles. Despite its interruption by the Colonna, Cardinal Barberini's own brief dig unearthed more of the villa, such as part of a circular building adorned with statuary, and a large courtyard with a mosaic pavement and gutters of peperino. Particularly noteworthy was a group of small, lateral chambers whose walls were lined with thin copper sheets fastened in place by nails of the same material (a sumptuous type of decor now perhaps attested by a unique assemblage of gilded copper sheets with nails and inset gems recovered from the Horti Lamiani in Rome).[43]

The remaining discoveries belong to the nineteenth century. Throughout this period campaigns at Tor Ser Paolo consistently yielded both sculpture and substantial quantities of precious marbles (columns and smaller fragments). Interesting for our purposes is an illicit excavation of 1837, which revealed a square of marble pavement, the *emblema* of a floor mosaic, that probably dates to the early fourth century CE and depicts founding myths of Rome, such as Romulus and Remus with the wolf, the shepherd Faustulus, even the goddess Roma herself.[44] In 1854, numerous bases, columns, and Doric capitals made of peperino were found that suggested the presence of an ample portico[45] – perhaps these belong to the courtyard with peperino gutters uncovered by Cardinal Barberini two centuries earlier?

A handful of inscriptions found at or near Tor Ser Paolo may shed light on the villa's owners. One funerary inscription from the site commemorates a Claudia Prisca and was erected by Eutyches Tryphonianus, who identifies himself as an imperial slave and *dispensator* of the villa Mamurrana.[46] An altar discovered in the same area likewise names a *dispensator* (it is not

[41] For the villa and its antiquities, see De Rossi 1979: 382 387; Granino Cecere 1995 (with important supplements and corrections to De Rossi's discussion).

[42] Cf. Lanciani 1989 2002: II, 199.

[43] "[R]esero ammirazione, che le piccole stanziole laterali erano tutte foderate di lamine sottilissime di rame, inchiodate nel muro della medesima materia" (Bartoli 1741: 352). For the copper sheets from the Horti Lamiani and the hypothesis that they may have adorned a wall, see Cima 1986.

[44] For details, see Granino Cecere 1995: 381 384.

[45] De Rossi 1979: 384; Granino Cecere 1995: 369 370. [46] *CIL* XIV.2431.

specified of what), one Delphus who also identifies himself as an imperial slave and dedicates the altar to Hercules Augustus.[47] To these monuments should probably be added a 1992 find of yet another altar, set up by Hermogenes, *vilicus* of the villa Mamurrana, for Hercules Victor: this object was found along the Via Appia about one and a half kilometers away from Tor Ser Paolo, but the circumstances of its discovery made clear that it was in a secondary deposit and had been moved from its original position.[48] This epigraphic evidence is difficult to interpret because so many villas cluster around the area of Tor Ser Paolo, most of whose identifications are subjects of debate. Granino Cecere has made a convincing case, nonetheless, that our villa should be the villa Mamurrana (property perhaps of the famous Mamurra who served as Caesar's officer and was attacked by Catullus in his poems), and that it will have passed into imperial hands at some point during the reign of the Claudian *gens*, to judge from the name of Claudia Prisca.[49]

Be that as it may, the opulence and sheer quantity of the objects recovered from Tor Ser Paolo more than demonstrate that the *Capitolina* appeared in a wealthy household, presumably as part of a rich and elaborate decorative program. Taken together, the *Capitolina* and the Apotheosis of Homer relief betoken an interest on the part of the villa's owners in literary culture and the origins of Rome, as does, several centuries later, the foundation of Rome *emblema*. Such a preoccupation seems well suited to a villa that may have belonged to the imperial house, and that was at any rate sited so close to Bovillae, heir to Alba Longa and seat of the cult of the Julian *gens*.

The *Tabulae Iliacae* and the ancient library: Points of contact

The trouble with the evidence for the findspots of the tablets is that it only confirms features we might have inferred anyway: the *Tabulae* were luxury products; they advertise a self-consciously literary culture with a pronounced Roman slant. If we want to develop a more detailed account of the contexts to which an object like the *Tabula Capitolina* might have belonged in a sumptuous dwelling like the villa at Tor Ser Paolo, we must turn once again to the content of the tablets themselves.

Though individual parts of their decorative scheme derive from long-standing artistic and literary traditions, the tablets' distinctive juxtaposition

[47] *CIL* XIV.2426. [48] For a description and text, see Granino Cecere 1995: 361 366.
[49] Granino Cecere 1995 (to whose discussion I am indebted for the material in this paragraph).

of miniature carved illustrations with extensive, varied and equally minute inscriptions is unique in ancient art and defines the *Tabulae* as a class. I propose to turn the specificity of this assemblage to our advantage, by asking where in the Roman world one might have found displayed together each of the elements that feature on our tablets. If we can identify a single environment to which the tablets' different types of pictorial and textual decorations – from inscribed epitomes to quasi-cartographic cityscapes – belong individually, then we may reasonably claim this environment as an interpretive background for the plaques. I prefer to speak of pinpointing an "interpretive background" rather than a "display context" for the tablets, simply because an investigation of the sort I propose cannot offer proof of where any one tablet appeared. Rather, we may be able to locate the context with which Roman viewers would have tended to associate the constellation of elements appearing on our *Tabulae*. An awareness of such a unifying backdrop would have primed viewers to perceive the tablets' apparently disparate parts as an organic whole, and may have influenced their interpretation of individual elements besides.

N. M. Kontoleon has already led the way in this sort of analysis, though with a different focus.[50] In the course of a discussion about inscriptions with literary content – a fuzzy category meant to encompass inscribed works of history or myth but not, say, dedicatory or funerary epigrams of more private character[51] – Kontoleon examines a gymnasium of the Hellenistic period on the island of Chios that, he argues, displayed together paintings and inscriptions that offered retellings or summaries of mythological works. He suggests in passing that the *Tabulae* with their surprising variety of juxtaposed reliefs and text carved on a single stone might simply be imitating complex, multimedia decorative programs of a sort that could be found in Hellenistic gymnasia.[52]

In what follows I will adopt a similar approach but argue that, in the context of early imperial Rome, the most salient places in which to look for possible analogues of the decorative scheme of the tablets are not the gymnasia of the Greek world, but the monumental libraries of Rome itself. The Hellenistic age saw the creation of a range of spaces designed both to store and to showcase collections of books, from the elaborate royal libraries in Alexandria and Pergamon to the more modest ones associated with local gymnasia. Romans responded to this fashion and from at least the second century BCE installed in their own homes collections that, as often as not,

[50] Kontoleon 1964. [51] On the genre of "literary inscriptions" see Chaniotis 1988: 3 7.
[52] Kontoleon 1964: 198 199. For a reconsideration of the Chian inscriptions adduced by Kontoleon, see Chaniotis 1988 (esp. 6, 94 99, 227 233) and below.

had been taken as war booty from the Greek east. By the end of the following century, Rome had acquired public libraries to rival those of the Hellenistic dynasts.[53] Though the state of our evidence usually precludes us from inquiring closely into the layout and decoration of any one library, it seems to have been a hallmark of such spaces that they, much like our tablets, combined pictorial and inscribed material into an eye-catching display, one that converted the prestige of famous authors and literary works into an immediately accessible visual experience.

Here then I present points of contact between individual motifs appearing on the *Tabulae*, and decorative elements attested for ancient libraries. It is no novelty to suggest that the *Tabulae* have some affinity with the ancient library, given their strong literary associations: the thesis that they may have been displayed in libraries was mooted as early as 1862 and has been reprised, with varying degrees of confidence, in most studies of the tablets that have appeared since.[54] Yet I ground the connection with libraries in a different way, and for a different purpose. I compare features of the tablets to specific aspects of library decor. Most of the evidence for the latter comes from public libraries and, to anticipate the argument I will make in the next section, I hope to show that the tablets are drawing on a visual language for conveying ideas about literature that was developed in the public libraries created by Augustus and his successors. The tablets evoke these new features of Rome's urban landscape just as they evoke the group of Aeneas and his family from Augustus' forum. Of course their findspots make it clear that the tablets belong not to the public sphere or the public library, but to the well appointed private dwellings where, as P. Zanker has shown, a veritable "cult of learning" held sway, and where almost any room would be a suitable venue for displaying the learned narratives offered by the *Tabulae*.[55] Though a sumptuous villa like the one at Tor Ser Paolo probably did include a private library among its facilities, there is no need to claim that the tablets were confined to such spaces,[56] or to suppose that private libraries were outfitted in the same way as the monumental public ones. My discussion here thus attempts to valorize the long-suspected link between the *Tabulae*

[53] For the oft told and much contested history of the ancient library, the following sources are especially helpful: Strocka 1981; Fedeli 1988; Blanck 1992: 133 214; Dix and Houston 2006; Houston 2008. Hoepfner 2002 devotes chapters to single libraries. Casson 2001 is an accessible popular account.

[54] Reifferscheid 1862: 112 115. Cf. J M: 83 and Horsfall 1979: 34 35; with reservations: Sadurska: 18; Salimbene 2002: 29 31; VM: 405 407.

[55] Zanker 1995: 198 210.

[56] VM (p. 407) makes the same point: display in a private library is merely one possibility among several equally likely ones.

Iliacae and libraries by suggesting that, as the tablets circulated through a variety of spaces, they carried with them the library as a kind of virtual context, the referent of their decorative program.

Let us begin with inscriptions that present literary content.[57] As we have seen, most of the *Tabulae* carry prominent inscribed citations of the titles and authors of the poems they claim to illustrate. One may draw a broad parallel here with ancient libraries, which we generally assume would likewise provide catalogues of their holdings.[58] These catalogues may often have been simple lists on papyrus,[59] but such citations could also be visually noteworthy: in the process of setting up his library at Antium, for instance, Cicero praises the colorful parchment labels prepared for and attached to each papyrus roll.[60] These book labels, in white, red, or green, would have been readily visible and allowed users to determine the contents of any roll while it was still on the shelf.[61]

Thanks to its superior preservation, the *Capitolina* gives us our fullest glimpse into the role that citations played on the tablets, with its list of titles and authors from the Epic Cycle all carefully centered below Aeneas and written in the largest letters used on the entire plaque. The citations inscribed near the upper border of the *Tabula Sarti* (6B), in letters similarly large and well spaced, uniquely attach an additional piece of bibliographic data to the customary titles, namely the number of books each contained: "[*Iliad* and *O*]*dyssey* in 48 rhapsodies."[62] We may mention in this connection the *Tabula Borgia* (10K) as well, another of the *Tabulae Iliacae* that seems to have been inscribed by the same lapicide as the one who worked on the *Tabula Veronensis 2* (9D).[63] The reliefs on the recto of 10K are so poorly preserved as to be indecipherable, but its verso offers, among other inscriptions, a fragmentary catalogue of titles from epic poems, their authors, and the number of lines each comprised.[64]

In the Greek world, similar inscribed citations are associated with libraries. A fragmentary marble stele from Piraeus (late second to early first century BCE) preserves on two contiguous sides a list containing the titles of literary works preceded by the author's name in the genitive: dramatists predominate, but Homer and Demosthenes also appear.[65] The stele would

[57] VM (pp. 409 410) briefly notes that several of the inscriptions on the tablets are connected with books and libraries (*Buchwesen, Bibliothekswesen*). I flesh out the connections here.

[58] Fedeli 1988: 44 45, 54 55. [59] Guarducci 1967 1978: II, 575.

[60] See *Att*. 4.4a.1; 4.5.4; 4.8.2 (with Shackleton Bailey ad locc.), and the discussions at Fedeli 1988: 43; Blanck 1992: 156.

[61] Dorandi 1984: 189 191 collects the literary and material evidence for these labels or *silluboi*.

[62] See Appendix 2 for the full text.

[63] For the lapicide see Sadurska: 14; Horsfall 1990: 96. 9D is described in chapter 3.

[64] On this inscription see McLeod 1985; Petrain 2008. [65] *IG* II/III^3 2363.

have belonged to a library in the area.[66] A slab of local stone found on Rhodes (likewise late second to early first century BCE) carries two columns of inscriptions that transmit, in an alphabetical order that respects only the initial letter, the names of authors in the genitive. Every author is followed by an indented list of his works and the number of books in each of them (cf. the book totals of the *Tabula Sarti*); here rhetorical and philosophical works are in the majority.[67] This stone would have been affixed to a wall somewhere in the library–gymnasium complex that is epigraphically attested on the island.[68] Another inscription from Rhodes preserves official decrees pertaining to this complex, one of which provides for the erection of a series of inscribed stelai in the gymnasium's library (cf. the Piraeus stele just mentioned).[69] Unfortunately the slab bearing this inscription, itself also meant to be affixed to a wall, carries only the right half of the text and leaves unclear what content these inscribed stelai were supposed to contain; possibly the Rhodian book catalogue formed part of the envisioned series.[70]

From Tauromenion in Sicily we have traces of another ambitious program of inscriptions, in this case a painted text (second century BCE) that once covered a long wall probably belonging to the library of the town's gymnasium.[71] The inscription's red letters on a white ground are divided into columns that each begin with an author's name in the nominative. The columns continue with brief descriptions of their respective authors' life and work, and indent all subsequent lines so that the initial one with the author's name acts as a heading. It is noteworthy that one of the six preserved fragments discusses the earliest Roman historian, Fabius Pictor (who wrote in Greek): before it breaks off, the inscription devotes space to Fabius' version of the founding of Rome, mentioning Aeneas, Romulus, and Remus.

The evidence for inscribed citations in ancient libraries comes from disparate regions of the Mediterranean world and survives, of course, by chance, but it demonstrates nonetheless the variety of formats through

[66] For discussion see Guarducci 1967 1978: II, 575 576; Blanck 1992: 149 150.

[67] Platthy (1968) no. T117. See Guarducci 1967 1978: II, 576 577; (for the layout) Casson 2001: 59 60.

[68] For the link to the Rhodian gymnasium see Blanck 1992: 150; for the display mechanism of the stone, Strocka 2000: 157.

[69] *SEG* XXXVII.699. Papachristodoulou 1986, the initial publication, offers only a partial text (see page 270 for the mention of the stelai, lines 38 39 on the stone). See also Papachristodoulou 1990 (no text); Bringmann 2002: 72 73. The full inscription is still not published; I have checked Papachristodoulou's readings against the photo that he includes in both articles.

[70] For this suggestion see Papachristodoulou 1986: 271.

[71] *SEG* XXVI.1123, 47.1464. See Blanck 1992: 150; 1997a; 1997b; Battistoni 2006 (with color photos).

which a conspectus of a library's holdings could be converted into an element of monumental display. Much more than simple catalogues designed to indicate to users the presence of a given volume, these carefully arranged lists surely advertised the prestige and cultural sophistication of the library and its patrons – as well as the generosity of those who had donated the books and financed the inscription.[72] No sure examples survive from Rome's libraries,[73] though the appearance of Fabius Pictor and Rome's foundation myths in the inscription from the library at Tauromenion (an ally of Rome since the Second Punic War) certainly suggests that such libraries, and hence presumably their modes of decoration, were by no means beyond Rome's cultural orbit. Thus the catalogues of epic titles that figure on the *Tabulae* recall in a general way a type of inscription that would have been prominent in libraries; the list of poems from the Epic Cycle on the *Tabula Capitolina* may in particular owe something to this genre of inscription in the way it centers its citations and uses both indentation and opportune line breaks in order to highlight individual titles for maximum legibility and rhetorical effect.

Two *Tabulae* encountered so far carry a different sort of "literary inscription," not citations by title and author, but digests and discussions of the works themselves. On the *Capitolina* (1A) and the *Tabula of Zenodotus* (8E), the pilasters bordering the Sack of Troy scene are covered with minute Greek script and transmit, respectively, a summary of the *Iliad* and a treatise on the chronology of the poem that incorporates a list of its major events. To these we may add the *Tabula of Homer* (14G): on its recto, Homer sits upon an altar; behind him, an inscribed column presents a terse summary of the *Iliad* consisting of short phrases linked by the connective "and."[74] The *Capitolina* represents its "pilaster" as a stele with a stepped base and pedimental crowning, as well as a slight taper from the bottom to top that deviates from the otherwise rectilinear design of the panel and bands on the recto.[75] The pilasters on the tablets of Zenodotus and Homer are not as well preserved but appear to be similarly characterized as inscribed stelai.[76]

[72] For this point cf. Blanck 1992: 149 150.

[73] A group of marble fragments found in Rome's Campus Martius that tabulate victories of Athenian playwrights and actors may belong to an allied type of inscription, but their function and exact provenance are unknown (see Moretti's discussion at *IGUR* 215 222; 223 230).

[74] For this type of summary see Rossum Steenbeek 1998: 54 55 and chapter 3, above.

[75] See the preceding chapter for a more detailed treatment of how the pilaster functions on the *Capitolina*.

[76] One other tablet has inscribed pilasters: the *Tabula Albani* (19J, Antonine period) flanks an image of Heracles' apotheosis with pilasters containing a record of the hero's exploits. See the Introduction for further discussion.

Two other tablets carry literary inscriptions with a more enigmatic relationship to the content of their reliefs. Besides the poetic citations noted above, the *Tabula Borgia* (10K) offers on its recto and verso, respectively, extracts treating the family of Cadmus and the mythology of Athens, but the accompanying reliefs are so badly worn that it is impossible to verify whether or not they illustrated any of this mythological material. The same lapicide inscribed on the verso of the *Tabula Veronensis 2* (9D) a nearly identical digest of Cadmus' descendants. Here the disconnect with the tablet's pictorial matter is clear, for the recto has the familiar images from the *Iliad*, *Aethiopis*, and Sack of Troy. Neither of these two tablets portrays its inscriptions as being carved on free-standing objects like the stele of the *Capitolina*.

The library would be a natural venue for the display of such mythological extracts, or for the erection of actual versions of the stelai carved with summaries of Homeric epic, but concrete evidence for such inscriptions tends to be oblique and stems, once again, from the Greek world. We saw that on Rhodes an inscription attested to the presence of inscribed stelai in a gymnasium's library: this is the right form of inscription in the right context, but without a clear indication of content it does not make our case. More helpful is a unique group of inscriptions of the second and first centuries BCE from the island of Chios that transmit digests of mythological and literary material.[77] One of them lists the names of the Argonauts.[78] More relevant for us is another inscription, a fragment of marble broken at the top and bottom, that summarizes a portion of the Iliadic catalogue of ships.[79] This remarkable text records a list of heroes' names in the nominative each followed by the number of ships they commanded in the accusative. The order of the heroes respects precisely the order in which they appear in book 2 of the *Iliad*, lines 615–670, and no hero mentioned in this section of the poem is left out, though intriguingly the inscription twice assigns a number of ships that differs from the one given in the canonical text: Idomeneus and Meriones of Crete, e.g., receive 80 ships at *Iliad* 2.652, but 90 in the inscription.[80] While no direct evidence seems to exist for the ancient context of these two inscriptions, scholars agree that they would have adorned Chios' epigraphically attested gymnasium.[81] Such a conclusion seems particularly justified in the case of the *Iliad* summary, for an inscribed epigram of the first century BCE also from

[77] For an introduction to these inscriptions see Kontoleon 1964: 197 198; Chaniotis 1988: 229.

[78] Text and discussion at Haussoullier 1890: 207 210. The inscription is now lost (Condoléon 1949: 9 n.2).

[79] *SEG* XV.535. [80] Details on the discrepancies at Robert 1954: 157 (number 203).

[81] E.g., Kontoleon 1964: 198; Graf 1985: 136; Chaniotis 1988: 229.

Chios explicitly refers to the gymnasium as "Homeric"[82] – an appropriate epithet considering that the island was seat of the poet's putative descendants, the Homeridae. Two other literary inscriptions have been connected with this gymnasium: a plaque listing the sons and wives of Oinopion, a local hero (late second century BCE),[83] and an inscribed stele with a miscellany of seven epigrams (second century BCE).[84]

There is thus a strong circumstantial case for recognizing in the Chian gymnasium a venue where summaries of Homeric epic were displayed along with other inscriptions of varied mythological and poetic content. These inscriptions from Chios were in fact what prompted Kontoleon, in the study mentioned above, to connect the *Tabulae* with the decor of Hellenistic gymnasia in the first place.[85] We may draw a further inference. In the second century BCE (about the time of the Chian inscriptions) Hellenistic gymnasia were rapidly becoming places that put as much emphasis on the intellectual education of the young as on their athletic training, and from this period we know of several gymnasia that set up libraries on their premises.[86] In line with this historical trend, it is reasonable to suppose that the Chians' "Homeric" gymnasium would have been provided with a library as well, one at least extensive enough to contain the poems of Homer and others whose works were summarized on the wall.

The inscriptions from Chios allow us to situate inscribed mythological summaries in a place characterized by literary culture, if not in an actual library. These texts and the faux stelai of the *Tabulae* are mutually illuminating. On the *Tabulae*, as we have seen, the act of displaying such texts in an impressive, inscribed form makes of them an imposing advertisement of literary attainment and mastery of the poetic tradition. Scholars have tended to assume that the Chian inscriptions were strictly didactic in intent, deluxe learning aids for the young or ignorant,[87] but the effort and expense required to carve them into marble belies such a notion, as does the unique and idiosyncratic information they convey (the local hero's descendants; ship totals differing from those of the *Iliad*): the Chian gymnasium's multifarious collection seems rather to document and proudly display local literary interests and scholarship, varied in both content and layout.

[82] For this point see Graf 1985: 136. The epigram is *CIG* 2221 (see Peek 1976 for the best text).

[83] First edition in Condoléon 1949: 5 9; Chaniotis 1988: 40 41 reprints the text with an updated bibliography (cf. ibid. 229).

[84] *SEG* XVI.497. For discussion see Trypanis 1960 (74 for the possibility they appeared in a gymnasium).

[85] Kontoleon 1964: 198 199. [86] Scholz 2004: 125 128.

[87] E.g., Trypanis 1960: 74; Chaniotis 1988: 230; Lebedev 1996: 266. Kontoleon (1964: 199) preferred to interpret them as dedications.

Perhaps similar assemblages inspired the artisans of the *Tabula Borgia* and *Tabula Veronensis 2* to group together mythological texts that are not closely related either to each other or to their accompanying reliefs. Be that as it may, the tablets' poetic summaries, and in particular the carefully rendered stelai of the *Capitolina* and other tablets, should have evoked for viewers the gymnasia and libraries where such inscriptions appeared as independent objects. Once again, no clear evidence for inscribed mythological digests survives from libraries in Rome itself,[88] but we do know that inscriptions of literary interest could form part of a Roman library's trappings: according to the elder Pliny, an old Greek inscription installed in Augustus' library on the Palatine served to demonstrate the near-identity of the Greek and Latin alphabets at an early period.[89]

No less than the inscribed citations and summaries, a distinctive *graphic* element on the *Tabulae* likewise references an aspect of the ancient library's decor. Among the tablets showing the Sack of Troy, a constant element is the quasi-cartographic depiction of the city's interior and environs that occupies the central panel. Since at least the fourth century BCE libraries too incorporated cartographic elements into their decor: in his will, Aristotle's successor Theophrastus makes provision that tablets depicting maps of the world should be set up in a portico of the Lyceum in Athens, home to Aristotle's famous collection of books.[90] We lose sight of this practice during the Hellenistic period, though it is worth mentioning that Eratosthenes (*c.* 285–194 BCE), head of the library in Alexandria, was renowned for his advances in geography and mapmaking,[91] and that Crates of Mallos (first half of the second century BCE), a famous scholar in the court of the Attalids at Pergamon who may have helped organize the library there,[92] created a large sphere depicting the land masses of the known world.[93] Cartography evidently interested prominent scholars of the two greatest libraries in the Hellenistic world no less than it did the philosophers of the Lyceum.

This time the evidence from the Roman world is more abundant, though often frustratingly indeterminate. Maps were stored on the premises of the

[88] Two highly fragmentary marble inscriptions from the city contain the story of Aegisthus (*IGUR* 1652) and a text involving Hippolytus, Orestes, and Penelope (*IGUR* 1653; little more is preserved than the names). Perhaps these inscriptions belong among our mythological digests, but their purpose is obscure.

[89] *NH* 7.210. More on this inscription in the next section.

[90] Diogenes Laertius 5.51. On this passage in particular and the presence of maps in libraries in general, see Ferrari 1999 (esp. 373, 376 377, 383).

[91] Cf. Jacob 1996: 70 71. [92] Pfeiffer 1968: 235.

[93] Strabo 2.5.10. See Pfeiffer 1968: 239 242 for Crates' focus on geographical and cosmological questions in his literary studies.

earliest public library in Rome: the Atrium Libertatis became the site of the city's first public library shortly after 39 BCE, but had earlier been a repository for maps of public land inscribed on bronze.[94] The Atrium's remains have never been securely identified, however, and it is impossible to know whether the maps were a conspicuous element in the library facilities. The link between the library and cartographic display may be rather more conspicuous in nearby Praeneste. G. Ferrari has recently offered strong arguments in support of an earlier conjecture identifying the so-called Lower Complex of the sanctuary of Fortuna there as a library. One of this complex's twin halls originally housed in an apse the famous Nile Mosaic with its bird's-eye view of the river's course as it winds from its source down to the Delta: a striking example (if the identification is correct) of the prominence a chorographic image might enjoy in a library's hall.[95]

A representation of space acts as the pivot of a library complex in the innovative and dramatic plan of Trajan's forum. Behind the forum's basilica, Trajan established a library in two halls, one for Greek and one for Latin.[96] They faced each other across a narrow courtyard that held the emperor's column, its frieze commencing with a personification of the Danube and winding up through the territories of the Dacians as it recounts Trajan's two campaigns.[97] We perhaps see a later reflex of this configuration in the siting of the Severan marble plan in Vespasian's forum, the Templum Pacis. The Flavian complex possessed a library that must have perished along with the rest of its buildings in the fire of 192 CE.[98] In his reconstruction, Septimius Severus installed the monumental representation of Rome's cityscape on a wall near, if not adjacent to, one of the library's halls[99] – a position endorsed by Trajan's forum and earlier practice.

[94] For the structure, see *LTUR* I.133 135 s.v. Atrium Libertatis (F. Coarelli); for the library, Dix and Houston 2006: 675 680 (with bibliography); for the maps, Nicolet 1991: 152.

[95] For details of the argument see Ferrari 1999; on chorography see above, Chapter 4.

[96] Such is the traditional identification of the halls, for which see Strocka 1981: 310 311; Blanck 1992: 196 198; Packer 1997: I, 120 126; Dix and Houston 2006: 695 699. It is beyond the scope of my study to grapple with recent attempts to locate the libraries elsewhere in the forum (Meneghini 2002; Claridge 2007): in their magisterial survey of the evidence for Rome's libraries, Dix and Houston consider the data from the latest excavations and conclude that "in the present state of our knowledge, the twin halls in the Forum of Trajan appear to have been library halls" (2006: 698). The resemblances between the Trajanic halls and those of Augustus' Palatine library do seem too salient either to ignore or to explain away (so ibid. 699 n. 195; more on the Palatine library in the next section).

[97] Gros 1996: 366 367 offers illuminating comments on "la profonde unité thématique" that linked library halls and column.

[98] On the library see Dix and Houston 2006: 691 693.

[99] The exact location of the library in the Templum is a subject of debate: cf. Blanck 1992: 194 196; Dix and Houston 2006: 692 693; Tucci 2008: 146 148. For an interesting if speculative attempt

The Romans did not of course confine the display of maps to the library – Agrippa set up a map of the world in the Porticus Vipsania[100] – but the evidence assembled in this section suggests that, when juxtaposed with inscribed citations and literary summaries, cartographic representations might point along with them to the decoration of a library's halls. These three points of contact with the ancient library establish the latter as an important interpretive background for our plaques, particularly since they are also three of the most distinctive features of the tablets illustrating the Sack of Troy.

The other major features of these tablets, namely their friezes of scenes from the *Iliad* and other epic poems, are more widespread decorative motifs and thus less useful for identifying specific interpretive contexts, though connections between them and the ancient library are not difficult to establish: any material related to Homer would find a natural place in a library that held Greek literature, as on the huge freighter constructed by Hieron of Syracuse (third century BCE) that was crowned on its top deck by a study with a library, and decorated throughout its middle one with mosaics retelling the entire story of the *Iliad*.[101] Yet it is the gymnasium on Chios that once again offers the most revealing parallel. From an honorific decree of *c.* 189 BCE, we learn that the gymnasium held, besides the mythological summaries treated above, shields engraved with representations of Roman myths (these were dedications that accompanied a feast and games held in honor of a visiting delegation from Rome).[102] The variegated array of images and mythological texts attested for this space offers a striking analogue to the decoration of the *Tabulae* – as well as to that of the Roman public library, where author portraits inscribed on shields were a regular feature. Perhaps Theodorus' own penchant for representing the shield of Achilles (4N, 5O, 6B) is yet another facet of his engagement with library decoration.[103]

Despite the uneven spatial and temporal distribution of the evidence, we may conclude that the *Tabulae Iliacae*, far from being an eccentric combination of disparate elements, draw on a corpus of decorative motifs related to a specific type of space, the ancient library. As I noted above this is not the same thing as claiming that all of the *Tabulae* were actually displayed in such

to interpret library and map as part of a coordinated program asserting the power of the Empire, see Neudecker 2004: 298–299.

[100] For Agrippa's map see Nicolet 1991: 95–122. [101] Athenaeus 5.207c–f.

[102] *SEG* XXX.1073 (lines 29–31). For discussion of the nature of the dedications and their placement in the Chian gymnasium, see Kontoleon 1964: 194–195; Chaniotis 1988: 96–98. von den Hoff 2004 and Martini 2004 offer further evidence for the wide variety that characterizes the decor of Greek gymnasia.

[103] More on the shield portraits of Rome's libraries in the next section.

areas – though perhaps it increases the likelihood that some of them were. Two stray remarks from Gellius reveal that the temple of Hercules Victor in Tivoli possessed its own library, an intriguing datum if we recall that the *Tabula Thierry* (7Ti) may have been unearthed there.[104] Yet any attempt to situate the *Tabulae* physically in a library must remain speculative, and ultimately may not be as revealing as we would like given our lack of evidence for the configuration of libraries in private dwellings. I find it more fruitful to consider the multimedia displays of the ancient library as an implicit background for the *Tabulae*, one that informed their unusual decorative programs and helped render them comprehensible, even familiar for Roman viewers. In the next section, I focus on the public libraries founded in Rome during the early Empire and argue that they catalyzed the development of a new visual language for imparting ideas about literary works. The *Tabulae* adapt this language as part of their own communicative strategy for conveying a novel (re)vision of Greek epic to their Roman audience.

The rhetoric of display in the Roman library

The establishment of public libraries in Augustan Rome seems to have coincided with the appearance of a new type of space in which to house them, one that provided facilities for displaying collections of Greek and Latin literature in a form both visually striking and ideologically pointed. Simply by creating a building type specifically designed for their libraries, the Romans broke with Greek practice. To the best of our knowledge, the earlier libraries of the Hellenistic age had in essence been complexes of several common, pre-existing types of structure that fulfilled the functions of a library only in combination: small, undistinguished storage rooms housed the texts themselves; these opened out onto a portico, perhaps with an associated exedra, that provided light and space for reading; a larger, often elaborately decorated hall nearby offered a venue for the library's users to meet, converse, even dine. None of these structures is individually distinctive, and it can be difficult to infer from, for instance, an excavated floorplan alone that a given grouping of storeroom, portico, and hall had once functioned together as a library. No excavated Hellenistic gymnasium has yet yielded definitive architectural evidence for the presence of a library, though we know that gymnasium libraries existed;[105] even the

[104] *NA* 9.14.13, 19.5.4. [105] Strocka 2000: 161; Scholz 2004: 125 128.

great library at Pergamon has proved elusive.[106] In Herculaneum's Villa of the Papyri, the preservation of the papyrus rolls stored in a small room opening onto a portico for once allows us to infer with reasonable confidence the presence of a library on the Greek model.[107]

At the instigation of Julius Caesar and later Augustus, however, the public library in Rome emerged from architectural anonymity and innovatively combined the functions of storage room, reading area, and meeting hall in a single, recognizable blueprint.[108] These multifunctional spaces incorporated the storage and organization of texts into their very architecture, in a layout designed to convert the prestige of famous authors and their writings into an immediately accessible experience. By establishing systematic links between literary works and specific visual cues, the new buildings in effect reified the literary tradition, making of it a physical construct that was quite literally manipulable through the strategic arrangement of such elements as authorial portraits in the space of the library's halls. Our tablets' ubiquitous references to library decor are no mere artefact of their literary subject matter, but rather activate viewers' familiarity with the library's visual rhetoric and encourage them to use it in parsing the tablets' own representations of the epic tradition. We may best appreciate the contribution that the Roman public library makes to a reading of the *Tabulae* by considering in turn two of its most salient features: the incorporation of separate collections in both Greek and Latin; the use of bookshelves with associated portraits as a focal point in the decorative scheme.

One of the earliest surviving examples of the new monumental building type is the library completed by Augustus around 28 BCE as part of the precinct for his temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, despite the fact that the remains currently visible belong not to the original structure, but to a Domitianic rebuilding.[109] In this latter incarnation there is a double floorplan with two identical but separate rectangular halls – one for Greek and one for Latin, presumably – that were placed side-by-side and opened out onto the same portico, but did not communicate one with the other.[110] The contours of the previous, Augustan building are hard to trace. One

[106] See Coqueugniot (2013).

[107] Blanck 1992: 179 189 rounds up the evidence for the architectural form of Roman private libraries.

[108] For the innovations of the Roman library vis à vis Hellenistic models, see the standard accounts at Strocka 1981; Blanck 1992: 191 214. Hoepfner 1996 attempts to locate features of the putative Roman type in the library at Pergamon, unconvincingly: see Strocka 2000 and Coqueugniot (2013).

[109] For an overview of the Palatine library, see Dix and Houston 2006: 680 685 (with bibliography).

[110] On the Domitianic floorplan see also Blanck 1992: 191 194, 236 n. 13; Iacopi and Tedone 2005.

recent reconstruction outfits the library of Augustus with just one hall, as opposed to Domitian's two,[111] but the question is not yet definitively decided.

Regardless of the number of halls, literary and epigraphic testimonia make it certain that the Palatine library did house from its inception distinct Latin and Greek collections.[112] The way in which the structure expressed this linguistic and cultural divide may have changed over time: if Domitian truly did double its floorplan and thus spatially segregate the languages for the first time, he would simply have rendered more salient a contrast already present in the original conception of the project. The emphasis on comparison, even competition between the two literatures is unmistakeable, and certainly the fruit of deliberate reflection on how a public library should function in the city of Rome. When Julius Caesar conceived the project of creating what was to have been Rome's first public library, he stipulated that it should house both Latin and Greek works,[113] thus setting the stage for the places of literary *synkrisis* that the libraries of Rome were destined to become.

The backdrop formed by this architectural staging of cultural contestation could guide viewers' interpretations of individual objects on display within it. One example is the old Greek inscription installed in the Palatine library and mentioned by Pliny the Elder that we noted in the previous section. For Pliny the inscription demonstrates the near-identity of the Greek and Latin alphabets at an early period:[114]

> veteres Graecas fuisse easdem paene quae nunc sint Latinae, indicio erit Delphica antiqui aeris, quae est hodie in Palatio, dono principum Minervae dicata in bibliotheca cum inscriptione tali: ΝΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΟ ΤΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΙ ΤΑΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ . . .
>
> The old Greek letters were almost the same as the present Latin ones: this may be shown by an old Delphic bronze that today is on the Palatine, by a gift of the emperors dedicated to Minerva in the library, carrying the following inscription: Nausikrates dedicated to the daughter of Zeus the tithe . . .

[111] Irene and Iacopi 2005 (esp. 355).

[112] For the sources see Lugli 1960: 109 113, to which may be added a papyrus recording an embassy received by Augustus "in the temple of Apollo in the Roman library" (*POxy*. 2435 *verso*), adduced in this connection by Corbier (2006: 173, a reworking of her 1992 discussion).

[113] Suetonius, *Iul.* 44.2; for Caesar's plans see Houston and Dix 2006: 673 675.

[114] *NH* 7.210. On the text and the identification of the library, see Petrain 2013. *Pace* Dix and Houston (2006: 684 n. 95), the object is not a statue of Athena, nor have recent editors followed Mayhoff's Teubner edition in excluding the crucial phrase "in the library" (*in bibliotheca*): the phrase is left intact in the editions of Winkler (in König 1975), Schilling (1977), Ranucci (in Barchiesi 1982).

Pliny cites the Delphic bronze as evidence of a general agreement among the peoples of the inhabited world to adopt a uniform writing system.[115] In its immediate context, however, the inscription with its script hovering between Greek and Latin will also have seemed to endorse, in almost overdetermined fashion, the Palatine library's project of drawing comparisons and equivalencies between the two literatures: the inscription's age lends an aura of antiquity to the project, while its provenance from Delphi seems specifically to claim the sanction of Apollo, god of poetry as well as the divinity to whom Augustus' entire complex was dedicated. Pliny's text suggests the dynamic relationship that could obtain between the space of the library and the objects within it, so that an archaic dedication might be transmuted into a bridge between Greek and Latin. The tablets' evocation of this charged space of cross-cultural comparison helps to bring out the full ideological force of their juxtaposition of Achilles and Aeneas, Greek and Roman, that we explored in previous chapters.

Though the inclusion of the two literatures was a key characteristic of Rome's new libraries, the feature that arguably had the greatest impact in the visual realm is the new technology for the display of books that they utilized. Ungainly and prone to damage, a roll of papyrus does not naturally lend itself to monumental display, and indeed the libraries of the Greek world had kept their holdings out of sight, the rolls collectively hidden from view in storage rooms until they were individually consulted by a patron. The Romans finessed this difficulty by housing their papyri in wooden cabinets or *armaria* that they installed in niches lining the walls of the library's main rooms.[116] The dimensions of extant niches – the Palatine library's are 1.8m wide, 3.8m high, 60 cm deep – give an idea of the imposing size of the cabinets, which would have been constructed of precious woods, their doors perhaps inlaid with ivory.[117] Profligate of space and utilizing a common architectural feature, the wall-niche, in a novel way,[118] this ostentatious mode of book storage required a large hall and walls thick enough to receive the niches, a design that showcased the wealth and means of whoever commissioned the building.[119] The bookshelves themselves likely became one of the most striking elements in the library's decoration.

[115] *gentium consensus tacitus primus omnium conspiravit ut Ionum litteris uteretur* (ibid.).

[116] For the physical and literary evidence, see Sève 1990; Petrain 2013.

[117] For the measurements see Dix and Houston 2006: 683; for the materials, cf. Seneca *Dial.* 9.9.6 (*armaria e citro atque ebore*); *Dig.* 32.52.7 (*eboream bibliothecam*).

[118] On niches in Roman architecture see Hornbostel Hüttner 1979.

[119] For this point see Wendel 1974: 158. Strocka 1993 uncovers a possible example of such an *armarium* niche in a house in Pompeii.

The Palatine library may serve as an example. In its Domitianic phase, the walls of each of its reading rooms are lined with a series of rectangular niches for the *armaria*, interrupted in the middle of the apsidal back wall with a larger recess meant to accommodate a cult statue.[120] A continuous podium runs under all of the niches, and provides access to them by means of a set of steps in front of each niche.[121] While the Palatine library's eventual division into two reading rooms is an innovation virtually confined to the libraries of Rome,[122] the design of its individual halls enjoyed a much wider influence: the features of their layout that we have just touched on – rows of niches for *armaria* reached by a stepped podium, a central recess for a cult statue – recur in libraries throughout the empire,[123] a testament to the success of the Romans' solution to the problem of how to monumentalize collections of books.

Though collectively impressive, the rows of identical *armaria* that graced the library's hall would have been somewhat anonymous, insufficient on their own to communicate precisely which prestigious texts they concealed behind their doors. We may contrast here the open shelves of Cicero's library at Antium, where the papyri with their colorful labels remained in view to provide identifying information and visual interest.[124] Once the *armaria* were introduced to the library's main hall and the viewer's immediate awareness, then, they favored the introduction of supplements: i.e., additional decorative elements that could convey to visitors the identity and importance of the authors whose works the library housed. Unlike the attached parchment labels, these supplements were alienated from the physical substrate of the works themselves and soon became objects of interest in their own right, able to generate meaning independently from the now-hidden texts that they indexed. The slippage from literary text to visual metonym is a version on a grand scale of the semiotic processes that we observed at work in the reliefs of the *Tabulae*.

The ornament that most commonly acted as visual supplement was the authorial portrait. Statues and busts of authors did appear in Greek-style libraries,[125] but it was only in the Roman library that they were deployed systematically. An author's works and his likeness formed an indissoluble

[120] The earlier, Augustan hall likewise terminates in an apse with a rectangular structure (perhaps a base) at its center, but the elevation of its walls does not survive (Iacopi and Tedone 2005: 353 355).

[121] Blanck 1992: 193; Dix and Houston 2006: 683.

[122] For exceptions see Blanck 1992: 205 206; Ferrari 1999.

[123] See Strocka 1981: 315 329; Blanck 1992: 168 176, 205 214.

[124] For Cicero's library see the previous section.

[125] Cf. Strocka 1981: 299 (the Villa of the Papyri); Cicero, *Att*. 4.10 (a bust of Aristotle in the library of Atticus).

unit,[126] and when emperors added or removed authors from the imperial libraries, their actions encompassed both the authors' writings and their likenesses, as when Caligula threatened to remove the *scripta et imagines* of Vergil and Livy from all libraries.[127]

We may gauge the impression that these portraits could make on a viewer from Pliny the Elder's enthusiastic praise of Asinius Pollio for first introducing them into his library at the Atrium Libertatis:[128]

> Non est praetereundum et novicium inventum, siquidem non ex auro argentove, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum immor tales animae in locis iisdem locuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit. quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. an priores coeperint Alexandreae et Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim.
>
> I should not omit a newly established practice either: In libraries they dedicate portraits if not of gold or silver, at least of bronze to those whose immortal spirits speak in the same places. Indeed, they even make up portraits that have no factual basis, and their desires give birth to faces that have not been handed down by tradition, as has happened in the case of Homer. Hence, as far as I'm concerned, there is no greater proof of good fortune than that everyone should always wish to know what a person looked like. In Rome this practice was established by Asinius Pollio, who was first to dedicate a library here, and in so doing to make men's genius public property. Whether the kings of Alexandria and Pergamon, who competed fiercely in setting up their libraries, had instituted this practice earlier, I couldn't easily say.

Significantly, Pliny's account of Pollio's library occurs in a section of the *Natural History* devoted to portraiture:[129] the visual experience provided by the library is as important to him as the literary monuments to be found there. The portraits are a focus not only of interest but of emotion, even inspiring longing (*desideria*) for any likeness that is missing. I suggest that the halls of Roman public libraries engendered in their visitors what we might refer to as a "metonymic habit," a readiness, even a keenly felt need to perceive close connections between literary works and the visual

[126] For a conspectus of sources, see *TLL* II.1957.54 72 s.v. "bibliotheca."

[127] Suetonius, *Cal.* 34: *sed et Vergili ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret*. Cf. *idem*, *Tib*. 70.

[128] *NH* 35.9 10. For the library see Dix and Houston 2006: 675 680.

[129] His one other mention of the library concerns a portrait as well (*NH* 7.115).

supplements associated with them, so that the latter might stand in for the former, even eclipse them in importance.

Remarkable evidence for the extent to which this habit was ingrained in the discourse of Roman elites comes from the debate that swirled around one author portrait about which we are particularly well informed. In the wake of the death of Germanicus, the emperor Tiberius' nephew and adoptive son, in 19 CE, a number of honors were proposed, among them a portrait in the Palatine library to honor his literary pursuits. This library's portraits followed a standard format, with each likeness engraved on a metal shield or *clipeus*;[130] members of the senatorial class were intimately familiar with the gallery because the library often served as venue for senate meetings.[131] Tacitus portrays the contentious discussion of the proposal as follows:[132]

> cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores elo quentiae, adseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni et satis inlustre si veteres inter scrip tores haberetur.
>
> When they proposed a shield that would stand out among the authors of eloquence by virtue of its size and the fact that it was made of gold, Tiberius retorted that he would decree one of the usual sort, and equal to the others: distinctions in eloquence, he said, are not made on the basis of one's fortunes, and it would be honor enough if [Germanicus] were counted among the writers of old.

This passage and the debate it records are remarkable for the ease with which they move between evaluating physical attributes of the portraits and articulating ideas about literary value.

The compromise eventually reached between Tiberius and the senators reveals that the portraits' relative positons in space were another key aspect of their meaning. For the details we are indebted to a bronze tablet preserving a portion of the senate's decree that opens with a careful description of the new portrait's location in the library's hall:[133]

> utique in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet [inter ima]/gines virorum inlustris ingeni Germanici Caesaris et Drusi Germanici patris eius naturalis [fratrisque]/ Ti(beri)

[130] Cf. Blanck 1992: 194, Corbier 2006: 174 177.

[131] Suetonius, *Aug.* 29; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37. See also Thompson 1981, Corbier 2006: 171 174.

[132] *Ann.* 2.83.

[133] *Tabula Hebana*, lines 1 4. For the text of this and related fragments, see Crawford 1996: I, 507 547 (the commentary misunderstands the nature of the portraits, however).

> Caesaris Aug(usti) qui ipse quoque fecundi ingeni fuit imagines ponantur supra capita columna[rum eius fas]/tigi quo simulacrum Apollinis tegitur.
>
> [And they decreed] that on the Palatine, in the portico that is by Apollo's [temple], in that temple in which the senate is customarily held, among the likenesses of men of renowned genius, likenesses of Germanicus Caesar and of Drusus Germanicus, his natural father and the brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, who himself also possessed a fertile genius, should be placed over the capitals of the columns of the pediment that covers the statue of Apollo.

This tablet was discovered near ancient Heba in Italy but a fragment of the same text came to light in Spain, a testament to how widely the decree was circulated. We learn from it that the library could be termed a *templum*, a designation in keeping with its character as a sacred space. The text presupposes a broad familiarity with both the layout of the Palatine library and its commemorative strategies, registering the presence of author portraits as well as the recess topped by a pediment that contained the cult statue of Apollo. While Tiberius may have insisted that the shield portraits remain uniform, their location directly over the cult statue does nonetheless serve to confer a special distinction on Germanicus and his father by recentering the portrait gallery around the two newly added figures. The message is a subtle one, but expressed in a visual language that those familiar with the library would be adept at reading. I argue that the *Tabulae* speak the same language: they employ friezes and texts as stand-ins for the *Iliad* and its books, and rearrange these around a new center occupied by Rome's myths and Rome's hero. The revaluation implied in this arrangement would come through most clearly for viewers who had already been primed in other contexts to appreciate such metonymies.

The prominence of the Palatine library's cult statue in the decree is no accident, and of some interest for our understanding of the *Tabulae*. The statue may have been the ideological linchpin of the entire library complex, for scholiasts to Horace tell us explicitly that it actually depicted the emperor Augustus decked out with the attributes of Apollo.[134] According to the specialized logic of the library's decoration, each portrait points metonymically to specific texts stored behind the doors of the *armaria*. To which texts does the statue of Apollo-as-Augustus refer? Given its central position and greater size (full-sized statue versus shield bust), the obvious answer is that

[134] E.g., ps. Acron *ad Ep.* 1.3.17 (Lugli 1960: 109 lists the other relevant scholia); cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37 for an *imago* of Augustus in the Palatine library. For an assessment of the evidence related to the statue see Neudecker 2004: 297; Dix and Houston 2006: 684 685.

Augustus claims a stake in *all* the works stored in his library as the one responsible for bringing them together, giving visual form to the resultant canon, and regulating the admittance of newcomers.[135]

The Roman public library thus offered an education in a visual rhetoric whose subject was the literature of Greece and Rome and its role in the nascent empire. Viewers familiar with the library's layout and adornment, whether from personal visit or secondhand description, became sensitized to the equations between Greek and Latin that it strove to establish (as we saw in the case of the Delphic bronze). They learned to negotiate easily between texts and multifarious representations pointing to but alienated from those texts; to read in the physical attributes of these representations – their arrangement in space, their size, their material – visual arguments about the significance of the works themselves; to attribute the entire complex of text and image to the activity of an organizing figure who reciprocally both bestows prestige upon authors and works, and enhances his own prestige from the same.

These viewing habits are indispensable to a reading of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, and it is in them that the deepest affinities between the tablets and the ancient library lie. Though the evidence for the findspots of the tablets does not allow us to situate them definitively in any library's hall, we may assert more confidently that their owners, such as the proprietors of the villa at Tor Ser Paolo, were people of means who might be expected to have some acquaintance with Rome's new libraries, familiar to the senatorial class and other elites. That Theodorus fills his tablets with elements proper to library decor is a symptom and index of the frisson generated by these unprecedented structures: references to a library's trappings doubtless carried a topical appeal, but also indicated to viewers that the *Tabulae* were conducting a similar project of literary appropriation. Theodorus' representation of himself as a master *arranger*, who bestows on the Epic Cycle its visual form, may in particular owe something to the visually dazzling exercises in canon formation created by Augustus and his successors in the newly created, pervasively politicized space of the Roman public library.

[135] For Augustus as gatekeeper of the Palatine library, cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.214 218; Horsfall 1993.

6 Epic in miniature
(Narrative pragmatics 2)

> The cleverer I am at miniaturizing the world, the better I possess it.
> Bachelard, *The poetics of space*

In the previous chapter I posited the Roman public library as a virtual context for the *Tabulae Iliacae* that compensates somewhat for the loss of their actual display contexts in the well-appointed private dwellings where, to judge from the findspots, many of them were once to be seen. Yet while the library allows us a clearer understanding of the contexts informing how viewers looked at the tablets, it cannot help with a second, equally important aspect of the pragmatics of their reception: modes of viewing aside, we would also like to know what the owners of the tablets actually did with them. What apparatus did the owners use to display the plaques, and how did they understand the function of these objects? What, if anything, were the *Tabulae* for?

In a sense this question of purpose has dogged us throughout the present study, though I have so far had more occasion to speak of what the tablets were *not* used for: the old but continually revived hypothesis that the *Tabulae* were some sort of elementary educational aid has been invoked as if it provides a sufficient explanation, yet it fails to account for their most noteworthy features. Once we have discarded this reductive formulation, together with the associated misconception that a didactic function would somehow undermine the possibility of interpreting the tablets as complex works of art, we may turn to the deeper and more revealing issue of how even to conceptualize the function of small, highly mobile objects such as these. Without explicit evidence, how do we choose among the wide range of possible uses to which we could imagine the tablets were put? And do we need to make such a choice (perhaps the tablets served multiple purposes)? In what follows I attempt to reframe the question of the tablets' use in a way that lets us draw more fully on the data at our disposal, and I insist that this reframing is as important as any answers we might ultimately reach. After canvassing earlier proposals about their purpose, I will argue that key attributes of the tablets, in particular their small size but also their decoration on front and back, determined how viewers could interact with them

physically and allow us, in turn, to establish a horizon of expectations for how their owners might have understood them. Roman attitudes toward the miniature prove to offer a window on to the social transactions in which the tablets played a part, and point also to another aspect of the artist Theodorus' self-presentation that may help to explain the form in which he names himself.

The uses of the *Tabulae Iliacae*: Prior proposals, new questions

Scholarship on the tablets tends to consider three broad functions for them: dedicatory, didactic, or decorative.[1]

Dedicatory

An account of the tablets as votive objects must base itself primarily on 4N (the Shield of Achilles), whose verso carries a letter grid in the shape of a horned altar, and below this a palindromic dedication: ἱέρειA ἱερεῖ, "the priestess to the priest" (Figure 24, see p. 64).[2] There is nothing like it on the other *Tabulae*, and the phrase with its self-contained symmetry in both lettering and semantics needs to be taken closely with the unique altar outlined above it. I agree with Horsfall that the inscription is not necessarily to be taken in earnest, its content "perhaps prompted by some association

[1] Cf. Sadurska: 18–19 (with bibliography); Horsfall 1979: 31–35; Salimbene 2002: 6–9; VM: 402–407.

[2] Gallavotti suggests an alternative division into ἱερείAι ἐρεῖ, "to the priestess will speak. . .," and supplies the subject from the message in the letter grid, ". . .Theodorus' shield of Achilles according to Homer" (1989: 51; VM: 349 notes the suggestion with approval). As a parallel for a speaking shield, he adduces an epigram from the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* IX.116) in which the shield of Achilles "shouts" (βοᾷ, l.1) a message to the deceased Ajax (Ajax ought to have been awarded the shield instead of Odysseus, the shield implies). I find Gallavotti's suggestion ingenious, but unlikely. The *Tabulae* do not customarily note the iota adscript that would be required to take ἱερείαι as a dative (see J–M: 78 for the few instances in which the iota appears): not a damning consideration, because palindromes often employ non-standard orthography to make the sequence of letters work out, but worth noting nonetheless. Yet by their very nature, palindromes are formally and semantically self-contained: I do not know of another example of an "incomplete" palindrome that is meant to act as part of a longer sentence. Whereas "the priestess to the priest" is readily accessible and intelligible as a dedicatory inscription, "the shield . . . will speak to the priestess" seems to introduce a number of odd and unanswerable questions: Why is the verb in the future tense? Why *to the priestess*, specifically? And what will the shield say? (In *AP* IX.116, the import of the shield's speech is clear.) It is just possible that some viewer may have toyed with dividing up the letters in Gallavotti's way and teasing out the resultant complications, but I think it far more likely that most viewers saw in the palindrome a neatly symmetrical dedication.

between 'altar' and 'priest'";[3] the choice to use a brief, commonplace dedicatory formula, "X to Y," was natural for the construction of a short palindrome to be inscribed on an object that may have been a gift. Much more than a simple *jeu d'esprit*, the palindromic form has an important function to play on the verso side: The alpha at the inscription's center is extraordinarily broad; its apex points almost exactly to the central column of the altar's grid,[4] where the viewer may find, of course, the middle letter with which every reading of the grid must begin. It is doubtless not a coincidence that the letter in this middle square is a matching alpha, the first letter of the word *aspis*, "shield," with which the message in the grid begins. I suggest that the palindrome playfully offers implicit reading instructions, analogous to the hexameter on 2NY and 3C with its explicit command to "look for the middle letter!"[5]

The shield's palindromic dedication thus offers little support for general inferences about the uses of the *Tabulae*. At best it suggests that some of them may have been given as presents, but without any clear indication of the identities of sender and recipient, or any reason to suppose that most of the tablets were involved in such exchanges, this does not get us very far (nor does it tell us what the recipient of a tablet did with his new possession after it came out of the box).[6]

Didactic

The tablets' tiny carvings and precious materials (colored marble, occasional use of gilding) render them unsuitable for use in the classroom,[7] nor would they function well as Homeric crib sheets for adult beginners, but other views of their didactic function are nonetheless possible. M. Carruthers plausibly envisions a knowledgeable group of patrons who are already familiar with the story of Troy and value Theodorus' creations as "a set of reminder-cues" to help them recall details of the story and reflect on them.[8] A. Rouveret pushes the mnemonic hypothesis even further, taking as her point of departure the prevalence on the tablets of representations of

[3] 1979: 33. So also VM: 350 (with further bibliography), who notes that ἱερεύς can also be used metaphorically in the sense of a devotee (cf. LSJ s.v. 2): perhaps of Homer?

[4] It is displaced one column to the left of the center.

[5] For the hexameter see Chapter 2, above. I thank M. Squire for drawing my attention to the fact that the alpha of the palindrome recalls the alpha in the middle square of the letter grid.

[6] As Horsfall puts it (1983: 147), "to call the *tabulae* 'presents' is merely to pose the fundamental question of their purpose over again at one remove."

[7] Horsfall 1979: 31 32 and VM: 402 make similar points.

[8] 1998: 202. Cf. VM: 409 411: the tablets *presuppose* a competency with the stories of epic.

architectural elements. She notes that an ancient mnemonic technique utilized imaginary architectural spaces as matrices in which to insert images of the material that needed to be remembered: by mentally moving through the space, someone might call to mind, say, the sequence of topics in a speech.[9] In Rouveret's view the tablets will have aided viewers in remembering, not Homer, but a different series of elements that they mentally associate with the different sections of the tablets' visual field.[10] The two theses demonstrate the broad range of specific activities that might be comprehended under the rubric of the possible didactic uses of the tablets.

Decorative

Perhaps the tablets were ornamental, meant to be admired for their workmanship, to inspire conversation, and to advertise the cultural attainments of their owners. The idea is an old one,[11] but championed more recently not just by Horsfall,[12] who links it with his assessment of the tablets as bibelots to please the nouveaux-riches, but by others who take a more generous view of Theodorus' clientele: Valenzuela Montenegro links a "decorative" function with a broad appreciation of how the formal and aesthetic qualities of the tablets might excite admiration and prompt viewers to engage in learned conversations about the contents of their reliefs and texts.[13] As in the case of "dedicatory" and "didactic," the bare label "decorative" as applied to the *Tabulae* admits a variety of specific uses.

As will become clear in what follows, I agree that the tablets must have served as conversation pieces: viewers interacted with each other as they interacted with the pictorial and textual material we analyzed in previous chapters. But to the extent that the hypotheses outlined above are meant to exclude one another, I suggest that they represent an impoverished way of talking about the *Tabulae*. Small, portable objects like our tablets may have served different purposes for different people in different situations.[14] Studies of marble relief plaques and miniature statues in the Roman world have shown that the significance of such objects could shift from, say, the devotional to the decorative with the passage of time, or when they are transferred from one context to another;[15] Bartman rightly points out that

[9] On ancient mnemonotechnics, see Yates 1999. [10] Rouveret 1988.
[11] Reifferscheid 1862: 112. [12] 1979: 33 35; again, 2008: 588.
[13] VM: 404 412 (on p. 411, she imagines some of the specific conversations viewers may have had). Cf. Salimbene 2002: 29 30.
[14] Cf. Salimbene 2002: 8 9 on the difficulty of pinning down a single function.
[15] See Froning 1981: 33 56 (relief plaques); Bartman 1992: 43 48 (miniature statues).

the owners themselves might sometimes have been hard pressed to define precisely an object's function.[16] Similarly, the tablets may well have helped jog someone's memory of the Epic Cycle, but it does not follow that this was their sole purpose, or that viewers interested in the mythological content were somehow blind to other qualities of the reliefs, such as their minute carving and intricate arrangement. We cannot rule out as a possibility even the somewhat far-fetched notion that the *Tabulae* were subsidiary aids for an ancient mnemonic technique. Clearly *some* viewer might have used them in that way; just as clearly, the casual actions of individual viewers elude our evidence and can hardly form the main substance of our analysis.

If a connection between the tablets and Roman libraries is justified, such spaces provide a suitable backdrop for the three broad functions just considered: the libraries were repositories of literary works (didactic), offered eye-catching displays (decorative), and as consecrated temples could contain votive objects (dedicatory);[17] indeed, the archaic inscription on display in the Palatine library, a dedication to Athena reinterpreted as a testimonium about the Greek and Latin alphabets, might be said to belong to all three categories at once.[18] Yet whether we try to assign to the tablets one function or several, the sheer range of hypotheses available makes the attempt feel more or less arbitrary, insufficiently constrained by the evidence at hand. One way out of the impasse, I suggest, is to shift focus onto directly observable attributes like the size of the tablets, and how these attributes effectively constrain what types of interaction with the tablets are physically possible. To evaluate this question of how dimensions and layout may have choreographed the activities of prospective viewers, we need to examine the display mechanisms of the tablets.[19]

How were the *Tabulae* displayed?

We are well informed about the common methods for displaying relief plaques in the ancient world,[20] so that in case of the *Tabulae* our task is to choose among the various possibilities. Inferences from the physical

[16] 1992: 44.

[17] Reifferscheid 1862: 114 115 makes a similar point (summarized at Sadurska: 18).

[18] For the inscription see Chapter 5, above.

[19] Salimbene 2002: 29 31 and VM: 404 405 use the display mechanisms to establish a decorative function for the tablets but are less interested in how viewers interacted with the modalities of display.

[20] Froning (1981: 10, 50) provides a typology of display mechanisms, using data from Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as from the Delian inventory lists.

makeup of the tablets let us narrow the options at once: viewers need to be able to approach closely in order to make out anything of the tiny, detailed reliefs; plaques with carving on recto and verso must in addition have been accessible on both sides, so that installation in a wall is excluded.[21] Most of the fragments, furthermore, preserve at least one original edge and thus potentially offer direct evidence for the display mechanism. Though not always clear, this evidence unmistakeably reveals the important fact that the method of display was not uniform: as with many aspects of the *Tabulae*, it might vary from one tablet to another.

One tablet was perhaps designed to be mounted on a stand. 22VP, which bears material from the Alexander Romance on the recto and an inscribed chronology on the verso, has traces of a (badly worn) projecting element at the center of its bottom edge: S. M. Burstein interpreted it as a prong or tenon that would have fit into the stand's corresponding slot.[22] But other tablets whose lower edge is substantially preserved, such as the *Capitolina*, lack a tenon, so that this mode of display was not the usual one.

Another atypical solution is that adopted by the *Tabula Tarentina* (13 Ta), which is pierced by a small hole at the center of its upper edge and presumably meant to be suspended from a wire. The tablet, three of whose edges are preserved, is now approximately square (about 8.5 cm on a side) but when complete will have had the form of an elongated rectangle (the original height is estimated at 15 cm), with superposed scenes from the *Iliad* (the verso is blank).[23] Perhaps the odd shape has something to do with the display mechanism; at any rate the other tablets, predominantly square, do not have holes and could not have been strung up in this way. The only other fragment with traces of holes is the *Tabula Sarti* (6B): the drawing that is our sole record of the object depicts two holes centered on the fragment's upper and lower edges; the lower hole has been drilled through the tablet's reliefs for *Iliad* 9 (Figure 11). These perforations are obviously modern, positioned in order to provide support to the fragment in its present state;[24]

[21] Sadurska suggests that the magic squares on the verso were important only at the moment of purchase ("au moment d'achat de la table") and might subsequently have been hidden from view when the tablet was immured (p. 19). I find this highly unlikely.

[22] See Burstein 1984: 153 (the initial publication of the tablet).

[23] On 13Ta and its original dimensions, see Sadurska: 67 68, VM: 210 212.

[24] Sadurska: 47, 50. VM (p. 404) seems willing to interpret the upper hole as ancient, but it is clearly meant to support the piece in its broken state (when the piece was intact, a hole in this position would have been off center). *Pace* VM: 150 n. 915, the hole on the lower edge is depicted clearly in Sarti's original drawing (the altered version of the drawing printed in J M does obscure its shape: on the two drawings, see the description in Appendix 2 and Petrain 2012: 621 623).

the hole on 13Ta, by contrast, must be ancient because it would have allowed balanced suspension only when the tablet was intact.[25]

A piece of circumstantial evidence, admittedly inconclusive, suggests that some of the *Tabulae* may have been enclosed in frames. The so-called *Tabula of Homer* (14G) has on its recto a carving of the poet seated atop an altar, as I mentioned briefly in Chapter 5 above. Uniquely among the *Tabulae*, the verso carries a second figural scene, a melee between Greeks and Trojans; these figures are surrounded by a broad, flat border that corresponds to the tablet's original edges. An intriguing feature of this border is that it is not entirely uncharacterized. Rather, a diagonal line runs through it on the lower right, straight from the corner of the battle scene to the corner of the tablet; the line is deliberately carved, not a crack or a break (it does not appear on the recto). The line looks just like a miter joint, the diagonal join between two slats of a wooden frame, in which case the verso of 14G would be offering us the carved representation of a display apparatus[26] – though I cannot cite other examples of stone panels thus displayed.[27] The precise nature of the framing apparatus is impossible to specify. C. Salimbene proposes the Roman book cabinets or *armaria* discussed in the preceding chapter:[28] the hinged door of an *armarium* would allow a plaque mounted within it to be seen from both sides. We know that *armaria* could incorporate panels of ivory;[29] perhaps some of the tablets were assimilated to this type of decoration.

None of the display methods considered so far seems able to accommodate another of Theodorus' tablets, the circular Shield of Achilles (4N). Its shape and continuous carving around the rim preclude the use of a stand or frame. The rim is too thin to have incorporated, in its missing upper portion, a hole for a wire, nor is suspension from above likely anyway for a tablet whose reliefs and texts require close scrutiny to be discerned at all.[30] Perhaps the tablet simply rested on a table: at a little over six and a half pounds, it is not too heavy for viewers to have picked it up in order to inspect both sides.[31]

If the shield was free-standing, why shouldn't some of the other *Tabulae* have been so as well? Physical evidence from several of the plaques with a

[25] Horsfall 1983: 147.

[26] For the use of miter joints in Roman woodworking, see Ulrich 2007: 70. Ehlich 1953: 151 thinks it likely that miter joints were used in ancient frames, but notes that there are no extant examples from Greek and Roman contexts.

[27] For paintings on plaster enclosed in wooden frames set into the wall, see Maiuri 1940.

[28] 2002: 31.

[29] Seneca, *Dial.* 9.9.6: *armaria e citro atque ebore*; on ivory panels in Roman doors, cf. Ulrich 2007: 179.

[30] *Pace* Sadurska: 46. [31] The suggestion and the estimate of the weight are Horsfall's (1983: 147).

Sack of Troy panel suggests, in fact, that Theodorus' more general answer to the problem of display method may simply have been to set out the tablets on a tabletop, where viewers might grasp them by the edges as they pored over them. Four of these *Tabulae* (1A, 2NY, 3C, 8E) reveal a distinctive treatment of the stone along their still extant original edges.[32] The original edges terminate in a narrow lip, unadorned by carving. The lip is thinner than the main body of the plaque and indented with respect to the level of the figural material and inscriptions; a marked ridge usually separates this lip from the other material. Though easiest to see when the tablets are viewed obliquely, the feature I am describing may nevertheless be readily discerned when one looks at the upper and right edges of 2NY (recto) straight on, or at the left edge of 8E (Figures 7 and 13). The verso side of the lip is handled differently depending on whether a given tablet has carving on two sides: on the tablets with magic squares (2NY, 3C), the lip is distinguished from the ground of the carvings by a similar degree of indentation on both recto and verso. The tablets without verso decoration (1A, 8E), by contrast, do not indent the lip on this side, so that from behind it is flush with the rest of the tablet.[33] To judge from the drawing, 6B also had a lip along its upper and left edges: because the hole on the upper edge has been drilled in just *below* this apparent lip, we might infer that it was thinner than the rest of the tablet, and thus too fragile to receive the hole.

Three other tablets show a different but no less deliberate treatment of their edges. 12F is a rectangle devoted entirely to an illustration of *Iliad* 24 (Figure 16):[34] three edges are partially preserved, and in its original state the object will have measured just 5 cm high by about 8 cm wide – remarkably tiny even by the standards of the *Tabulae*. The tablet's uncarved verso is beveled along all three edges (Figure 17). The verso of 20Par, another of the Sack of Troy tablets, preserves traces of a bevel that begins about 0.8 cm to the right of the tablet's carved letter grid and continues to the point where the fragment breaks off; presumably the bevel extended to the right edge of the object when it was complete (Figure 19). 21Fro, finally, tapers noticeably toward the extant portion of its original bottom edge, where some sort of notch or groove is carved into the verso (Figure 21).

[32] In his own investigation of the display mechanism of the tablets, Horsfall examined the edges of thirteen of them (he does not specify which) and found "no traces of nails, frames, or clamps" (1983: 147). The evidence I present in the next paragraphs is of a different sort.

[33] There is a small notch in the lower right corner of the verso of 1A, but it is not ancient: this was presumably the place from which the small sample of stone was taken in 1961 so that it could be tested and the material of the *Capitolina* conclusively identified (see Sadurska: 24 n. 1).

[34] See Appendix 2 for its images and text.

These lips, bevels, and other edge treatments are in part an index of the care with which the tablets have been crafted, but they may also have a more practical function. The lip around the edges of 2NY makes it much easier to curl one's fingers around the plaque, and angle it upward to look at the carvings on both sides. 2NY currently weighs around 2.5 pounds (1.1 kg),[35] with about a quarter of the tablet surviving. We might put the original weight at a bit less than 10 pounds: not exceptionally light, but surely no barrier to manipulating it while it rests on a table. At about 3.3 pounds (1.515 kg) in its current state,[36] the *Capitolina* is rather less cumbersome than a laptop computer. As an alternative to a more formal display mechanism, then, a tabletop of white marble may sometimes have been all that was required to set off the tablets' colored stones to their best advantage,[37] and entice viewers to pore over the reliefs, even to take them in their hands by the carefully finished edges that the artisans have thoughtfully provided.

Roman miniatures

Common to most of the display methods treated above are the intimacy and active engagement involved in viewing the *Tabulae*. If viewers are to make out the tiny reliefs, they must approach closely, raising the tablet to eye level or bending toward it; in order to see each side, they must either turn the tablet in their hands or move around the apparatus into which it is set.[38] The small format of the tablets is calculated to produce this sort of sustained interest, for in the Roman world the miniature was a category of aesthetic appreciation.[39] By the later first century BCE, the Romans know of a Greek artist famed specifically for his miniatures in ivory, one Myrmecides (the name means "son of Ant").[40] Cicero makes slighting reference to this "fashioner of slight trinkets,"[41] but Varro can call on the notion of poring over carvings like those of Myrmecides to explain his own procedures for studying Latin etymology: one sometimes adds a letter in order to elucidate a word's etymological significance, he writes, just as people introduce a contrasting black background behind the ivories of Myrmecides to bring out

[35] I thank Joan Mertens of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for this measurement.

[36] I thank M. Squire for this measurement, and for discussing with me how the edge treatments might be connected with the question of display.

[37] I owe this observation to Bartman (1992: 41), who makes a similar point about statues of bronze or painted terracotta displayed on marble tabletops.

[38] Cf. Bartman 1992: 42 on the experience of viewing miniature statuary.

[39] Cf. VM: 412.

[40] For the sources see Overbeck 1868: 422 423.

[41] *Acad. Pr*. 120: *Myrmecides aliquis minutorum opusculorum fabricator*.

their barely perceptible details.[42] Proper appreciation of the miniature was evidently no casual activity. Later it would attract the censure of moralists: Aelian (early third century CE) asserts that no serious person would praise the work of Myrmecides, for "what else is it but a waste of time?"[43]

Wasteful or no, under the Empire reduced copies of famous statues proliferate in Roman households, reflecting a taste for miniaturized works as well as miniature.[44] Pliny the Elder has several passages marking the achievements of those who produced exquisitely detailed work on a small scale: Myrmecides' sculpture of a chariot no bigger than a fly; the ivory ants (to scale, presumably!) carved by his frequent associate in our sources, Callicrates.[45] Not all the miniature work noted by Pliny is figural, however: he also mentions the antiphrastically named Strabo ("Squinty"), whose vision was so keen that he was able to write the text of the *Iliad* on a piece of parchment small enough to fit in a nutshell;[46] Myrmecides and Callicrates achieved a similar feat – verses of Homer engraved on a sesame seed.[47] Theodorus could thus have expected his own miniature texts and reliefs to pique viewers' interest, as well as, presumably, to increase the value and desirability of the tablets in the eyes of their eventual owners.

Like the *Iliad* text enclosed in a nutshell, Theodorus' work impresses not just for its dimensions, but because of the immensity of the material that he has compressed into such a small compass. Epic is notionally the greatest of genres, and as father of the epic tradition, and indeed of poetry, Homer is often likened to the river Ocean, which surrounds the world and feeds with its waters all lesser tributaries;[48] Theodorus alludes to this image on his shield of Achilles (4N) when he inscribes the Iliadic verses describing the shield into the tablet's rim, substituting these for the representation of Ocean's waters that, according to the verses themselves, occupied this very position.[49] The Apotheosis of Homer relief, found on the same site as the *Capitolina*, likewise conceives of Homer's stature in terms that emphasize

[42] *De ling. Lat.* 7.1 (cf. ibid., 9.108).

[43] *VH* 1.17: τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἢ χρόνου παρανάλωμα; Cf. Galen, *Protr.* 9.

[44] Bartman 1992 *passim*.

[45] Myrmecides and Callicrates: *NH* 7.85, 34.83; cf. also 36.43 (discussed below). On the two artists (probably active in the sixth century BCE), see *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I.393, II.96 s.vv. Kallikrates, Myrmekides (M. Seifert).

[46] *NH* 7.85. Pliny attributes the anecdote to Cicero.

[47] Plutarch, *Mor.* 1083e. Aelian (*VH* 1.17) claims the sesame seed carried an elegiac couplet in gold letters.

[48] Williams 1978: 88 89, 98 99. [49] Cf. Petrain 2010.

temporal and spatial extent, representing him as crowned by the figures of Chronos and Oikoumene, personification of the inhabited world.[50]

In the course of interacting with the *Tabulae*, however, the viewer experiences the Epic Cycle as something small and literally manipulable: shrunk to manageable size and thus capable of being grasped (once again, literally as well as metaphorically), the miniaturized myths of the *Tabulae* advertise through their very dimensions that the richness of Greek epic has been tamed and placed at the disposal of a Roman consumer. To return to a passage that we considered at the very beginning of this study, a similar process is at work in Vergil's compression of the Cycle into a series of scenes depicted on Juno's temple. As A. Barchiesi remarks, in what reads like a particular application of the quotation from Bachelard that serves as this chapter's epigraph, "the 'miniature' constituted by the ecphrasis is also a form of control over the weight of tradition."[51]

For a closer look at how viewers and owners might react to miniaturized objects like the *Tabulae*, we may turn briefly to Martial's explicit depiction of such an encounter, in an epigram on a bronze figurine of Hercules owned by his friend and patron Novius Vindex.[52] The "Hercules Epitrapezius" portrayed Hercules holding his club and wine cup while sitting on a lion skin; as its epithet implies, the sculpture was small enough to be set out "on the table."[53] Martial begins by marveling over the fine details wrought on this "great god in a small bit of bronze,"[54] and highlights its attribution to Lysippus. He continues with how the statue passed from the possession of Alexander the Great to its current situation:[55]

> hoc habuit numen Pellaei mensa tyranni,
> qui cito perdomito victor in orbe iacet;
> hunc puer ad Libycas iuraverat Hannibal aras;
> iusserat hic Sullam ponere regna trucem.
> Offensus variae tumidis terroribus aulae
> privatos gaudet nunc habitare lares,
> utque fuit quondam placidi conviva Molorchi,
> sic voluit docti Vindicis esse deus.

[50] For the relief see Pollitt 1986: 15 16; Newby 2007.

[51] Barchiesi 1994: 118: "La miniatura dell'ecfrasi è anche una forma di controllo sul peso della tradizione."

[52] *Ep.* 9.43. For commentary see Henriksén 1998 ad loc.; Coleman 1998: 176 treats connections between Martial's poem and the one by Statius on the same statue (*Silv.* 4.6).

[53] Bartman 1992: 147 169 sets out what we know of the sculptural type.

[54] *exiguo magnus in aere deus* (line 2). [55] 9.43.7 14.

> This divinity was at the table of the tyrant from Pella who, victorious over the world he swiftly conquered, lies low; it was he who received the oath sworn by Hannibal as a boy at Libyan altar, he who ordered fierce Sulla to set aside his kingly power. Vexed by the tumid terrors of the fickle court, he rejoices now to dwell among a private man's *lares*, and just as once he was guest of peaceable Molorchus, so the god has consented to be that of learned Vindex.

In the context of Martial's ninth book this poem may be read as a reflection on the poet's avowed preference for small poetic forms over large,[56] but what concerns us here is the way in which Martial connects the statuette's meaning to the figure of Vindex. The poet reads Hercules' current milieu as a transfer from a public to a private context: the statue's size is a trope of its domestication that enables it to move into the dwelling of a cultivated owner. Within this new context the figurine's impressive martial pedigree no longer serves the questionable ambitions of generals and conquerors, all of whom seem destined to fail or fall, but rather redounds to the credit of Vindex's taste, less prone to upset because confined both to the ambit of his household gods and to the realm of art appreciation. The nature of Hercules' refuge has changed too, as the last couplet makes clear through a pair of contrasting epithets: in myth the god enjoyed temporary respite from his labors at the hut of Molorchus, peaceable shepherd (*placidi Molorchi*), but the calm of his new, more permanent residence is due rather to the refinement of Vindex, learned connoisseur (*docti Vindicis*). The epigram is a precious glimpse into the dynamics of reception of what we might call an emphatically miniaturized object. In the case of the *Tabulae* too, whether viewers marveled at the workmanship, recalled mythological details from the reliefs, or considered the overall meaning of Theodorus' *taxis*, we can imagine how the plaques signified their owners' cultivation in having transferred the tale of Troy to a space where it might be contemplated at leisure – a story great as the Ocean in a small bit of stone.[57]

Theodorus and the miracle of diminution

Rather than simply letting the dimensions of his tablets speak for themselves, Theodorus may advertise the feat of compression he has accomplished by

[56] See Lorenz 2003.

[57] A similar conclusion at VM: 412: "Der Clou der Tabulae Iliacae liegt sicherlich in ihrer Überspitzung, indem zwei Kontraste, die Monumentalität des trojanischen Sagenkreis und die Verspielheit des Miniaturformats, aufeinandertreffen."

another means as well: the very form in which he names himself. On the tablets his name always appears in adjectival form, *Theodōrēos* or (the standard spelling in literary texts) *Theodōreios*, while the simple noun never occurs. Thus far I have finessed the oddity of the adjective by translating it as "of Theodorus" or "Theodorus'," but literally it describes his art as "Theodorean." This unusual way of signing a work of art cannot be paralleled in any other Greek inscription found in Rome, though artists' signatures from the capital city are tolerably numerous.[58] At any rate adjectives of this sort tend to be formed from the names of figures who are already known. Yet our Theodorus is not attested outside the tablets.[59] Is the adjective merely a grandiloquent flourish, or could Theodorus have had some other reason to employ it? Perhaps he wished to reinterpret his name as a lexical item and suggest that his art really was "theo-dorean," i.e. "god-given,"[60] just as in an inscribed epitaph from Rome by one Diodorus that ends with the boast, "this man was Dio-dorus [Zeus's-gift] in name and in art."[61] Without a specific prompt like the one given by Diodorus, however, any intended etymological play is likely to remain latent.

The adjective's distribution in literary sources is revealing. Greek authors use *Theodōreios* to denote adherents to the ideas of a philosopher of the late-fourth/early-third century BCE, Theodorus "the Atheist" (they do not seem to have registered the irony of the name). For the Romans, *Theodorei* were followers of Theodorus of Gadara, the emperor Tiberius' teacher whose grammatical theories were often contrasted with those of Apollodorus of Pergamon and his *Apollodorei*.[62] Neither philosopher nor grammarian seems relevant to the *Tabulae*. In a recently published papyrus containing a collection of epigrams from the third century BCE (the so-called "new Posidippus"), however, one epigram uniquely uses the same adjective to refer to Theodorus of Samos, a sculptor and architect probably active in the sixth century.[63] Apart from the *Tabulae*, this is the only extant occurrence of the adjective in poetry.

[58] See *IGUR* 1491 1651.

[59] A point lately affirmed again by Horsfall (2008: 588); for the identity of Theodorus, see Chapter 2.

[60] I owe this suggestion to conversations with Kathleen Coleman and Michael Squire.

[61] τοὔνομα καὶ τέχνην ἦν Διόδωρος ὅδε (*IG* XIV.1409 *IGUR* 1159, where there is a useful discussion).

[62] For the dispute between the *Theodorei* and *Apollodorei*, see Forte 1973.

[63] 67 A B. For Theodorus of Samos see Stewart 1990: 244 246 and *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* II.445 447 (S. Ebbinghaus); on his role in the new collection see, e.g., Kosmetatou 2004: 204 205; Prioux 2008: 208, 241.

The poem describes a miniature sculpture of a chariot executed by Theodorus and encourages the reader to admire the precision of its details:[64]

] ἄντυγος ἐγγύθεν ἄθρει
τῆς Θεοδωρείης χειρὸς ὅσος κάματος·
ὄψει γὰρ ζυγόδεσμα καὶ ἡνία καὶ τροχὸν ἵππων
ἄξονά θ᾽ [ἡνιό]χου τ᾽ ὄμμα καὶ ἄκρα χερῶν·
ὄψει δ᾽ εὖ [ ]. . .εος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷδε
ἑζομέν[ην ἂν ἴσην ἅρματι] μυῖαν ἴδοις.

[. . .] of the chariot, observe at close quarters how great is the effort of the Theodorean hand. For you will see the yoke band, the reins, the ring on the bit of the horses, the axle, as well as the [driver's] eye and the tip of his fingers. And you will see full well [. . .], but sitting on it you might see a fly [equal in size to the chariot].[65]

Curiously enough, the fly covering the chariot seems to have been as much a topos among works of miniature art as the nuts and seeds that accommodated Homer's verses: Pliny the Elder attributes to Myrmecides a similar chariot in ivory or marble, likewise fly-sized, but treats the fly as actually part of the sculpture (not the hypothetical point of comparison suggested by the epigram).[66]

Pliny also mentions the very sculpture by Theodorus described in the third-century poem, and reveals its later fortunes:[67]

Theodorus, qui labyrinthum fecit Sami, ipse se ex aere fudit. praeter similitudinis mirabilem famam magna subtilitate celebratur: dextra limam tenet, laeva tribus digitis quadrigulam tenuit, tralatam Praeneste parvitatis ut miraculum. †pictam† eam currumque et aurigam integeret alis simul facta musca.

Theodorus, who built the labyrinth in Samos, cast a portrait of himself in bronze. Besides the remarkable fame attributed to it as a likeness, it is celebrated for its great fineness of detail: in its right hand it holds a file, in its left on three fingers it once held a chariot team that was later transferred to Praeneste as a miracle of diminution. Though he constructed[68] team and chariot and driver alike, they all might be covered by the wings of a fly he made along with them.

[64] The text and conjectures are Austin and Bastianini's.
[65] I have adapted Austin's translation.
[66] *NH* 7.85; 36.43 (*quadrigam cum agitatore operuit alis musca*).
[67] *NH* 34.83. I print Mayhoff's Teubner text but (unlike him) obelize *pictam*; see Le Bonniec's apparatus ad loc. for the textual problems.
[68] Translating *compactam*, my own conjecture for the manuscript's corrupt *pictam*.

Theodorus' chariot thus made its way to Italy and survived to be admired there as a choice specimen of miniature craft.[69] I suggest that our Theodorus intended the adjectival form of his name to activate an association with his Samian counterpart, famous even in nearby Praeneste for work on a small scale: although Theodorus is a common name, its associated adjective is not, and the new epigram now links the adjective with a well-known artist and a sculpture that might be familiar to a Roman audience. If there is a genuine attempt to evoke the Samian and the qualities of his art, our Theodorus would be shrewdly capitalizing on the reputation of a famous namesake in order to advertise his own success in reducing the Epic Cycle to a scale at which the dense intricacy of detail was no less marvelous.

Conclusions

In this and the previous chapter, I have tried to resituate the *Tabulae* in the concrete communicative situations in which viewers would have examined their texts and reliefs; the investigation has focused on formulating appropriate questions as much as on finding their answers. Though the evidence does not allow us to determine definitively where and how the tablets were displayed, their constellation of decorative elements points to a context with which they were strongly associated, the ancient library. The surviving edges of the tablets suggest some of them were meant to be handled by viewers, but at any rate their small dimensions indicate we may gain insight into their display and function by considering Roman attitudes toward the miniature. Both features of the reception of the tablets contribute additional layers of meaning to the narrative content examined in earlier chapters: the library offers a unifying backdrop for the tablets' decorative motifs and fosters the viewing habits necessary for understanding them; the miniature format ensures that viewers will interact with the plaques closely and be struck by how Theodorus has made of Greek epic an element suitable for a private household's decor – Homer brought down to human scale, if not to that of a fly.

* * *

Through the course of this study, the *Tabulae Iliacae* have emerged as extremely complex objects that engage profoundly with early imperial culture on multiple levels. Drawing on rhetorical theories about constructing a

[69] For the relationship between the description of the chariot in the epigram and Pliny's account, see Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001: 193 194; Gutzwiller 2002: 55 56.

narrative and the Roman viewer's facility with decoding stories in pictorial form, the tablets create an unprecedented mode of storytelling that overwhelms viewers with evocations of epic's linear plotline at the same time as it imposes on this plotline a spatial layout whose symmetries elevate Aeneas to the status of main character. Every detail of the tablets, both pictorial and textual, is calculated to achieve this balance between epic's comprehensive authority and Theodorus' revisionist focus on Rome's hero. The chorographic central panel employs the conventions of mapmaking to secure the viewer's active participation where it is most important, while the Iliadic friezes give palpable form to that poem by transforming its book divisions into an organizing principle of the visual presentation. Texts themselves fulfill a particularly wide variety of functions: the pilasters on the *Capitolina* are imposing emblems of Homer's poetry; copious citations on all the tablets rhetorically underscore the authority of their version of epic; the letter grids on the verso convert language into a multidirectional game that models the reading process of the reliefs; and finally, the inscribed epigrams use the resources of poetic diction in order to articulate Theodorus' claims to be transmitting poetic wisdom. Though on casual inspection the *Tabulae* might appear to offer mere digests of Homer, I hope to have shown that they need to be brought into contact with the full spectrum of discourses on narrative, Homeric epic, and the contentious relationship between Greek and Roman literature that characterize the early Empire. My analysis demonstrates the interpretive gains to be had from taking as capacious a view as possible of the cultural phenomena that are relevant for an understanding of the *Tabulae*.

We have examined the elements of the *Tabulae* in an order that reverses the sequence in which the ancient viewer would have become aware of them: Proceeding deductively, we began with the inscriptions that offered the most explicit testimony for how the tablets should be read, and considered only afterwards their reliefs and their external context. This move was perhaps necessary to combat any lingering notion that the tablets are mere summaries or memory aids, but a viewer would certainly have begun by noticing the surroundings of the tablets, and the overall arrangement of their reliefs, before looking closely at their texts.

If we approach the content of the tablets according to a sequence more in line with the phenomenology of the viewing process, it becomes clear that Theodorus has constructed his plaques in such a way that they may address with equal effectiveness viewers who possess differing levels of interest or competence. A viewing of the tablets that entirely ignores the specifics of their reliefs and texts, for example, will at least grasp from their overall layout the point that familiar scenes from Greek epic have been arranged

around and subordinated to the emblematic group of Aeneas and his family. Viewers who look more closely will find this initial impression strengthened and clarified as they follow the reliefs and texts carefully orchestrated to draw their eyes to the center and communicate the idea that the totality of the Epic Cycle is a prelude to Aeneas' momentous departure for the lands of the west. Those with the time and expertise to delve into the intricacies of the poetic couplets and magic squares, or the tangled evocations of the aftermath of Troy's sack in the lower half of the central panel, may further appreciate how even the less-prominent features of Theodorus' *taxis* support his overall message. The *Tabulae Iliacae* are examples of artworks that can address several different audiences at once, rewarding both the casual, inexpert glance and the in-depth perusal with a compelling image of the Greek epic tradition restructured according to Roman interests.

Appendix 1 Conspectus of the *Tabulae Iliacae*

	Name	Approximate dimensions in cm. (H × W × D)	Material	RECTO Panel/friezes *or* Principal subject	VERSO Magic square/ enclosed message *or* Principal subject	Hand
1A	*Capitolina*	25 × 28 × 1.5	Palombino (Calcite)	Sack of Troy/ *Iliad*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*; epitome of *Iliad*		a
2NY	New York	18.1 × 17.6 × 2.5	White marble	Sack of Troy/ *Iliad*	Square/signature of Theodorus	b
3C	*Veronensis I*	10 × 10 × 1 2.15	Yellow marble	Sack of Troy/ *Cypria*(?), *Iliad*	Square/signature of Theodorus	b
4N	Shield of Achilles	Diam. 17.8; thick. 4 2	Red stone	Shield of Achilles; text of *Iliad* 18, lines 483 557	Horned altar/ sig. of Theodorus	b
5O	Shield of Achilles	10 × 15.5 × 1.45	Palombino	Shield of Achilles	12 sided figure/ sig. of Theodorus	b
6B (lost)	*Sarti*	?	?	Shield of Achilles, Sack of Troy/*Iliad*, *Odyssey*	?	
7Ti (lost)	*Thierry*	7 × 10	White marble(?)	Sack of Troy/ *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*	Diamond/"Sack of Troy"	b
8E	*Zenodotus*	8 × 11 × .8	Yellow marble	Sack of Troy/ treatise of Zenodotus		c

9D	*Veronensis II*	5.5 × 6.7 × 1 3	Yellow marble	Sack of Troy/ *Aethiopis, Iliad*	Digest of Theban myths	d
10K	*Borgia*	4.5 × 8.5	Yellow marble	Reliefs of uncertain subject; digest of Theban myths	Digest of Athenian myths; catalogue of epic poems	d
11H	*Rondanini*	11 × 14.5 × .6	Palombino	Odysseus at house of Circe (from *Odyssey* 10)		c
12F	Ransom of Hector	5 × 7 × 1.2	Yellow marble	Ransom of Hector (from *Iliad* 24)		c
13Ta	*Tarentina*	8.7 × 8.4	Yellow marble	Achilles with corpse of Hector; Achilles and Athena		
14G	*Homer*	10.3 × 7 × 2 2	Steatite	Homer seated; inscribed summary of *Iliad*	Scene of combat enclosed in frame	c
15Ber	*Dressel*	10 × 6.5 × 2	White marble	Aphrodite comes to the aid of Paris (from *Iliad* 3)	Grid/"Treaty between chiefs"	b
16Sa	*Tomassetti* (*Odysseaca*)	20.4 × 17.2	White marble	Poseidon/ *Odyssey*		
17M (lost)	*Chigi*	14 × 9	Yellow marble	Europe and Asia bearing shield with Alexander's victory at Gaugamela	?	c

18L	Roman Chronicle I	8 × 9 × 1.55	Palombino	Alexander romance(?)	Chronicle of Greek and Roman history	d
19J	*Albani*	25 × 24	White marble	Apotheosis of Heracles	?	e
20Par	*Froehner*	6.5 × 8.8 × 2	Palombino	?/ *Iliad*	Square/signature of Theodorus	a/b
21Fro	*Lytra*	7 × 6.4 × 1.8	Palombino	?/ *Iliad*		c
22VP	Roman Chronicle II	7.5 × 5 × 2	Palombino	Alexander romance; inscribed letter of Darius to Alexander	Chronicle of Greek history	d
23Ky	Cumae	5.3 × 9 × 1	Yellow marble	Scene of libation at an altar	Stepped altar/no message in grid	

The "Dimensions" are based largely on those provided by Sadurska 1964, who examined most of the tablets personally, with the following exceptions: For 15Ber, I am grateful to M. Squire for providing me with a more accurate measurement of the depth (Sadurska had listed it as 0.3 cm). For 17M, I follow J–M (1873: 9) in listing the height at 14 cm rather than Sadurska's 15.5 cm: 14 cm agrees better with the width-to-height ratio as observed in the photographs that are the only way of accessing the *Tabula Chigi* (on the whereabouts of the tablet, currently lost, see Petrain 2012: 631–632). For 20Par through 22VP, see Sadurska 1966, Horsfall 1990, and Salimbene 2002. For 23Ky, whose pertinence to the class is not certain, see Gasparri 2009. (One occasionally meets further small discrepancies in reports of the dimensions of the tablets: e.g., a recent exhibition catalogue measures 11H at 12 × 14.8 × .6 cm [*Ulisse* 1996: 138], while Sadurska, who rediscovered the tablet in a storeroom of the Warsaw National Museum, put it at 11 × 14.5 × 0.6 cm.)

The "Material" of the tablets can be difficult to determine: see the discussion in the Introduction.

The "Hand" refers to the stonecutters who worked on the *inscriptions* of each tablet, not to those who carved the reliefs. For these identifications, see Sadurska 1964: 14 and Horsfall 1990: 95–96.

Appendix 2 Description of selected *Tabulae*: Texts and images

In this appendix I provide a description of the nine *Tabulae Iliacae* that are the principal subject of my study, that is, those that originally featured the Sack of Troy in a central panel. The closely related *Tabula* 12F is also included. I have inspected each tablet personally, except of course for those that are currently lost.

For each tablet, I begin with the inscriptions that provide connected texts in poetry or prose. The version of the texts offered here draws upon my own research and occasionally differs from the versions reported in the standard monographs and corpora. Next I go through the images together with their captions and labels. As the pictorial matter of the tablets has already been presented numerous times in exhaustive detail, I offer here no more than a brief, serviceable description (though there are a few novelties in my presentation of 2NY). Documentation of the iconography and detailed discussion of the relationship of the images to Homer's text may be found in the monographs,[1] and in the relevant articles of *LIMC*.

My description of each frieze runs strictly from left to right; the descriptions of the central panels likewise run from left to right and top to bottom. The labels belonging to individual figures are enclosed in parentheses after the first mention of the figure's name. I place captions that apply to entire scenes before the descriptions of the scenes themselves. My segmentation of the friezes and panels into numbered sections is a convenience not meant to exclude the possibility that the figures might be grouped differently.

If versions of a given frieze appear on multiple tablets, I provide at the beginning of the description a cross-reference to the other relevant tablets (introduced by "Cf.").

Throughout the appendix, my focus is on describing each tablet section by section and figure by figure. For a more synoptic description of the tablets that highlights similarities and differences among the exemplars of the group, see Chapter 3.

[1] J M; Mancuso 1909 (esp. for 1A); Sadurska; VM.

1A, *Tabula Capitolina* (*IG* XIV.1284)

Citation of poetic sources in the lower half of the central panel.

ἸΙλίου πέρσις
κατὰ Στησίχορον.
Τρωϊκός.
[carving of the Greek ships]
ἸΙλιὰς
κατὰ Ὅμηρον.
Αἰθιοπὶς κατὰ Ἀρκτῖ
νον τὸν Μιλήσιον.
ἸΙλιὰς ἡ μικρὰ λε
γομένη κατὰ
Λέσχην Πυρραῖον.

Sack of Troy according to Stesichorus. Trojan.
Iliad according to Homer. *Aethiopis* according to Arctinus of Miletus. The so called *Little Iliad* according to Lesches of Pyrrha.

Epigram on the lower border of the central panel.[2]

τέχνην τὴν Θεοδ]ώρηον μάθε τάξιν Ὁμήρου
ὄφρα δαεὶς πάσης μέτρον ἔχῃς σοφίας.

Learn the *technē* of Theodorus, the *taxis* of Homer, so that having mastered it you may possess the measure of all wisdom.

Prose synopsis of *Iliad* 7–24 on the pilaster to the right of the central panel.[3]

οἱ δ᾽ Ἀχαιοὶ τῖχός τε καὶ (*Iliad*, book 7)
τάφρον ποιοῦνται πε
ρὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἀμφοτέρ (book 8)
ων δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξοπλισ
θέντων καὶ μάχην ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ συναψάντων, οἱ
Τρῶες εἰς τὸ τῖχος τοὺς
Ἀχαιοὺς καταδιώκουσιν
καὶ τὴν νύκτ᾽ ἐκείνην ἐπὶ
ταῖς ναυσὶν ποιοῦνται τὴν

[2] For the supplement see Chapter 2.

[3] The pilaster is so worn that in several places its inscription is almost illegible. With Sadurska I follow the text of Mancuso 1910 as the best attempt at deciphering this occasionally intractable text, but I depart from him in a few places where the stone seems clearly to offer something different (departures are signaled in footnotes). See J M: 63 66 and *IG* XIV.1284 for a sampling of the remarkable variety of readings that have been elicited from the stone; there is a good example at line 43 below (with footnote).

ἔπαυλιν. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀχαι (book 9)
ῶν ἀριστεῦσιν δοκεῖ βο
υλευσαμένοις τίν᾽ ἀπο[σ
τεῖλαι πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα. Ἀ [4]
γαμέμνων δὲ δ<ω>ρεάς τε
πολλὰς δίδωσι καὶ τὴν
Βρισηΐδα. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέν
τες πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσ
εύς τε καὶ Φοῖνιξ, πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις Αἴας, ἀπαγγέ
λλουσιν Ἀχιλλεῖ τοὺς λ[ό
γους τοὺς {λόγους} παρ᾽ Ἀγ
αμέμνονος. ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε προ
σδέχεται τὰς δωρεὰς οὔ
τε συνχωρεῖ διαλυσάμ
ενος αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν.
οἱ δ᾽ ἀριστ[εῖ]ς ταῦτ᾽ ἀκού (book 10)
σαντες κ[ατα]σκόπους
πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ
Διομήδην. οὗτοι δὲ Δόλω
νι συναντήσαντες ὑφ᾽ Ἕκ
τορος ἀπεσταλμένῳ κατα
σκόπῳ, πυθόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐ
τοῦ τὴν τάξιν [τῶ]ν τὸ στρατ
όπεδον φυλα[σ]σόντων αὐ
τόν τε διαφ[θε]ίρουσιν καὶ
Ῥῆσον τὸν Θρᾳκῶν, μετ᾽ α
ὐτ]οῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους. καὶ λαβόν [5]
τ]ες τὰς ἵππους ἐπὶ τὰς να
ῦς ἐλαύνουσιν. ἡμέρας δὲ (book 11)
γενομένης μάχην συνά
πτουσι, ἐ[ν ᾗ] τῶ[ν] ἀ[ρ]ιστέ
ων [τρωθέντε]ς Ἀγαμέμ [6]
νων Διομήδης Ὀδυσσεὺς Μ
αχάων Εὐρύπυλος ἐπὶ τὰ
ς ναῦς ἀναχωροῦσιν. Πάτρο
κλος δὲ πεμφθεὶς παρ᾽ Ἀχ

[4] Mancuso: ἀπο /στεῖλαι, but no traces of the sigma are visible on the stone.
[5] Mancuso: λαβό /[ντ]ες, but the nu is legible and was read by Kaibel (*IG* XIV.1284).
[6] For lines 42 and 43, I print the text of Kaibel (*IG* XIV.1284), incorporating his conjecture *ad* 42, because it agrees better with what I see on the stone (I am not, however, able to make out the first four letters of τρωθέντες, as Kaibel did); Mancuso: πτουσιν κ[αὶ] τῆ[ς] μ[άχ]ης ἱστα /μένης [τρωθέντε]ς.

ιλλέως πυνθάνε[τα]ι Νέσ
τορος τὰ περὶ τὴν μ[άχ]ην.
50 Ἕκτωρ δὲ ῥήξας τὰς [ἐς στρα (book 12)
τὸν πύλας εἰς τὸ τῖχος [εἰς
πίπτει τ<ῶ>ν Ἑ[λ]λήνων κ[αὶ
μάχην συνάπτει πρὸ [τ]ῶν (book 13)
ν<ε>ῶν. τῆ{ι}ς δ' ὁμαλῆς γινο [7] (books 14, 15)
55 μένης, Ἀχιλλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ (book 16)
Πατρόκλου τὰ περὶ τὴν μ
ά[χ]ην ἀκούσας καὶ δεο
μέν]ου βοηθεῖν αὐτόν
τε π]έμψαι τοῖς π[ερὶ ν
60 εῶν, ἰ]δὼν τὴν τοῦ Πρ[ωτε
σι]λάου ναῦν καιομένη[ν πέμ
πει μετὰ τῶν Μυρμιδ[όνων
τὸν Πάτροκλον, τοὺς ἵ[ππ
ους αὐτῶι δοὺς καὶ τοῖς [ὅ
65 πλοις τοῖς αὑτοῦ καθοπλ
ίσας. ὃ ἰδόντες οἱ Τρῶες ἰ
θὺς ἅπαντες φεύγουσιν.
ἐν δὲ τῆι τροπῆι ταύτηι Π[άτ
ροκλος ἄλλους τε πολ[λο
70 ὺς ἀποκτείνι καὶ Σαρπηδό
να τὸν Διός, τοὺς δὲ λοιπ[οὺ
ς εἰς τὸ τῖχος [κατα]διώκει.
Ἕκτωρ δ' αὐτὸν μ[εί]νας ἀ
ποκτείνι καὶ [τῶν ὅ]πλων ἐ[γ
75 κρατὴς γείνεται. μ[άχ]ης [δ (book 17)
ὲ περὶ [τοῦ νεκρ]οῦ γι[νομέ
νης, Ἀν[τίλοχ]ος ἀπαγγέλ (book 18)
λ]ι Ἀχιλλ[εῖ . . . . . [8]
ΕΩΣ. ἡ [Θέτις δ'] ἔρχεται πρ
80 ὸς Ἥφαισ[τον] αἰτήσουσα
παντευχί[α]ν. ὁ δ' αὐτῇ προ
θύμως ποιεῖ. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ
σῶμα τοῦ Πατρόκ[λου ἐ]πὶ τὰ

[7] Kaibel; Mancuso: ὁμαλῶς. Cf. Michaelis' remarks (1858: 111): "What the sequence τῆς δ' ὁμαλῆς γινομένης ['while it (the battle) was becoming even'] is doing here is unclear to me, for at that point the Trojans are rather just about to destroy the Greeks' ships by fire; thus I would not hesitate to follow Fabretti, who wrote τῆς δὲ μάχης γενομένης ['when the battle arose'], if in this passage the stone. . .did not clearly contradict that reading."

[8] Kaibel (but I am unable to discern the initial lambda that he did); Mancuso: λ]ει ἀχνύ[μενος ἐς κ]λισίαν Ἀχ[ι]λ[λ /έως, but the diction and the reading itself (when compared to the stone) seem implausible.

ς] ναῦς διακομίζου[σ]ιν. τῶν (book 19)
δ᾽ ὅπλων ὑπὸ τῆ{ι}ς [Θ]έτιδ
ος ἐνεχθέντων [τ]ὴν Βρι
σηΐδα Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀχιλλεῖ
δίδωσιν. Ἀχι[λ]λεὺς δὲ ἐ[ς (book 21)
τὸν Σκάμανδρον καταδιώ
ξας Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀποκ
τίνει. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ τὸν ἐν
τῶι ποταμῶι διαφυγὼν
κί]νδυν[ον πρ]ὸς Ἕκτορα μονομ [9] (book 22)
[α]χ[εῖ] κ[αὶ ἀπ]οκτίνει καὶ τὰ ὅπλ[α
αὐτοῦ] λαμβάνει καὶ τὸν νεκρ
ὸ]ν ἐκδησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφ
ρου {ΟΥ} διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἕλκει[10]
ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ τὸν Πάτ (book 23)
ροκλον θάψας τίθησιν
ἐπ᾽ αὐτ[ῷ ἄ]θ[λ]ά τινα τῶν ἀρισ
τέων. κα[ὶ ὁ] Πρίαμος ἐπὶ τὰ[ς (book 24)
ν[αῦ]ς παρ[αγ]ενόμενος Ἕκ
τορα λυτροῦται παρ᾽ Ἀχιλ
λέως. ἐπανελθόντος δὲ
τοῦ Πριάμου πάλιν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν, θάπτουσιν
οἱ Τρῶες καὶ τὸν τάφο [11]
ν αὐτοῦ κατασκευά[ζ]ουσι.

The Achaeans make a wall and ditch around the ships. Once both sides are armed and join battle in the field, the Trojans pursue the Achaeans to the wall and that night make their camp by the ships. The chiefs of the Achaeans resolve, after having deliberated, to send someone to Achilles. Agamemnon gives many gifts and the aforementioned Briseis. Those who are sent to him, Odysseus and Phoenix, and besides them Ajax, announce to Achilles the message from Agamemnon. But he neither accepts the gifts nor agrees to reconcile and help them. The chiefs upon hearing this send as spies Odysseus and Diomedes. They, after happening upon Dolon, who had been sent as a spy by Hector, [and] learning from him the formation of those guarding the camp, kill both him and Rhesus, of the Thracians, and others too along with

[9] Mancuso: Ἕ[κ]τορα, but all the letters are legible. It is very hard to make out on the stone any traces of the previous two words.

[10] Only Mancuso detects the repetition of the letters ΟΥ. If he is correct (the stone is difficult to decipher), it would surely be an error of dittography rather than, as he suggests, the pronoun οὑ, "his."

[11] Kaibel; Mancuso omits the article: οἱ Τρῶες καὶ τάφ[ο , but the sequence ΤΟ seems clearly visible.

him. And having seized his mares they drive them to the ships. When day comes they join battle, in which those of the chiefs who were wounded, Agamemnon, Diomedes, Odysseus, Machaon, Eurypylus, withdraw to the ships. Patroclus, sent by Achilles, inquires of Nestor the news about the battle. Hector, after breaking the gates to the army, falls upon the wall of the Greeks and joins battle before the ships. While the battle was becoming even,[12] Achilles, after hearing from Patroclus the news about the battle, and with him asking [Achilles] to help and to send him to those around the ships, he [Achilles], when he saw the ship of Protesilaus burning, sends Patroclus with the Myrmidons, having given to him his horses and armed him with his own armor. Having seen this, all the Trojans immediately flee. During this with drawal Patroclus kills many others and in particular Sarpedon, son of Zeus, but the rest he pursues to the wall. Hector, having awaited him, kills him and comes into possession of the armor. While the battle over the corpse was going on, Antilochus announces to Achilles. . . Thetis goes to Hephaestus in order to ask for a full set of armor. He willingly makes it for her. The Achaeans carry the body of Patroclus to the ships. After the armor was brought by Thetis, Agamemnon gives Briseis to Achilles. Achilles, after pursuing Asteropaeus to the Scamander, kills him. Achilles, having escaped the danger in the river, fights Hector in single combat and kills him and takes his armor and, after tying the corpse to his chariot, drags it through the field to the ships. And after burying Patroclus he conducts in his honor some contests among the chiefs. And Priam, having come to the ships, ransoms Hector from Achilles. After Priam returned to the city, the Trojans bury him and prepare his tomb.

The frieze above the central panel (*Iliad* 1). (Cf. 3C, 6B)

1 Two oxen linked by a yoke face right; an attendant seems to stand in front of them. The parallel scenes on 3C and 6B suggest that this pair was hitched to a cart (now missing) that bore Chryses' ransom for his daughter to Agamemnon, despite the fact that the lengthy caption for the next scene begins directly under the legs of the animals.[13] (The shape just visible above the animal in front, at the point where the tablet breaks off, may be the back of a figure perched atop the cart and unloading its contents, as on 3C and 6B.)
2 The shrine of Apollo Smintheus (ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ζμινθέως). Chryses (Χρύσης) prays over an altar before Apollo's temple.
3 The plague (λοιμός). A dog can be made out in the foreground; the rest is unclear.

[12] *Sic*; see the footnote to the Greek text ad loc. for problems with this phrase.
[13] For the identification of this scene, see VM: 35.

4 Calchas (Κάλχας) gestures toward the preceding scene with his right arm. Agamemnon (Ἀγαμέμνων) sits facing right, toward Nestor (Νέστωρ) who is also seated and faces front. Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) stands with his sword drawn. Athena (Ἀθηνᾶ) extends her right hand toward him.
5 Odysseus driving the hecatomb to the god Apollo (Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν ἑκατόμβην τῷ θεῷ ἄγων Ἀπόλλωνι). Three oxen are led by a servant who follows Odysseus. Chryseis (Χρυσηΐς) stands facing right, toward her father Chryses who prays over an altar before a temple.
6 Thetis (Θέτις) kneels in profile facing right toward Zeus (Ζεύς, to the left of Zeus' head), who is seated on a throne.

The friezes to the right of the pilaster (*Iliad* 13–24, running from bottom to top).

N (13)[14]

1 Meriones (Μηριόνης), in full armor, faces front with a sword in his right hand. With his left he grips his opponent Akamas (Ἀκάμας), who has fallen to his knees.
2 Idomeneus (Ἰδομενεύς), in full armor, faces right. His opponent Othryoneus (Ὀθρυονεύς) has fallen and is being dragged away by another soldier. Idomeneus' next victim, Asius (Ἄσιος, next to the figure's head), seems to withdraw to the right.
3 Aeneas (Αἰνήας),[15] in full armor, moves to strike with his right hand his opponent Aphareus (Ἀφαρεύς), who is viewed from behind and nude save for shield, helmet, and lance.

(14)

1 An indistinct figure faces right toward a fight between two armored figures, Archelochus (Ἀρχέλοχος) and the Locrian Ajax (Αἴας Λοκρός).
2 Ajax (Αἴας), in full armor, faces right with lance raised to strike in his right hand. He advances on Poseidon (Ποσιδῶν), who faces him. Hector (Ἕκτωρ), his left leg bent and raised, flees to the right toward Apollo (Ἀπόλλων), viewed from behind and with a quiver visible on his back.

[14] Some of the *Iliad* friezes on 1A preserve in their upper left corner the Greek letter corresponding to their book, as here (nu 13). Kaibel's text assigns to each frieze its letter, while Sadurska and VM do not seem to take these letters into account. I print the letter when it is visible to me, and otherwise omit it.

[15] *Pace* VM (p. 45), the label for Aeneas is not displaced to the left and erroneously positioned under the figure of Asius: though line drawings of the *Capitolina* do show such a displacement, on the stone itself the label occupies its expected position.

Ο (15)

1 Aeneas (Αἰνήας), in armor and standing on an elevation so that his head intrudes markedly into the upper border of the frieze, raises a weapon in his right hand. To the right, Kleitos (Κλῖτος) has sunk to the ground, while above him an unnamed figure carries a spear. Again to the right, Helenus (Ἔλενος) bends forward in the foreground while above him a figure raises a bow and arrow (Πάρ[ις]?).[16] Hector (Ἕκτωρ), in full armor, stands at the center of the composition and dramatically prepares to hurl a torch with his right hand. On the ground in front of him is his wounded comrade Kaletor (Καλήτωρ).
Battle at the ships (ἐπὶ ναυσὶ μάχη).The right third of the frieze is taken up by a large representation of a ship with a multitude of oars: the stern faces left while the bow, outfitted with a ram, points right. Standing on the ship is Ajax (unlabeled), nude but for shield, helmet, and lance, warding off the onslaught of Hector and the others; Teucer (likewise unlabeled) crouches under his shield and fires his bow. There is an additional indistinct shape at the right end of the ship.

Π (16)

1 Patroclus (Πάτροκ, an abbreviation), so tall that the crest of his helmet reaches to the top of the frieze's upper border, dons the armor of Achilles. An attending figure facing left holds Patroclus' shield, and two other figures face right. One of the first two figures is Phoenix (Φοῖνιξ; the label is positioned between them), while the third is Diomedes (Διομήδης). Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) sits in a chair facing left.
2 Patroclus (Πάτροκλος), in armor, advances right toward one or two indistinct figures. To their right, a chariot speeds away: its driver raises a shield, and its two horses rear up on their hind legs.

Ρ (17)

This band entirely lacks labels and captions.

1 An armored figure standing on a chariot is perhaps Hector. His horses gallop forward, and under them a series of zigzagging horizontal lines may represent the terrain. A figure whose lower half is preserved faces the horses – perhaps Ajax protecting the corpse of Patroclus.

[16] I can no longer make out Πάρις on the stone. Older drawings show the name intact, just under the label for Κλῖτος, but Kaibel read Πάρ[ις] and Michaelis Πά[ρις] (J M: 65).

2 A standing figure (Menelaus?) raises the corpse of Patroclus by the shoulders.
3 Two figures lift the corpse of Patroclus by its knees and shoulders, respectively, in order to lift the body on to the chariot to the right. The driver, two horses, and an indistinct figure on the extreme right who may be attending them, are visible.

Σ (18) (Cf. 2NY, 20Par)

1 A figure with his hands over his face turns right toward Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), who sits on a stool at the foot of a bed. The body of Patroclus (Πάτροκλος) lies on the bed, his left arm dangling over its side and touching the ground. Above and behind the bed, a figure spreads her arms over the body. To the right an additional indistinct figure probably represents another mourner.
2 The making of the armor (ὁπλοποία). Thetis (Θέτις) is seen in profile facing right: she is clad in a long robe and leans her chin on her left hand while she supports her left elbow on her right, folded arm. A nude Cyclops viewed from behind draws back his arms to strike the shield that rests on the anvil to the right; two others stand over the anvil to the left and right, the latter figure again viewed from behind and poised to bring down his hammer. At the right end of the frieze sits Hephaestus (Ἥφαιστος), facing left and holding the shield in place.

Τ (19) (Cf. 2NY, 20Par)

1 Two female figures in long robes face right. The one on the right is Thetis (Θέ[τις]), who seems to extend an object to Achilles ([Ἀχι]λλεύς). Achilles is seen in profile facing left, in the act of putting on one of his greaves. To his right another female figure bears his shield (ἀσπί[ς], just above the shield itself)[17] and Phoenix (Φοῖνιξ) carries in his left hand what may be a helmet.
2 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), in armor, springs on to a chariot that has a driver and two horses. On the far right a standing figure attends the horses.

(20) (Cf. 2NY, 20Par)

1 Poseidon (Ποσιδῶν) sits in profile facing right, with his arm outstretched. An unlabeled, armored figure rushes away to the right, probably Aeneas.

[17] The label, clear on the stone, was missed by Michaelis, Kaibel and Sadurska; Mancuso (1909: 684) seems to have been first to mention it.

2 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), in armor, faces right and raises his sword against a figure who walks toward him with hands outstretched and may be unarmed. To the right of this figure, a warrior in armor rushes away.
3 A figure in full armor whose helmet extends into the upper border of the frieze advances right against an armored opponent who draws back slightly. Perhaps Achilles and Hector.
4 A seated figure faces left. To the right, a standing figure in profile also faces left and raises an arm. Perhaps two gods surveying the battle.[18]

(21) (Cf. 2NY)

1 Achilles, facing front, grips with his hand a figure whose lower body is not shown. This latter figure is probably the Trojan Lycaon, submerged in the waters of the river Scamander (Σκάμανδρος; the label is positioned between this scene and the next and probably applies to both).[19]
2 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) has fallen to the ground and is trying to get up. He extends his hand to the right toward Poseidon (Ποσιδῶν), who faces left and strides toward him. Poseidon's trident is visible to the right just over the god's shoulder. Behind the trident there is possibly another figure (the goddess Athena?).
3 An armored warrior, certainly Achilles, moves right in pursuit of two fleeing figures, Phrygians (Φρύγες) making for Troy's gate, which is shown as an imposing structure with flanking towers and crenelations.

[18] Cf. VM: 77.

[19] See VM: 77 78 for earlier proposals to connect this pair with the battle between Achilles and the river god Scamander himself. To support the identification with Achilles and Lycaon, VM adduces a similar scene from the House of the Cryptoportico in Pompeii: Achilles attacks Lycaon while a seated personification of the river Scamander watches from nearby; all three figures are labeled (for the paintings in the House of the Cryptoportico, see Chapter 4).

VM suggests that the scene on the *Capitolina* must have been adapted from a more detailed image that likewise featured a labeled personification of Scamander next to Achilles and Lycaon: the stonecutter unwittingly copied the label for the river god from this model even though the corresponding figure had been omitted from the image carved above on the tablet. Only in this way, she claims, can we explain why the stonecutter included a label for something that the image itself shows no trace of ("in der Darstellung der Tabula selbst gibt es keinen Anhaltspunkt, der zu dieser Inschrift geführt haben könnte," VM: 78). But the miniature images of the *Tabulae* do not find room for geographical personifications elsewhere, and I am not sure why we should expect the presence of one in a prototype here: the label "Scamander" rather conveys the crucial information that the first two scenes of the frieze take place alongside or in the river (Lycaon is partially underwater!), in much the same way that the corresponding *Iliad* 21 frieze on 2NY bears the heading "battle by the river" (παραποταμία μάχη, for which see below). The label seems well motivated by material in the frieze and therefore does not offer a secure point of departure for inferring details about a hypothetical prototype. (On the question of the sources of the *Tabulae*, see the Introduction.)

(22) (Cf. 2NY, 9D)

1 Hector, in full armor, stands before the gate of Troy, flanked by two towers. His right hand curls around his lance, which he holds upright. Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) emerges from behind the right-hand tower, with half his body still hidden. He is also in armor and turns left toward Hector.
2 Hector (Ἕκτωρ) has fallen to his knees, facing frontally with his arms spread. His armor and weapons are no longer visible. Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), in full armor, grips Hector with his right hand and moves to the right.
3 The nude corpse of Hector (Ἕκτωρ) is bound by the feet to Achilles' chariot and being dragged over the ground.[20] In the space above his body are traces that may depict a right-facing figure, but may perhaps belong to the billowing cloak of Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς).[21] Achilles, still in armor, drives the chariot, whose two horses are galloping away. Below the horses a rounded shape can be made out: an accident of terrain (as in the first scene of *Iliad* 17)?

(23) (Cf. 2NY, 9D, 21Fro)

1 The cremation of Patroclus (καῦσις Πατρόκλο, a slight abbreviation). A large object, perhaps a vessel for wine, is attended by an indistinct figure who faces right toward Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς). Achilles is viewed from behind and seems to be nude (a line denoting the musculature of his upper back is visible); he extends one arm over the pyre of Patroclus to the right, probably in order to pour a libation. Patroclus' pyre is a tall, stepped structure, on top of which lies the corpse with its head on the left. To the right stands a figure who faces front; to the right of him there is a narrow, vertical object of about the same height. Either the figure is attending the cremation and holds some sort of lance or scepter, or he belongs to the next scene and is presiding over a chariot race as he stands near its goalpost (which in this case might be interpreted as a tree).[22]
2 Funeral game (ἐπιτάφιος ἀγ, abbreviation for ἀγών). The worn relief features at least two chariots whose horses are rushing to the right. At the right end of the frieze, the rounded shape that intrudes slightly into the upper border may be a horse's head and thus represent an additional

[20] 13Ta also carries a version of the dragging of Hector's corpse. See Appendix 1 and VM: 210 212.
[21] For identification as a figure see J M: 23; Sadurska: 27; VM: 82.
[22] For the different proposals see VM: 85 86 (VM supports identifying the figure as Achilles presiding over the chariot race).

chariot that is making a turn and heading back to the goal (cf. the corresponding scene on 2NY).

(24) (Cf. 2NY, 9D, 12F, 21Fro)

1 Hector and the ransom of Hector (Ἕκτωρ καὶ λύτρα Ἕκτορος). A figure in profile facing right bends forward as he lifts Hector's corpse by the knees. Above and behind the long horizontal of the body is an indistinct figure facing right who perhaps also bows forward. A third figure in profile facing left holds the corpse by the shoulders. The head of the corpse lolls to the side and its arm drags on the ground.

To the right of this group, we see an animal viewed in perspective from behind, its body curving to the right. It is attached to the wagon that holds the ransom, also viewed from behind and with its rectangular back visible. A figure perched atop the wagon seems to be holding an object and extending it toward a figure who stands to the right and faces him.[23]

2 Hermes (Ἑρμῆς) bends over the figure of Priam (Πρίαμος), who sits on the ground facing right and probably wears a Phrygian cap. Above them, two vertical lines represent a post that supports the fabric of a tent and indicates that the scene is set indoors. Creases in the fabric can be made out on either side of the post. To Priam's right stands another figure; next to his head are represented additional creases in the tent's fabric. At the right end of the frieze sits Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς): he faces left toward Priam, and his left hand rests on the chair whose legs can just be made out beneath him and to the right.

The friezes below the central panel.
Upper frieze (*Aethiopis*). (Cf. 7Ti, 9D)

1 All that remains of the first scene are vertical and oblique lines that seem to outline some sort of structure (several of the scenes in this frieze are divided by architectural elements). A fragmentary inscription belonging to the lost scene is now illegible.[24] To judge from the initial scenes of the *Aethiopis* preserved on 7Ti and 9D, this scene too is likely to have depicted Penthesilea arriving in Troy and greeting Priam.

[23] VM (p. 91) detects Phrygian caps on the two figures unloading the wagon and thus identifies them as Trojans; I cannot discern any details of their clothing.

[24] Since Fabretti it has been read as]ΚΗΣ and restored as "Podarces" ([Ποδάρ]κης), one of Penthesilea's Greek victims. Mancuso saw ⟦ΟΣ (1909: 697). Perhaps the name is simply "Priam" (for [Πρίαμ]ος, see Bernabé 1987: 66 [*Aethiopis* T 8]).

2 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) stands in profile facing right. Penthesilea (Πενθεσίλεια) falls backwards toward him in death. To her right is a tower repesenting Troy.

3 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), shown frontally, raises a weapon against Thersites (Θερσίτης), who kneels before him. To the right is a representation of a rectangular structure topped by three vertical elements, perhaps columns; it has been interpreted as an altar, a temple, or Penthesilea's tomb.[25]

4 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) raises a weapon against Memnon (Μέμνων), who has fallen to the ground and seems to raise his right arm to ward off the blow while gripping a shield in his left hand. Antilochus (Ἀντίλοχος) sits in profile, facing left with his legs drawn up.

5 A structure representing the walls and gate of Troy reveals, above the notched upper edge of the wall, the minute heads of spectators watching the action below. Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) has fallen and sits facing left with his legs drawn up. Ajax (Αἴας) advances left toward him and holds over him a shield.

6 Odysseus (Ὀδυσσεύς) raises his shield and weapon in order to protect, to his right, the body of Achilles (Ἀχιλλέως σῶμα). The body, with both legs visible, has been slung over the back of Ajax, whose knees bend as he moves to the right.[26]

7 The corpse of Achilles lies on the ground, with his head resting on a shield to the right. Next, two figures in long robes are seen in profile facing right, first a Muse (Μοῦσα) and then Thetis (Θέτις).[27] Thetis appears to extend her arms over an altar to her right. The fragmentary inscription below perhaps refers to the "burial of Achilles" (Ἀχιλλ[έως τάφος][28]). To the right of the altar stands another figure whose upper half is effaced.

8 Ajax in the grip of madness (Αἴας [μανι]ώδης[29]). Ajax sits hunched over and facing right, with one leg drawn toward him and the other outstretched.[30]

[25] Morelli 1993 is a study devoted to this scene.

[26] Ghisellini 2005 is in part a study of this scene.

[27] The two labels are placed one above the other and partially overlap, as often in the *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad* friezes. *Pace* VM (p. 104), there seems to be no real ambiguity over which label belongs to which figure: careful inspection of the stone reveals that, when labels are written on two different lines, the label that is farther to the left always belongs to the figure farther to the left (and vice versa), i.e., when determining the appropriate attribution the horizontal axis trumps the vertical.

[28] Michaelis' conjecture (J M: 67).

[29] So the text is usually read. But the second word seems rather to begin with the letters ΛΥ: λυσσώδης (cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 452)? The meaning is the same in either case.

[30] VM (p. 106) also detects the sword with which Ajax will kill himself.

Lower frieze (*Little Iliad*).

1 A figure shown frontally falls to the right, his right hand raised over his head and his left holding a bow: most likely Paris being killed by Philoctetes.
2 A nude figure viewed from behind places his hand on an altar. Across the altar a second figure, perhaps clad in a robe, faces left. The scene perhaps represents the swearing of an alliance between Eurypylus (son of Telephus) and Priam.[31]
3 Neoptolemus (Νεοπτόλεμος), in full armor, drives his lance against Eurypylus (Εὐρύπυλος), who has fallen to the ground.
4 Odysseus (Ὀδυσσεύς) emerges from a gate, his shield in his left hand. Diomedes (Διομήδης) moves to the right, raising his left hand in which he seems to be holding an object. On the ground to his right is a small, indistinct shape. Either this shape or the object held by Diomedes is the statue of Pallas (Παλάς), the Palladium, which the heroes have just stolen from Troy.
5 Trojan women and Phrygians lead up the horse (Τρῳάδες καὶ Φρύγες ἀνάγουσι τὸν ἵππον). The Wooden Horse (Δούρηος Ἵππος) stands erect at the head of a procession. The next figure faces right, his legs spread apart, and raises his arm as if exhorting the figures in front of him. The next few figures in the procession seem to turn back to the left, straining to pull on a diagonal line that begins at the base of the horse and presumably represents a rope. Several of the following figures bend their arms up at the elbow as if grasping the rope over their shoulders. Toward the end of the procession, above the letters ΦΡΥ of the inscription, a frontal-facing figure is engaged in a dance: she(?) lifts her right leg while putting her weight on her left; in her right hand, extended downward, she holds a circular object (a cymbal?), while her left arm is raised over her head; her head is inclined downward, toward the viewer's left. Directly to the right is the final member of the procession, and then an additional figure facing backwards toward him.[32]
6 Priam (Πρίαμος), clad in a long robe and Phrygian cap, stretches his arms to the right. An unlabeled figure attends the Greek captive Sinon (Σίνων),

[31] Below the scene there are definite traces of an inscription on two lines, but I cannot make out the words. Michaelis (J M: 67) and Kaibel (*IG* XIV.1284, in the transcription) register two letters: ΛΑ.

[32] The scene is so crowded and indistinctly carved that it is difficult to describe its individual figures with complete confidence. The figure that I have identified as a dancer has an outline distinct from the other figures, and the details I noted seem tolerably clear. While most scholars have seen one or two dancers in the procession, they differ over which figures these are: for Jahn (J M: 31 32), Mancuso (1909: 703) and Sadurska (p. 28), e.g., the final, backward facing figure is a dancer. For the different proposals see VM: 113, who helpfully notes that dancers are at any rate typical for the iconography of this scene.

who faces right with his hands behind his back. Another attendant supports Cassandra (Κασσάνδρα), who faces left toward the procession and falls backward in a swoon. She is directly underneath the Scaean Gate (Σκαιὰ πύλη, over the gate's archway), a massive structure that extends over the frieze's border to occupy part of the upper frieze as well.

The central panel (*Sack of Troy*).
The precinct of Athena.

1 To the left of the trapezoidal portico at the top of the panel, we see three rows of houses with carefully rendered pitched roofs and windows. Below them an armored figure with a sword pursues another toward the portico.
2 At the top of the precinct defined by the columned portico is the temple of Athena. To the left of the temple a solitary figure raises his bow and draws back his arm to shoot into the fray below.[33] In front of the temple, Cassandra stretches one arm forward and one behind her as she is dragged backward by Ajax (Αἴα[ς], below his shield).
3 In the lower part of the precinct a general melee is underway. In the left corner stands a Trojan in a Phrygian cap who is gripping a fallen figure with his hand. Just above and to the right, a warrior whose head is effaced holds a shield and hurls a spear to the right. In front of him a figure has fallen to the ground and raises his shield for protection; further to the right a nude figure viewed from behind aims his weapon left, back in the direction of the spear-thrower.
4 To the right of the nude warrior from the previous scene, and below Cassandra, an altar can be made out. A fallen figure to its right seems to grasp it with one hand as he is menaced by another figure who reaches toward his head.
5 In the lower right corner of the precinct, a figure leans a ladder against the body of the Wooden Horse (Δούρηος ἵππος), which faces left into the precinct. Despite a break in the stone the traces of a figure emerging from inside the horse at the top of the ladder seem unmistakeable.
6 To the right of the portico, there are two rows of houses that lack indications of windows or the rafters of their pitched roofs. Below them a poorly preserved group seems to consist of a fallen figure and a standing, nude figure viewed from behind who attacks him.

[33] Some interpret the object in his hand as a shield (e.g., J M: 33; VM: 121). I see a bow (so Mancuso 1909: 706) and I note that, because there are no opponents near him, the figure's aggressive posture and raised right arm make little sense unless he is about to fire a long range weapon.

The palace of Priam.

1 To the left of the trapezoidal portico that defines the palace, there is a right-facing temple in front of which a warrior bends over a female figure and plunges a sword into her throat.
2 Within the palace, in the lower left corner of the columned portico, a fallen figure props himself up with his arm. To the right, Neoptolemus, in full armor and brandishing his sword, sets his foot on the thigh of Priam, who is seated on a stepped altar. Another figure sits on the other side of the altar and puts both arms around Priam; this is probably Hecuba. A second warrior, pendant to Neoptolemus, appears to be dragging her away, and in the lower right corner is a second fallen figure to match the first.
3 To the right of the palace, the temple of Aphrodite (ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης) faces left. In front of it, a warrior in full armor and billowing cloak raises a sword with his right hand and bears a shield on his left arm. His left hand grasps by the head a female figure who is nude and viewed from behind, possibly with a garment pooled about her legs. The identification of the temple makes it clear that this is the meeting of Menelaus and Helen.

Left and right of the Scaean Gate.

1 At the far left, within the city wall and under the right-facing temple, Aeneas (Αἰνήας), his cloak billowing behind him, faces right and reaches toward the casket containing the Penates, which is held suspended between Aeneas and a second figure advancing toward him. Is Aeneas receiving the Penates, or is he handing them over to his father Anchises?[34] To the right, a warrior viewed from behind with raised shield and lance moves left toward the group.
2 A figure with a sword in his right hand advances on a fallen figure that is mostly effaced.
3 Just to the right of the gate are traces of another figure that may be standing.
4 Demophon (Δη, a striking truncation), in full armor, grasps the arm of his grandmother Aethra (Αἴθρα), who is dressed in a long robe. On her other side she is accompanied by another figure in full armor, Akamas.
5 At the far right, a figure lying on the ground and propping itself up with its right arm can be clearly made out. Below, traces of what may have been additional fallen figures.

[34] For the (inconclusive) debate on this question, see VM: 129 130.

The Scaean Gate.

1 Framed by the arch of the gate behind and towers on either side, the small figure of Ascanius (Ἀσκάνιος) wears a Phrygian cap and holds the hand of Aeneas (Αἰνήας), in full armor. Aeneas faces right and follows Hermes (Ἑρμῆς), who turns back to look at him. Perched on Aeneas' shoulder, Anchises (Ἀ[γχ]είσης) holds the casket containing the Penates. Above Ascanius there are traces of an additional figure whose identity is uncertain.[35]

Outside Troy: The tomb of Hector.

1 The tomb of Hector (Ἕκτορος τάφος). On the left, Hector's tomb is shown in bird's-eye perspective as a rectangular structure with steps at its base. The shorter side has a series of notches at the top that represent architectural decoration; within the monument there is a rounded object adorned with the figure of an animal.
2 Talthybius and the Trojan women (Ταλθύβιος καὶ Τρῳάδες, in the space to the left of the tomb). Talthybius, facing right, sets one foot on the tomb's topmost step. Andromache (Ἀνδρομάχη), in a long robe, sits on the step in profile with her legs drawn up and also faces right; there is a shape in her lap that probably represents Astyanax.[36] Cassandra (Κασσάνδρα, above her head) also sits in profile facing right, her hands covering her face. Helenus (Ἕλενος) sits facing left, hugging his right leg with his arms while his left rests on the step below.
3 At the beginning of the long side of the tomb, Hecuba (Ἑκάβη) holds in front of her the smaller shape of Polyxena (Πολυξένη), dressed in a long robe. Andromache (Ἀνδρομάχη) sits with her face in her hands. Helenus (Ἕλενος) likewise sits and seems to raise his hand toward Odysseus (Ὀδυσσεύς), who faces him and has one foot on the tomb's step.

Outside Troy: The tomb of Achilles.

1 The monument of Achilles (Ἀχιλλέως σῆμα). A diminutive figure attends Neoptolemus (Νεοπτόλεμος), who lunges to the right with his cloak fluttering and is about to stab Polyxena (Πολυξένη). She is nude, with her head and upper body drawn back to receive the blow. To her right is the monument itself, a column topped by a small pediment; faint lines

[35] It is often identified as the wife of Aeneas (for discussion, see VM: 132 133).
[36] Extensive discussion at VM: 136 138.

carved beneath it and Polyxena's body may represent a broad base on which it was erected.

2 Odysseus (Ὀδυσσεύς) faces left toward the scene of the sacrifice. He sits with his head resting on his right hand and his left arm in his lap. Calchas (Κάλχας) stands behind him and likewise faces left, holding a staff in his right hand and perhaps the train of his garment in the other.

The departure of Aeneas.

1 Harbor of the Achaeans (ναύσταθμον Ἀχαιῶν, on the left edge of the tablet just above the row of ships). The ships of the Greeks, outfitted with oars, their bows pointing right, fringe the shore in front of Troy.

2 Aeneas together with his comrades departing for Hesperia (Αἰνήας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαί[ρ]ων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν, above and to the right of the column at the bottom of the panel). The sailing away of Aeneas (ἀπόπλους Αἰνήου, above Aeneas' ship on the right). On the promontory of Sigeum ([Σ]είγαιον) is a column set on a stepped base and topped with a pediment. To the right, Misenus (Μισηνός) walks right with his face buried in his hand and a long object carried over his shoulder that may be an oar or a trumpet. Ascanius follows Aeneas, in armor and with his cloak fluttering behind, up the gangplank; in front of Aeneas we see "Anchises and the sacred objects" (Ἀγχίσης καὶ τὰ ἱερά). Anchises steps on to a ship outfitted with oars, on which two rows of passengers are schematically represented. Atop the mast of the ship is a partially furled sail.

2NY, Tabula Iliaca of New York (*SEG* XIV.626)[37]

Citation of poetic sources on the upper border of the central panel.

ἸΙλιὰς κατὰ Ὅμηρο]ν καὶ Ἰλίου πέρσις[38]

The *Iliad* according to Homer and the sack of Troy.

Fragmentary epigram on the upper border of the tablet.

τ]έχνην μέτρον ἔχῃς σο[φίας[39]

. . .art, you may possess the measure of wisdom.

[37] The principal publication is Bulas 1950: 112 114. It is not clear whether he personally viewed the stone (his discussion of the magic square at 114 suggests he has not seen the verso side); his description and readings must be treated with caution.

[38] The supplement is Bulas's.

[39] An alternate version of the couplet from the *Tabula Capitolina*; for possible restorations see Petrain 2012: 617 619.

The friezes around the panel (*Iliad* 18–24, running counterclockwise from the bottom right).

Iliad 18 (Ἰλιάδο[ς Σ . . .]).[40] (Cf. 1A, 20Par)

None of the figural material is preserved.

Iliad 19: The arrival of Thetis from Hephaestus (Ἰλιάδος Τ· Θέτιδος παρ' Ἡφαίστου πα(ρουσία)[41]). (Cf. 1A, 20Par)

1 Thetis (Θέτις), in a long robe, extends her arms to the right to aid Achilles (Ἀχι[λλεύς]), who looks to the right, the crest of his helmet intruding slightly into the upper border. On his opposite side a female attendant faces him and holds up toward him a shield resting on the ground. To her right is an indistinct figure that appears to face left, perhaps raising his right leg at the knee and holding a shield in his left hand. To judge from the corresponding scenes on 1A and 20Par, this is Phoenix, assisting at the arming. On his right is a chariot, in which we may see a driver bending forward to hold the reins of his horse. A figure at the right edge of the frieze strides left toward the horse, perhaps in order to restrain it.[42]

Iliad 20: The departure of Achilles (Ἰλιάδος Υ· Ἀχιλλέως ἔξοδος[43]). (Cf. 1A, 20Par)

[40] Each frieze carries a title on its upper border.

[41] My reading of the inscription differs from the earlier publications. Bulas, followed by Sadurska and VM, assumed that the title used two different abbreviations for the word "arrival" (παρουσία) and filled it out as follows: Θέτιδος παρ(ουσία), Ἡφαίστου πα(ρουσία) ("the arrival of Thetis, the arrival of Hephaetus"?). For the indistinctly carved abbreviation that concludes the inscription, Bulas' supplement is plausible: cf. the label from a Homeric bowl illustrating Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, ἄνγελος περὶ τῆς παρουσίας τῆς Εἰφιγενείας πρὸς Ἀγαμέμν{ο}ονα (MB 53 in Sinn's catalogue; Sinn 1979: 111). But the supplement for the second word is unconvincing because it creates two phrases that are oddly disconnected, and because Hephaestus does not appear in this book. Thetis is arriving *from* his workshop, and the second word is simply the preposition παρ' ("from"), as in an ancient hypothesis for book 19 that begins: Θέτιδος κομισάσης Ἀχιλλεῖ τὰ ὅπλα παρὰ Ἡφαίστου (cf. J M: 108). The inscription therefore offers no support to the idea that the stonecutter of 2NY mistakenly copied the second half of his title from a fuller prototype that did depict Hephaestus (for this thesis see VM: 186, 235, 345, and the discussion of the sources of the *Tabulae* in the Introduction).

[42] Bulas and Sadurska say that the figure I have identified as Phoenix is standing in the chariot and represents Achilles, so that the frieze would be depicting two temporally distinct scenes; VM is non committal but finds their identification plausible. On my reading there is one scene and the chariot is awaiting Achilles (cf. the corresponding scene on 20 Par).

[43] Bulas, Sadurska and VM report the title as Ἀχιλλέως ἄθλος ("labor of Achilles"?), but ἔξοδος is clear on the stone and was used by ancient writers to refer to this part of the poem (e.g., [Plutarch] *De Homero* 2.108; bT sch. *ad Il.* 20.4). (Bulas presumably read ΟΔ as ΘΛ, missing the initial epsilon and perhaps mistaking the middle stroke of the xi for the crossbar of an alpha.)

1 Aeneas ([A]ἰνήας), in full armor, has fallen and supports himself with his right arm as he raises his shield with his left. Poseidon (Ποσιδῶν) stands facing right and raises his hands to stop Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), who rushes left with his shield and weapon raised.

Iliad 21: Battle by the river (Ἰλιάδος Φ· παραποταμία μάχη). (Cf. 1A)

1 Poseidon (Π..οσιδῶν[44]) rushes in profile to the right and extends his arm forward. Above and behind his arm is Athena (Ἀθηνᾶ), shown frontally. To their right Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), in full armor, is shown half submerged in the waters of the Scamander; he reaches one arm toward Poseidon and with the other raises his shield.
2 The scene is difficult to decipher and in what follows I propose a new interpretation. The scene opens with a jumble of lines that suggest amorphous, billowing shapes rather than any human figure.[45] After them is the upper half of a figure who seems to bend to the right and raise an arm over the head: we are to understand that his lower half is in the water, represented by a wavy horizontal line that extends across the bottom of this scene.[46] At the right edge of the frieze is a figure who either sits or bends down on one knee while leaning forward to the left.[47] What looks like a series of parallel, diagonal lines runs between him and the submerged figure.

Can we identify what is going on here, even tentatively?[48] After Achilles' rescue by Poseidon and Athena, the only incident in *Iliad* 21 involving the Scamander is the episode in which Hephaestus uses fire to check the river's onslaught. Ancient summaries of book 21 highlight this incident while leaving out Athena and Poseidon.[49] I suggest interpreting our scene as follows: Hephaestus, on the right, directs a stream of fire at

[44] The initial pi is written at a considerable distance from the following omicron. In the intervening space I see a circle with a vertical line through it (a canceled omicron?) and a ragged group of horizontals and diagonals that may represent an abortive sigma. Did the lapicide make a mistake and begin again?

[45] *Pace* Bulas, the lines do not represent "the lower half of the body of a striding naked man" (113): the stone's surface is intact at this point and nothing has been effaced.

[46] Bulas and VM (p. 188) both discern a figure whose lower half is not visible; VM also notes the wavy line. Sadurska (p. 38) links this figure with the preceding shape and sees a kneeling man embracing a woman.

[47] Bulas sees a figure that leans forward to the left and extends its arms, Sadurska a figure seated in a chair with another figure standing to the left. VM recognizes only a large, broad shape (p. 188).

[48] Noting similarities with the previous scene, Bulas suggests that we have a repeat of Achilles' rescue from the river, included by mistake or to fill the remaining space. Sadurska proposes a pair of scenes involving gods (which would not account for the presence of water). Given the state of the scene's preservation, VM regards any attempt to interpret it as too speculative.

[49] See J M: 109.

the Scamander, personified as a figure who rises up from the water (explicitly depicted only for this scene) and begs for relief; the heat causes billows of steam to rise (the odd assortment of lines that begins the scene). Though without parallel in extant artworks, the scene of Hephaestus scorching the Scamander is the subject of the first painting to be described in Philostratus' *Imagines* (1.1).

Iliad 22: The death of Hector (Ἰλιάδος Χ· Ἕκτορος θάνατος). (Cf. 1A, 9D)

1 Two towers frame the gate of Troy. Several small figures, one of whom is Priam (Πρίαμος),[50] watch from on top of it the events below. Under the gate the corpse of Hector (Ἕκτωρ) is dragged over the ground with his hands trailing behind his head. His feet are bound to a chariot driven by "Achilles dragging the body" (Ἀχιλλεὺς σύρων τὸ σῶμα); Achilles is in armor and his cloak billows behind him. The chariot's horses gallop to the right; under them there is a rounded shape.

Iliad 23: Funeral game of Patroclus (Ἰλιάδος Ψ· ἐπιτάφιος ἀγὼν Π[ατρόκλου][51]). (Cf. 1A, 9D, 21Fro)

1 Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) stands in profile facing right. He holds in front of him a narrow, vertical object that tapers toward the bottom.[52] The chariot race (ἁρματοδρομία) begins to his right and is shown in bird's-eye perspective: chariots, riders, and horses race to the right in the lower part of the frieze, make the turn as they reach its edge, then head back to the left on the upper level, but reduced in size to convey their greater distance from the viewer.

Iliad 24: The ransoming of Hector ([Ἰλιάδος Ω· Ἕκτορ]ος λύτρα). (Cf. 1A, 9D, 12F, 21Fro)

1 In the missing left-hand portion of the frieze, Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) sat facing Priam (Πρίαμος), who kneels in front of him facing left (the lower half of his body is preserved). Next comes the cart holding the ransom (λύτρα): a bent figure may crouch on top, and its team is still harnessed on the right.

The central panel (*Sack of Troy*).
The precinct of Athena.

[50] I discern a sword and shield in the hands of the leftmost spectator: perhaps this is Priam?

[51] The pi after ἀγών is unmistakeable, though not mentioned in the earlier publications. The genitive Πατρόκλου may have been abbreviated to fit the available space (as often on the *Tabulae*).

[52] Not a goal post, as Bulas suggested: Achilles holds it aloft and it does not reach to the ground.

1 At the top of the columned portico that defines the precinct, Ajax appears in full armor dragging Cassandra away from the temple (both she and the temple are now missing). Below Ajax is an altar. To its right a figure leans a ladder against the body of the Trojan Horse. An opening in the horse's back is visible from which a figure seems to emerge.
2 To the right of the portico are several rows of houses with few indications of architectural features. Below, a standing figure attacks a kneeling one.

The palace of Priam.

1 Neoptolemus, only partially preserved, assails Priam seated at the altar of Zeus. On the other side of the altar, Hecuba is difficult to make out, though the warrior in full armor dragging her away is clear.
2 To the right of the palace is Aphrodite's temple. In front of it Menelaus draws his sword on Helen.
3 Below and slightly to the right, the figures of Demophon and Akamas rescuing their grandmother Aethra can be seen.

The Scaean Gate.

1 Anchises is framed in the surviving upper portion of the gate's archway.

Outside Troy.

1 At the lower edge of the fragment a small portion of the area outside Troy is preserved. Against the flat background, there is a rounded shape followed by a horizontal extending to the right. This figure's position on the tablet is analogous to that of Calchas at Achilles' tomb on 1A; its posture matches as well, for on 1A Calchas' shoulder produces a similar horizontal just below his head.[53]

The verso. (For details of the supplements, see Chapter 2.)
Large letters on the edge, running clockwise from the lower left.[54]

Μ Π Λ Ε

Instructions above the letter grid.

γράμμα μέσον καθ[ορῶν παραλάμβανε οὗ ποτε βούλει.

Look for the middle letter and continue wherever you wish.

[53] Cf. Bulas (1950: 113): "one is tempted to see the head of the person attending the sacrifice at Achilles' tomb."

[54] The first two letters are rotated so that their bottoms face the letter grid on the right; the remaining two letters are right side up.

Message in the letter grid.

ἼΛΙ]ΑΣ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΗΣ ΗΙ ΤΕΧΝΗ

The *Iliad* of Homer, the art of Theodorus.

3C, *Tabula Veronensis I* (*IG* XIV.1285.1)

Citation of poetic sources on the upper border of the central panel.

ἼΛΙΑΣ Ὁ[ΜΗΡΟΥ. . .

The *Iliad* of Homer. . .

The friezes above and alongside the panel (*Iliad* 1–5, running from top to bottom).

1 Wrath (Α· ΜΗΝΙΣ).[55] (Cf. 1A, 6B)

1 The frieze opens with an indistinct figure standing behind Diomedes (ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ), who sits facing frontally with his head turned to the right and his right elbow resting on a shield. In front of him are traces that can no longer be made out, followed by the seated figure of Achilles (ἈΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ), who faces left toward Diomedes and also rests his arm on a shield.[56]
2 A figure in full armor faces front and raises his right hand; possibly his left rests on a standing object. Next, another figure in profile faces right. The figure bows forward slightly with its right arm bent at the elbow and one of its knees bent as well. Between these two figures, on the lower border, is an inscription that can no longer be read.[57]
3 Agamemnon (ἈΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝ[58]) sits facing right. Before him kneels Chryses (ΧΡΥΣΗΣ) in a long robe. Behind him, a standing figure faces right and unloads an object from the cart containing the ransom (ἄΠΟΙΝΑ). Atop the cart is an indistinct form, perhaps a figure bending forward. On the right

[55] The book titles are inscribed from top to bottom on the left border of the central panel.
[56] The scene does not seem to belong to book 1 of the *Iliad*. Jahn speculated that it might depict an earlier event from the end of the *Cypria*, possibly the division of spoils at which Agamemnon and Achilles received Chryseis and Briseis. For this idea, and a possible explanation for Diomedes' presence, see J M: 10; VM: 171 interprets the addition of this prequel as a quasi didactic attempt to clarify the nature of the quarrel that occupies most of the *Iliad* 1 band.
[57] See VM: 172 for attempts at identifying the figures. Possibly they do not belong together at all: the standing warrior might be part of the first scene, while the figure in profile might be standing behind Agamemnon's throne as a witness to Chryses' petition.
[58] The label is very difficult to make out on the stone (though the figure's identity is certain nonetheless).

an ox is harnessed to the cart, and on the border below is an inscription in two lines, no longer legible.[59]

(2)[60] (Cf. 6B)

1 Nestor (Νέστωρ) sits facing frontally with one hand raised to his chin and the other in his lap. Next an indistinct figure is followed by Agamemnon (Ἀγαμέμν[ων]), also seated and facing left toward Nestor.
2 A highly worn shape is Thersites (Θερ[σίτης]), being attacked from the right by a striding figure who must represent Odysseus.
3 Part of a figure's head is visible, followed by an indistinct representation of the sterns of two boats that he is pushing toward the sea.

(3)[61] (Cf. 6B)

1 Agamemnon ([Ἀγαμέμνω]ν), no longer preserved, stood to the left of an altar that is still visible. To the right stands Priam (Πρίαμος) in the act of making a truce with the Greek king.
2 Next we see the city of Troy, rendered as a tower with a gate to its right. Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη) rushes from it to the right, her garment billowing, in order to rescue Paris (Πάρι[ς]), barely preserved. At the right edge of the frieze Menelaus (Μενέ[λαος]), in full armor, tries to drag Paris away.

4 The dissolution of oaths (Δ· ὁρκίων σύγχυσις). (Cf. 6B)

1 Athena, clad in a long robe, moves right to urge on Pandarus (Π]ά[ν]δα[ρος?, hard to make out) who draws back an arrow in his bow and is about to fire. To the right a warrior raises his shield and prepares to hurl a spear at Pandarus.
2 A standing figure is shown in profile facing right, with one leg bent at the knee. A seated figure facing left bends toward him. This is Menelaus being tended to by the doctor Machaon.[62]

5 The *aristeia* of Diomedes (Ε· Διομήδους ἀριστήα). (Cf. 6B)

[59] Kaibel (*IG*) hesitantly read the first line as Χρυση[ΐδος] and attached the genitive to ἄποινα (i.e., "the ransom for Chryseis"). The inscriptions seem too far apart for this to be possible.
[60] The title is effaced. Michaelis saw ὄ[ν]ι[ρος, "dream" (J M: 62).
[61] None of the title's letters can be clearly read (so Michaelis, J M: 62; Kaibel). Jahn discerns the first and last letters and suggests μο[νομαχία Πάριδος καὶ Μενέ]λεω ("single combat between Paris and Menelaus"; J M: 13 n. 113), but the reading and the length of the supplement are implausible.
[62] *Pace* Sadurska (p. 41) and VM (p. 176), the figure of Menelaus does not seem to be sitting: the placement of his legs is the same as in the corresponding scene on 6B.

1 The frieze opens with the tower and gate of Troy. In front of the gate Athena,[63] whose helmet is still visible, rushes along with Diomedes, also in a helmet, who raises his shield and steps upon an indistinct shape that is probably the corpse of Pandarus. To Diomedes' right is Aphrodite in a flowing peplos (the gathering about her waist may be seen), whose head intrudes into the upper border. To her right is a kneeling shape that seems to embrace her legs and look up at her as she extends her peplos over him; if I have interpreted the relief correctly, this is Aeneas.[64]
2 A figure who is kneeling and facing front may possibly be depicted: his head and knees are visible; he places his right hand on the ground and raises his left. Above him there are indistinct traces. The scene has been taken to depict Aeneas being rescued by Apollo.

The central panel (*Sack of Troy*).

1 Though little is preserved, the panel seems to have the same organization as on the other tablets. The walls and towers of Troy surround, at the top, small houses (one with rafters); below them possibly a warrior striding right; and finally a right-facing temple. On the side of the temple, letters belonging to the label "Aeneas" (Αἰν[ή]ας) are barely legible. The label would belong to the scene of Aeneas receiving the Penates.

The verso. (For details of the supplements, see Chapter 2.)
Instructions above the letter grid.

γράμμα μέσον καθορῶν παραλάμβα]νε οὗ ποτε βούλει.

Look for the middle letter and continue wherever you wish.

Message in the letter grid.

Ἰλιὰς Ὁμήρου] Θεοδώρηος ἡι τέχνη

The *Iliad* of Homer, the art of Theodorus.

6B, *Tabula Sarti* (*IG* XIV.1286)[65]

Citation of poetic sources on the upper border of the fragment.

[63] So Jahn and Sadurska, basing their identification on the presence of Athena in the corresponding scene on 6B.
[64] None of the previous descriptions of the tablet sees a figure clasping Aphrodite here, though in her caption Sadurska (p. 41) does refer to "[l]e corps inerte d'Énée. . .enlevé par la déesse."
[65] A drawing by Emiliano Sarti (published in Henzen 1863) is our only source for the tablet. The version of the drawing printed in J M was altered from its original form and introduced several errors (cf. Petrain 2012: 621 623); my description is based on Sarti's original design.

ἸΙλιάδα καὶ Ὀ]δύσσειαν ῥαψῳδιῶν μή, Ἰλίου πέρσ[ιν

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in 48 rhapsodies, the *Sack of Troy*. . .[66]

The friezes above and alongside the panel (*Iliad* 1–9, running from top to bottom).

(1) (Cf. 1A, 3C)

1 Chryses, priest of Apollo, comes to the Achaeans in order to ransom his daughter Chryseis, but Agamemnon drives him out of the camp ([Χρύσης ἱ]ερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος [ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς[67] τ]οὺς Ἀχαιοὺς [Χρυσηΐδα τὴν ἑα]υτοῦ θυγατέρα λυτρω[σόμε]νος, Ἀγαμέμνων δ' αὐ-[τὸν ἐ]κ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκδιώκει; this six-line caption is positioned above the scene itself[68]). Agamemnon (Ἀγαμέμνων), no longer preserved, sat facing Chryses (Χρύσης), who kneels before him. Behind Chryses are several figures involved in unloading from a cart the ransom (ἄποινα). On the right two oxen are yoked to the cart.
2 The temple of Apollo Smintheus (ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ζμινθέος,[69] above the temple) is shown in three-quarter view facing right; on the design, acroteria and pedimental decoration are visible. Chryses stands facing left toward the temple with his hands raised. Above him and to the right, a small figure runs left with his arms outstretched and his cloak billowing behind him.[70] A single alpha (Α[. . .) is all that remains of the inscription that may have identified him.

(2) (Cf. 3C)

1 A scene involving Thersites (Θερσίτης) is entirely effaced.
2 A man pushes to the right one of three ships in the Achaeans' harbor (ναύσταθμον).

[66] Because "*Odyssey*" is in the accusative case, this is not simply a list of titles: there must have been a governing verb.

[67] The conjecture, which I print *exempli gratia*, is my own, based upon the phrase Χρύσεω πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ἄφιξις in the inscription from 8E (lines 3 4). For other suggestions see Kaibel (*IG*).

[68] After three of the lines, Sarti's design shows traces of additional letters, now illegible, though Henzen suggests that these may in reality have been mere defects in the surface of the stone ("chi sa, se la scrupolosa esattezza del ch. Sarti non abbia segnato per lettere quel che non era che difetto della superficie del marmo," 1863: 413).

[69] So Sarti's design, but perhaps he misinterpreted the penultimate letter and we should follow Michaelis in correcting to Ζμινθέως (J M: 62).

[70] A Greek fleeing the pestilence caused by Apollo? See VM: 153 154 for suggestions, with bibliography.

(3) (Cf. 3C)

1 Oaths ([ὅρ]κια). A nude figure viewed from behind is plainly visible on the drawing: he will be taking part in striking the truce between Greeks and Trojans. A nearby label reads "Priam" (Πρίαμος), but we would expect Priam to wear a long garment, as elsewhere on the tablets. Either the drawing is in error, or the label should be referred instead to one of the spectators seen atop Troy's wall in the next scene.[71]
2 Troy is signified by a gate between two towers. Above the gate are the heads of two spectators whom Sarti may have intended to represent as a male and female; if one of them is indeed Priam (see the previous scene), we might have the famous episode of him and Helen surveying the Greek commanders from the city's wall, the *teichoskopia*.[72] Outside the gate, Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη) sweeps forward in flowing robes to aid Paris, in full armor, who has fallen and raises his hand toward her. Menelaus (Μενέλαος), also in full armor, grabs Paris by the helmet and drags him to the right.

4 Four: Agamemnon goes about the troops, revealing the dissolution of the oaths ([Δ. Δέλτα δὲ· δ]ηλ⟨ῶ⟩ν [σύγχ]υσιν [ὅ]ρκων ἐπιπ[ωλῖτ]α[ι] ⟨Ἀ⟩γαμέ {μ}μνων[73]). (Cf. 3C)

1 Athena, in a long robe, appears in profile facing Pandarus (Πάνδαρος, on the right, by his leg), who raises his bow and prepares to shoot. Agamemnon (Ἀγαμε, an abbreviation directly below the preceding label), in full armor, raises his shield and aims a spear at Pandarus.
2 Menelaus (Μενέλαος), in full armor, is being tended to by the doctor Machaon (Μαχάων), down on one knee.

5 Five: Diomedes has his *aristeia*; Hector goes to Ilium (Ε. Εἶ· Διομήδης μὲν ἀριστεύει, πρὸς δ' Εἴλιον ἔρχεται Ἕκτωρ). (Cf. 3C)

1 Athena, in helmet and robe and with her shield raised, faces Diomedes (Διομήδης). He also raises a shield and seems to look toward the sky while aiming his lance upward. One of his feet rests on the corpse of Pandarus (Πάνδαρος). To the right Aeneas (Αἰνήας), sword in hand, is

[71] For a similarly placed label referring to Priam gazing down from Troy's wall, see the *Iliad* 22 scene from 2NY.
[72] For this suggestion see Michaelis (J M: 13).
[73] This and the following three books preserve metrical summaries in the left hand margin: the letter corresponding to the book appears as a heading, followed by the letter's name spelled out and incorporated into a line of anapestic tetrameter catalectic. The present summary is the most poorly preserved of the four: for details of the restoration offered here, see Petrain 2012: 624 625.

slightly hunched over and faces right with his back toward Diomedes. Above and behind him the swirling folds of a garment are visible. This is the peplos of Aphrodite, who does not herself appear in the design but may well have been represented on the original tablet.

2 Diomedes (Διομήδης), in full armor, drives his chariot with its two horses against that of Ares (Ἄρης), who faces him.

6 Six: . . . (Ζ. Ζῆτα δ᾽· ὁμιλῖ τὰ πρὸς Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ Πάριν ἐς χάριν ἕλκι).[74]

1 Diomedes (Διομήδης), in armor and viewed from behind, reaches toward the crossed spears planted in the ground to his right and grasps the hand of Glaucus (Γλαυ, an abbreviation), likewise in armor and facing toward him.

2 From the towers and gate of Troy, a figure in armor but without helmet emerges: perhaps this is Paris. Next, Andromache (Ἀνδρομάχη), in profile facing right, raises her child Astyanax toward Hector, in full armor and shown frontally with his head turned to the left.

3 The Trojan women dedicate to Athena the peplos (Τρῳάδες τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πεπ, on the right edge of the frieze). Three Trojan women process to the right, the one in front holding up an object that is presumably the peplos. They move toward a statue of Athena set atop a pedestal and facing left.

7. Seven: Ajax fights Hector in single combat and night parts them (Η. Ἦτα· Αἴας Ἕκτορι μουνομαχῖ καὶ νὺξ αὐτοὺ[ς] διαλύει).

1. A male figure in short garment and billowing cloak, perhaps the herald Talthybius, rushes right and grasps the cloak of Ajax (Αἴας). Ajax seems to advance toward the right, where a standing figure in full armor extends a hand toward him. This is perhaps Idaeus, herald of Hector (Ἕκτωρ), who has fallen to the ground and props himself up on his shield. Behind Hector to the right is his divine patron Apollo (Ἄπολ, above the figure), nude to the waist and with one arm raised.
2. They exchange armor with each other (ἀλλήλοις ὅπλα δωροῦνται; the caption begins under the figure of Apollo). One armored figure with his arm raised faces another who turns toward him in profile: one is Hector and the other Ajax, though there seem to be no elements that would let us tell them apart.

[74] The text of this verse is corrupt and difficult to translate in its current state. In Petrain 2012: 627 628, I tentatively suggest the following emendation (which restores meter and grammar): Ζῆτα δ᾽· ὁμιλεῖ τε πρὸς Ἀνδρομάχην ἣν καὶ πάλιν εἰς χάριν ἕλκει ("Six: . . .and meets with Andromache, whom he draws back into goodwill."). The subject of both verbs is "Hector," to be supplied from the previous summary.

8 (Θ).[75]

1 A warrior in full armor who was once identified by a label[76] raises a spear in his right arm and advances right toward Paris (Πάρις), likewise in armor, who faces him. Perhaps the first figure is Nestor: when the other Greek chieftains withdrew in response to an unfavorable omen from Zeus, Nestor remained behind because Paris had wounded his horse and thus exposed Nestor to Hector's attack (*Iliad* 8.78ff.).
2 In the denouement to the preceding scene, Hector (Ἕκτωρ) drives his chariot dressed in full armor, his four horses galloping to the right in pursuit of Nestor (Νέστωρ). Nestor races away on a like chariot with galloping horses and seems to sink back slightly as he raises his shield.

(9)

1 The upper portion of the frieze is partially preserved. To the right of a representation of a structure that is difficult to make out, a standing figure in profile extends his hand toward another one facing him. Behind and to the right of this second figure are two additional ones, also facing left. This is the scene of the embassy from Agamemnon meeting Achilles at his tent.

The upper portion of the central panel (the shield of Achilles).

1 Thetis (Θέτις, to the right of her head), in a long garment and with a mantle that billows behind her, holds the shield of Achilles. Its rim is decorated with the signs of the zodiac divided by bands: the signs run counterclockwise and begin just below Thetis' right hand with Aries, Taurus, and Gemini, while the end of the series is preserved above, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. The circular field within this rim is divided into bands containing traces of further images: the only recognizable element is the bust of a female figure executed on a larger scale than the surrounding reliefs.[77]

The lower portion of the central panel (*Sack of Troy*).

[75] Only the heading is preserved, and on the next line perhaps an alpha belonging to the summary.
[76] Sarti's design shows a rho preceded by a partially preserved, rounded letter consistent with the outline of an omega: [Νέστ]ωρ? So, hesitantly, Michaelis and Kaibel; VM (p. 167 n. 1020) insists there is no letter before the rho because she is using Jahn and Michaelis' altered design, which erroneously omits it.
[77] As the figure's shoulders and arm are clearly visible, Jahn's identification of it as a Gorgoneion does not quite convince (J M: 20); Amedick (1999: 192) suggests it might be a personification of the Earth.

1 The walls and towers of Troy are visible. The only recognizable structure within is an elongated building with a pitched roof and rafters.

7Ti, *Tabula Thierry* (*IGUR* 1618)[78]

Citation of poetic sources on the upper border of the central panel.

> ἸΛιὰς μεικρὰ κα[ὶ Ἰλίου πέρσις][79]
>
> The *Little Iliad* and *Sack of Troy*.

The friezes above and alongside the panel (*Aethiopis*, running from top to bottom). (Cf. 1A, 9D)
First band.

1 A warrior in full armor with helmet and shield strides to the left. A label on two lines that begins to the right of the figure's head reads "Penthesilea the Amazon" (Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζῶν). On the analogy of comparable scenes from 1A and 9D, this must be the duel between Penthesilea and Achilles.[80]
2 A horse with rider moves right; the figure atop the horse bends its legs and reaches forward to hold the reins.[81] In front of the horse, two standing figures likewise face right, and the one in front clearly extends its arm. Three figures in long robes move left to meet the first group. On the analogy of 9D once again, this should be the scene of Penthesilea's arrival at Troy. She is probably to be identified as the figure extending her arm, and the recipient of her gesture is presumably Priam.

Second band.

1 Memnon ([Μ]έμνων) has fallen at the hand of Achilles (no longer preserved but for part of his shield), and rests his arm on a shield positioned at the frieze's right edge.

Third band.

[78] The tablet is now lost and known through a description accompanied by a heliogravure of the recto (Rayet 1882).
[79] The supplement is by Bua (1971 1972: 11 n. 16) and based upon the citation above the panel of 2NY; alternatively, on the analogy of the citation from 1A, we might try κα[τὰ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον] (so Rayet).
[80] The extant figure is not distinguished as an Amazon, or indeed as female, in any way, and Sadurska identifies it as Achilles. Yet the *Tabulae* seem not to provide Penthesilea with any identifying attribute besides the label itself, and the placement of the label here suggests that the figure is intended as Penthesilea.
[81] VM (p. 201) was the first to mention this figure, though she suggests it is standing behind rather than sitting on the horse.

1 The slaying of Achilles ([φόνο]ς Ἀχιλλέως[82]). Achilles has fallen before the Scaean Gate (part of its arch and the tower flanking it to the right are visible).

Fourth band.

1 A pyre built up from horizontal bands that are alternately unmarked and divided into squares (logs stacked lengthwise and endwise?) supports the corpse of Achilles. To the right a standing figure that may wear a long robe is probably Thetis.

Central panel (*Sack of Troy*).

1 The precinct of Athena. To the left of the precinct are rows of houses without distinguishing features. Within, a scene of general melee that is difficult to decipher in its particulars. The temple of Athena is not visible.
2 Left of the palace of Priam. A temple stands above two groups of two figures apiece. The pair to the left is difficult to make out. The pair to the right consists of two figures, the one on the right clearly in armor, exchanging an object: Aeneas receiving the Penates.
3 The palace of Priam. All that remains of the scene showing Priam's murder is the warrior Neoptolemus in the expected position, facing right with his arm raised.

The verso. (For further detail see Chapter 2.)
Message in the letter grid.

> ʾΙλίου π]έρσις
>
> Sack of Troy.

8E, *Tabula of Zenodotus* (*IG* XIV.1290)

Treatise attributed to Zenodotus about the chronology of the *Iliad* on the pilaster to the left of the central panel.[83]

> [. . . . . .] οὖν
> αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Ζηνοδότου. ἔστιν
> ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Χρύσ
> εω πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ἄφιξις

[82] So Rayet. In the photo the extant letters are not fully legible.
[83] In the following inscription I have usually not corrected apparent deviations from standard orthography, e.g., ὅπος for ὅπως in line 28 (omicron and omega can be difficult to distinguish on 8E, however).

καὶ ἀπαίτησις Χρυσηΐδος.
τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀπει
θοῦντος καὶ μὴ βουλομέν
ου ἀποδιδόναι Χρύσης ἐπὶ
τοῖς εἰρημένοις δυσφορ
ῶν ἀξιοῖ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τῆς ἀ
δικίας τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν γεν
ομένης ἀνταμείψασθαι
τοὺς Ἀχαιούς. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλ
λωνος μηνίσαντος τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ λοιμὸν ἐμβα
λόντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδ
ον αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐννέα ἡμέρα⟨ς⟩,[84]
καθάπερ εἴρηκεν· ἐννῆμα
ρ μὲν ἀνὰ στράτον ᾤτχετο κῆλ
α θεοῖο, καὶ ἐπιβάλλει· τῇ δεκά
τῇ ἀγορὴν ἐκα{λ}λέσσατο λα[85]
ὸν Ἀχιλλεύς, ἐν ταύτῃ πάλι
μῆνις καὶ Χρυσηΐδος ἀποστο
λὴ καὶ ἀπαίτησις Βρισηΐδος
καὶ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Θέτιδος σύλ
λογος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. καὶ κε
λεύοντος τὴν μητέρα ἀξιῶσ
αι τὸν Δία ὅπος τιμήσοσιν αὐ
τὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοί, ἐπιβάλλει ἡ Θέ
τις· εἶμ᾽ αὐτὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἀγ
άννιφον, αἴ κε πίθηαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ[86]
μὲν νῦν νευσὶ παρήμενος ὀ
κυπόροισιν μήνι᾽ Ἀχαιοῖσιν, πο
λέμου δ᾽ ἀποπαύεο πάμπαν.
Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ᾽ἀ
μύμονας χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ[87]
δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ᾽ ἅμα πάντες ἕ
ποντο· δοδεκάτῃ δέ τοι αὖτις
ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε,
ὥστε πορεύ⟨ε⟩σθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐνά
τῇ. διελθουσῶν οὖν τῶν ἀνὰ

[84] The final sigma is not effaced: the lapicide simply omitted it.

[85] *Sic*, though it is possible that the scribe has simply missed a letter and intended ἀγορήνδε. The monographs and corpora have missed the (unmetrical) double lambda.

[86] *Sic*; the correct text is πίθηται. The scribe may have become confused by the proximity of σύ.

[87] The scribe has left out Αἰθιοπῆας (*Il.* 1.423) between ἀμύμονας and χθιζός, which have been run together so that the final sigma and initial chi touch.

μέσον ἡμερῶν ἔρχεται ὁ Ζ
εὺς τῇ προειρημένῃ δωδε
κάτῃ καὶ ἡ Θέτις κατὰ τὸ πρό
σταγμα τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀναβαίνει
πρὸς τὸν Δία, κἀκείνου ὑποσχ
ομένου ποήσειν καθάπερ ἠ
ξίου, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἡ Θέτις
τὰ εἰρημένα τῷ υἱῷ ἀπαγγελ
οῦσα. ταύτης διελθούσης τῆ
ς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμ
ὸν ἐχουσῶν εἴκοσι ἐπιβάλλει
μία καὶ ἰκοστή. ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν Ἀχ
αιῶν ἀγορὰ, νεῶν κατάλογ
ος, συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀχαιῶ[ν]
καὶ ὅρκια καὶ Μενελ[άου καὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου μον[ομαχία καὶ
θεῶν ἀγορὰ καὶ ὁρ[κίων σύγ
χυσις καὶ ἐπιπώ[λησις, πε
δίας μάχη, Δι[ομήδους ἀριστή
α καὶ Αἰνήο[υ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης
τρῶσις, π[εριαίρεσις τοῦ Αἰ
νήου [. . . . . .
MA

. . .by Zenodotus. On the first day there is the coming of Chryses to the Achaeans and the demanding back of Chryseis. When Agamemnon refuses and is unwilling to give her back, Chryses, vexed over the things that have been said, asks Apollo to requite the Achaeans for the injustice that happened to him. After Apollo exercised his wrath against the Achaeans and inflicted plague upon their camp over nine days, just as he has said [*Il.* 1.53]:

For nine days the shafts of the god went through the army,

and he adds [*Il.* 1.54]:

On the tenth Achilles called the host to assembly,

on that day, in turn, is the wrath and the sending away of Chryseis and the demanding back of Briseis and the conversation of Achilles and Thetis over the Achaeans. And when he bids his mother to ask Zeus for the Achaeans to honor him, Thetis adds [*Il.* 1.420 425]:

I myself will go to snow capt Olympus, to see if he might agree. But see that you sit by the swift prowed ships for now and exercise wrath against the Achaeans, but entirely cease from fighting. For yesterday Zeus went to Ocean to meet the blameless Ethiopians for a feast and all the gods followed along, but on the twelfth day he will come again to Olympus,

> so that he [Zeus] set out on the ninth day. Thus once the intervening days have passed Zeus comes on the aforementioned twelfth day, and Thetis, following the command of her son, goes up to Zeus, and once he promised to do as she asked, Thetis departs in order to report to her son what has been said. Once that day passed, and the days have the sum of twenty, the twenty first follows, in which there is the assembly of the Achaeans, the catalogue of ships, the mustering of the Achaeans, and the truce and the single combat between Menelaus and Alexander and the assembly of the gods and the violation of the truce and the going about the troops, the battle on foot, the *aristeia* of Diomedes and the wounding of Aeneas and Aphrodite, the removal of Aeneas. . .

The upper portion of the central panel (melee between Greeks and Trojans).

1 In a band devoid of indications of architecture, warriors fight on two levels. From the upper level only the figures' legs are preserved: two seem to move left, one has fallen. Below in the left corner is a seated figure facing right, then a standing one who advances right in full armor (with a very elaborate plume on his helmet). After him, another armored figure raises his spear to stab a fallen foe on the ground to his right. The extant portion closes with another armored figure moving right, a fallen figure with shield facing him, and on the far right one additional, indistinct shape.

The lower portion of the central panel (*Sack of Troy*).

1 Left of the portico is a temple, in front of which an armored figure attacks another that has fallen to its knees.
2 Within the portico, an archer with his bow raised can be made out in the upper left corner.
3 Below the temple are three figures: an archer aiming his bow to the right; directly below him a fallen figure who extends his arm; a warrior with a shield who moves to strike the fallen figure.

9D, *Tabula Veronensis II* (*IG* XIV.1285.2)

The bands in the left-hand column (*Iliad* 22–24, running from bottom to top).

(22) (Cf. 1A, 2NY)

1 In the upper left corner is the wall of Troy flanked by towers and topped by two minute shapes that represent spectators to the events below. From the scene of the chariot dragging Hector's corpse, all that is visible are

the rearing horses that draw it and its driver Achilles himself, in full armor and holding a large lance.

(23) (Cf. 1A, 2NY, 21Fro)

1 Achilles (little more than a vertical shape topped by a circle) stands next to the stepped pyre of Patroclus. To the right are two diminutive figures, perhaps attendants, next a taller figure who cannot be identified.

(24) (Cf. 1A, 2NY, 12F, 21Fro)

1 Achilles sits facing right, his right hand resting on his throne and his left gripping a lance. Priam kneels before him. On the right is the large animal that is usually attached to the cart bearing the ransom for Hector. Above all three figures is a series of lines difficult to interpret, perhaps the walls of Troy (on the analogy of the scene from 12F).

The bands in the right-hand column (*Aethiopis*, running from top to bottom). (Cf. 1A, 7Ti)

Penthesilea the Amazon arrives (Πενθεσίλεια Ἀμαζὼν παραγίνεται).[88]

1 On the left, the posterior half of a horse and the legs of its rider; on the right, an amorphous shape. Penthesilea on horseback greets Priam.

Achilles slays Penthesilea (Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίλειαν ἀποκτείνει).

1 Achilles, his cloak billowing, advances right toward Penthesilea. She appears to fall backward toward him.[89]

Memnon slays Antilochus (Μέμνων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει).

1 Antilochus has fallen on his knee and raises his shield to protect himself; Memnon advances to the left with his arm raised to strike.

Achilles slays Memnon (Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα ἀποκτείνει).

1 In a symmetrical tit-for-tat, Achilles now advances to the right with his sword raised to strike; Memnon has fallen and sits facing left.

Achilles falls at the Scaean Gates (ἐν ταῖς Σκαιαῖς πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπο[πίπτει][90]).

[88] The captions are inscribed on the narrow vertical band between the two columns. Two short horizontal lines inscribed on the left and right sides of the band divide each caption from the next one.

[89] VM (p. 197) sees as well traces of Penthesilea's horse.

[90] The conjecture is my own, a guess based on the probability that the caption, already seven lines long and with little vertical space left, could not go on for more than one line. Michaelis's ὑπὸ [Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται] (J M: 67) seems far too long.

1 A standing warrior with a sword in one hand and shield in the other (probably Ajax) moves toward an indistinct mass that must conceal Achilles. On the right is the Scaean Gate itself.

The central panel (*Sack of Troy*).

Of the original cityscape only a few traces of Troy's wall with its regularly spaced towers are preserved; the border to the left of the panel, however, carries captions describing the scenes depicted in a series of phrases that share the verb "slay" (only expressed in the first caption).

1 Neoptolemus slays Priam and Agenor ([Νεοπτόλεμος ἀ]π[οκ]τένει Πρίαμον καὶ Ἀγήνορα),
2 Polypoites (slays) Echeius (Πολυποίτης Ἐχεῖον),
3 Thrasymedes Nicaenetus (Θρασυμήδης Νι[κ]αίνετον[91]),
4 Philoctetes Diopeithes (Φιλοκτήτης Διοπίθην),
5 Dio. . . (ΔΙΟ).[92]

The inscription on the verso.[93]

[Κάδμος γή]μα[ς Ἁρ]μονί[αν]
[τὴν Ἄρ]εως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης
γεννᾶ κόρας δ', Ἰνὼ Ἀγαύ
ην Αὐτονόην Σεμέλην,
υἱὸν δὲ Πολύδωρον.
Ἀρισταίου δὲ καὶ Αὐτονόης Ἀκταίων.
Ἀθάμαντος δὲ καὶ Ἰνοῦς Λέ
αρχος καὶ Μελικέρτης.
Ἐχείονος δὲ Σπαρτοῦ καὶ Ἀγαύ [94]
ης γεννᾶται Πενθεύς.
Ζεὺς Σεμέλῃ πλησιάσ⟨ας⟩ καὶ κερ
αυνώσας αὐτὴν ἀνελόμε
νος τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ἐνράψ
ας εἰς τὸν μηρὸν ὕστερον
δίδωσιν Ἰνῷ τρέφειν.
Ἥρας Ἀργείας ἱέρεια Εὐρυδ[ίκη]

[91] So the usual reading. But the stone unmistakeably shows a delta and rho in place of the conjectured kappa, and the first two letters might more plausibly be read as alpha and nu: Ἀνδραίνετον? So far as I am aware the name is otherwise unattested (albeit composed of recognizable parts); neither Nicaenetus nor Andraenetus plays a role in the Troy saga elsewhere.

[92] Bernabé plausibly restores the name of Diomedes (1987: 87 [*Ilii excidium* T 2]).

[93] The text is after McLeod 1973. The beginning of each sentence extends into the left margin, an arrangement I reproduce here.

[94] The stone has ΕΧΕΙΟΣ, with the letters ΝΟ written above the omicron as a correction.

Cadmus, after marrying Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, begets four daughters, Ino, Agave, Autonoe, Semele, and a son, Polydorus.
From Aristaeus and Autonoe, Actaeon;
From Athamas and Ino, Learchus and Melicertes;
From Echeion of Sparta and Agave, Pentheus is begotten.
Zeus, having approached Semele and struck her with his thunderbolt, after taking up Dionysus and sewing him into his thigh, later gives him to Ino to raise. The priestess of Argive Hera [was] Eurydice. . .[95]

12F, Ransom of Hector (*IG* XIV.1287)

Twenty-four: The ransom of the corpse, and the end is "the burial of Hector, tamer of horses" ([Ἴω· λύτ]ρα νεκροῦ καὶ πέρας ἐστὶν τάφος Ἕκτορος ἱππ[οδάμοιο]).[96] (Cf. 1A, 2NY, 9D, 21Fro)

1 Ilium (Ἴ[λ]ιον, below the city walls positioned at what was originally the center of the tablet). In the upper portion of the tablet the city of Troy is seen from bird's-eye perspective. Its main wall, punctuated by towers, encloses rows of houses on the left and then a portico, one of whose colonnades is visible. Within the portico is a right-facing temple atop steps.
2 Below, the tent of Achilles occupies the left-hand portion of the tablet. Its roof is supported on posts, between which swaths of fabric hang down. Within the tent two standing figures facing right bear the corpse of Hector, with its head on the right and one arm hanging down. Within the entrance to the tent Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) is seated on a highly detailed throne. His torso is nude, and he rests one arm at his side and grips a lance with the other as he faces right. Above his lap another standing figure can be made out, probably an attendant.
Hermes (Ἑρμῆς, to the right of his head) stands facing to the left in profile with one arm stretched out toward Achilles. Below, Priam (Πρίαμος) kneels and extends to Achilles his hands, their individual fingers still visible. To the right of Hermes and above Priam's back is an object consisting of two slanted lines and one vertical that meet at a point: VM (p. 215), the first to point it out, plausibly identifies it as the balance

[95] This final sentence serves as a date. See McLeod 1973: 415 for a possible restoration of its missing conclusion.
[96] This summary of *Iliad* 24, inscribed on the lower border of the tablet, is in the same meter as those inscribed on 6B. The final phrase is an adapted quotation of the last line of the *Iliad* (24.804).

employed during the ransoming to match Hector's weight in gold. To Priam's right, a figure hefts a large object over his head, and another in a long robe looks backwards while lifting an object from the cart containing the ransom (λύτρα). At the right edge, the back legs of the animal harnessed to the cart may be seen.

20Par, *Tabula Froehner I* (*SEG* XXX.800)[97]

The bands in the left-hand column.

1 The right edges of three bands remain. From the topmost band no images or texts survive. The middle one shows two horses rearing up on their hind legs and galloping to the right, accompanied by a two-line inscription: on the first line, ΛΑΥΝΩ (tolerably clear); on the second, ΑΙΑ or ΛΙΑ (?; quite indistinct).[98] The lowest band carries an oval shape with a narrow vertical element to the right.

Any identification of this material must remain hypothetical.[99]

The bands in the right-hand column (*Iliad* 17–20, running from bottom to top).

(17) (Cf. 1A)

1 The upper left corner is preserved. An indistinct shape can be made out, and to its right a space without any figures. The traces are consistent with Hector shown wearing a helmet, raising his arm, and standing on his chariot so that his head is above the level of the surrounding figures, as in the analogous portion of the *Iliad* 17 frieze from 1A.

18 (Σ).[100] (Cf. 1A, 2NY)

1 A figure stands behind Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), who sits in profile facing right toward the body of Patroclus (Πάτροκλ, probably an abbreviation).

[97] The principal publications are Sadurska 1966 and Horsfall 1983.

[98] The first word must be from the verb ἐλαύνω, "I drive," which suits an image of galloping horses, but a first person form is inadmissible in this context. Perhaps the present participle ἐλαύνων, with the final nu on the next line (cf. Ἀχιλλεὺς σύρων τὸ σῶμα from the *Iliad* 22 band of 2NY); then read the traces in the next line as [ἅρμ]ατα ("driving the chariots")? Perhaps this is Nestor speeding away from Diomedes in *Iliad* 8 (cf. the comparable scene from 6B)?

[99] Sadurska (1966: 655) looked for scenes from the first half of the *Iliad* (books 4 6, specifically); VM (p. 179) reasonably counters that other poems such as the *Aethiopis* would be candidates as well (cf. tablet 9D).

[100] The book numbers are inscribed on the right border and centered vertically.

Patroclus lies with his head facing right and one arm dangling toward the ground. Above and behind his body, a frontal-facing figure raises both arms. To the right stands another mourning figure. In the background of this scene are two vertical posts from which the creased panels of fabric are suspended that indicate a location indoors.

2 Hephaestus sits in profile facing right and holds the shield of Achilles on an anvil. Behind the anvil, a Cyclops raises his arms to strike it with a hammer; to the right another Cyclops, nude and viewed from behind, stands with his legs apart. In the background above the three figures there is a horizontal element that may serve to indicate location – a different location, as the element is not the same height as the panels of fabric from the earlier scene, nor is it characterized by folds.

19 (T). (Cf. 1A, 2NY)

1 A woman in a long robe attends Thetis (Θέτις), who turns right and hands a lance to her son. "Achilles takes up arms" (Ἀχιλλεὺς ὅ[π]λα λαμβ, short for λαμβάνει or λαμβάνων) and turns right to receive his shield. This is handed to him by a warrior to the right, in armor and holding his own shield as well: this is Phoenix. To the right of Phoenix is a pair of horses shown frontally with their heads inclined to either side; above them, a small shape represents the driver of the chariot to which they are harnessed. On the right edge an armored warrior strides to the left and tends the horses.

(20) (Cf. 1A, 2NY)

1 Almost none of the figural material remains. Inscriptions indicate that Aeneas (Αἰνήας) was shown in the middle and Poseidon (Ποσιδῶν) on the right: the duel between Aeneas and Achilles.

The central panel.

On the right edge of the fragment, two minute spurs of the panel remain. The upper one may show a trace of Troy's wall; the lower one is featureless.

The verso. (For the supplements, see Chapter 2.)

Message in the letter grid.

ʾΙλιὰς Ὁμ]ήρου Θεοδώρει[ος ἡ τέχνη

The *Iliad* of Homer, the art of Theodorus.

21Fro, *Tabula Froehner II* (*SEG* xxx.801)[101]

The three stacked friezes (*Iliad* 22–24, running from top to bottom).

(22)

Nothing can be made out in the meager portion that survives.

(23) (Cf. 1A, 2NY, 9D)

1 The frieze opens with a pyre composed of horizontal bands that may be alternately smooth and divided into squares (cf. the fourth band of 7Ti). The corpse of Patroclus on top is difficult to make out (its head may be on the left).
2 Hard by the pyre, at least two chariots with horses and drivers move to the right, the chariot race at Patroclus' funeral games.

(24) Priam ransoming the body of Hector ([Πρίαμος λυ]τρούμενος τὸ Ἕ[κτορος σῶμα]). (Cf. 1A, 2NY, 9D, 12F)

1 The head of Achilles and the lance he grasps in his hand open the frieze. Priam, perhaps in a Phrygian cap, kneels before him facing left. Above and behind Priam stands another figure, possibly Hermes. To Priam's right, a stooped figure lifts an object from the cart containing the "ransom for the corpse" ([νεκρο]ῦ λύτρα; the label is above the figures). A pair of animals on the right are yoked to the cart, and above them another figure aids in unloading it. At the right edge is a large shape that may represent Troy.

[101] Horsfall 1983 is the principal publication.

Figures

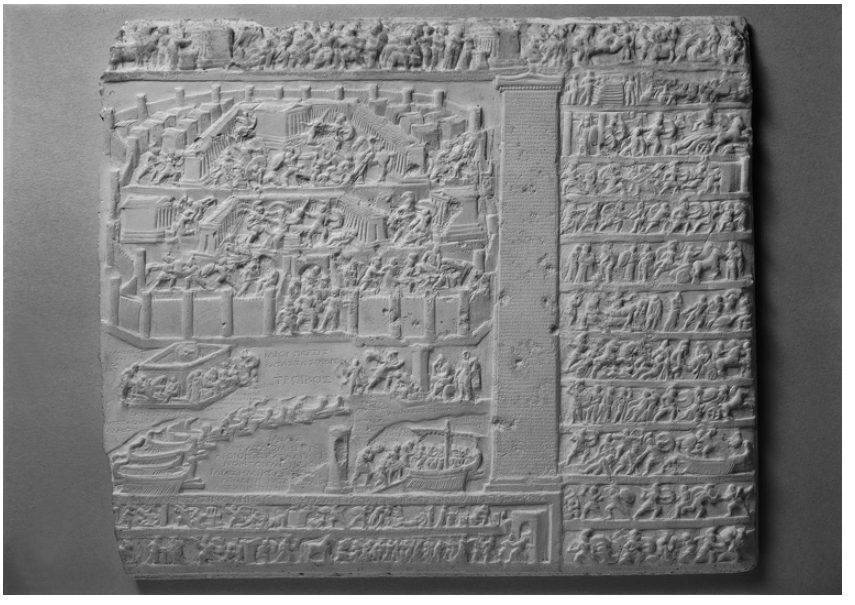


Figure 1 *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (1A), recto. Rome, Museo Capitolino

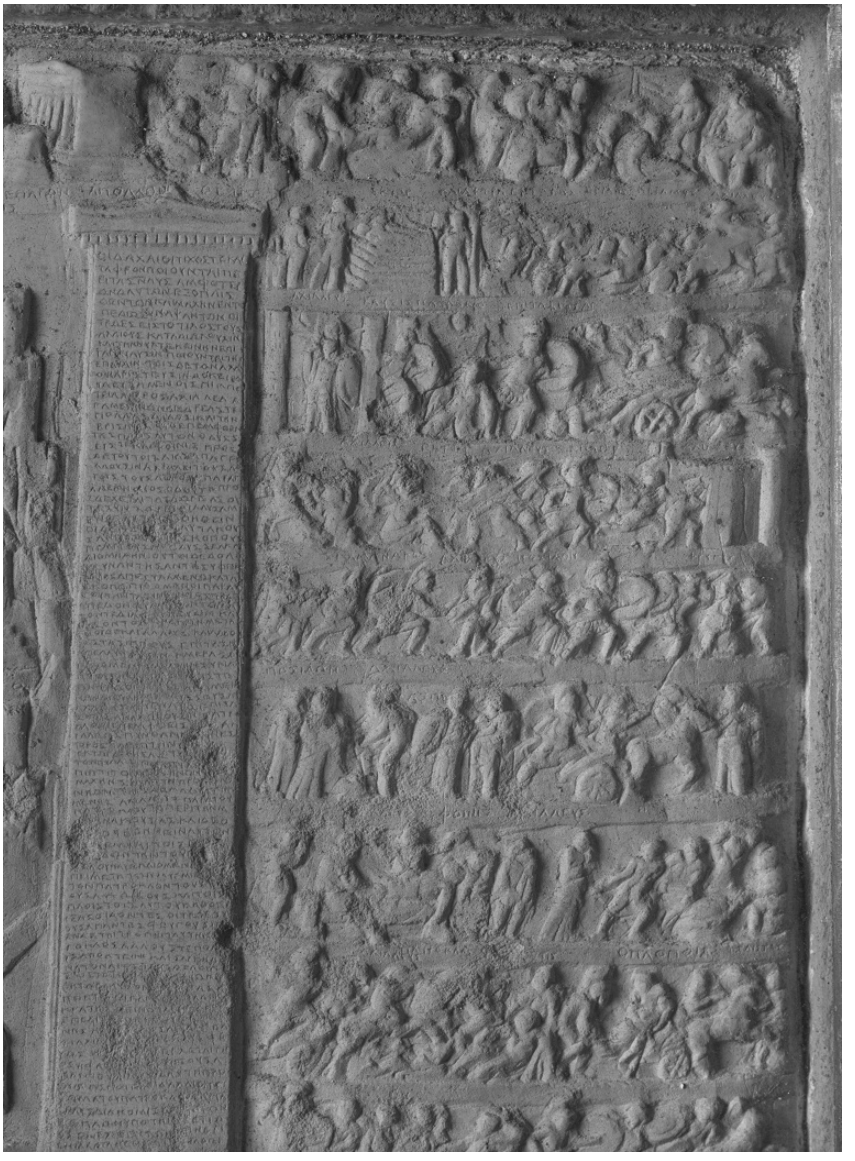


Figure 2 *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), detail of pilaster inscription and friezes for *Iliad* 17 24

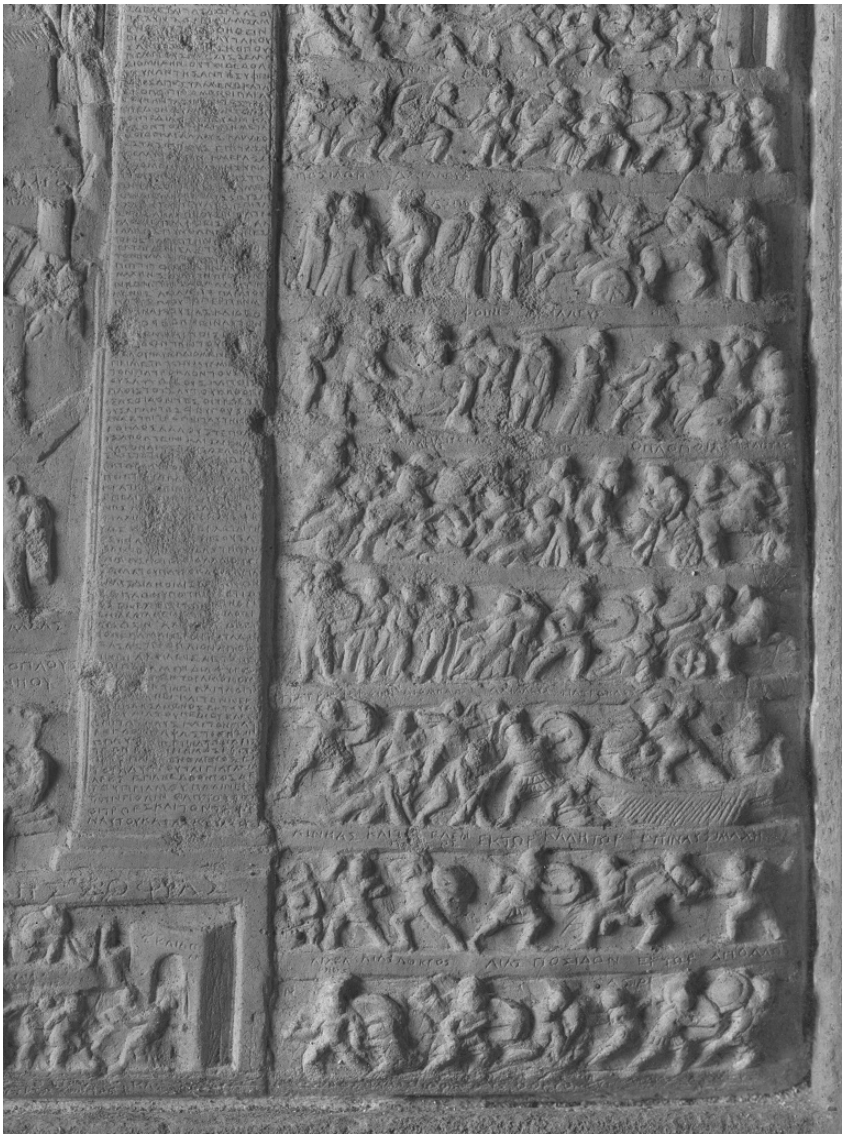


Figure 3 *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), detail of pilaster inscription and friezes for *Iliad* 13 20

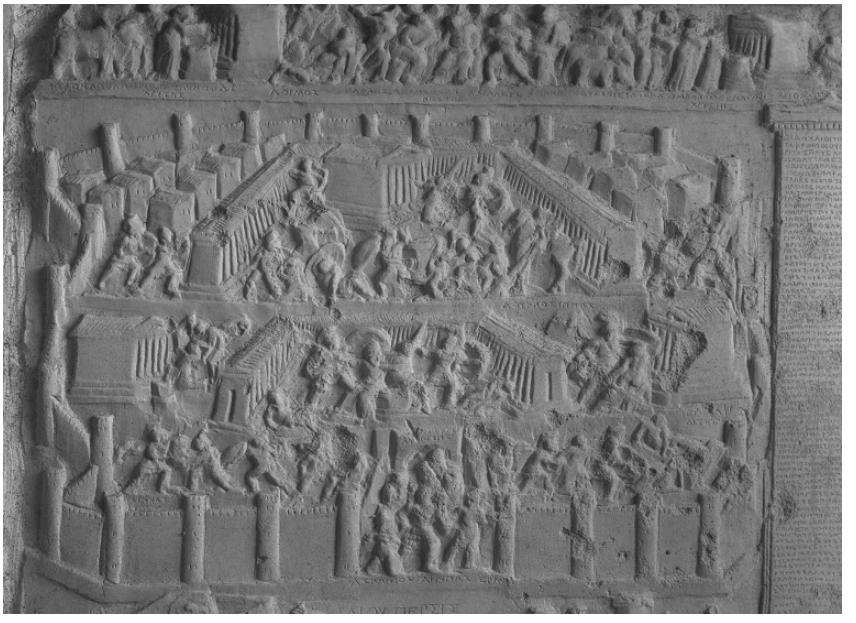


Figure 4 *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), detail of central panel, upper portion (Sack of Troy), and frieze for *Iliad* 1

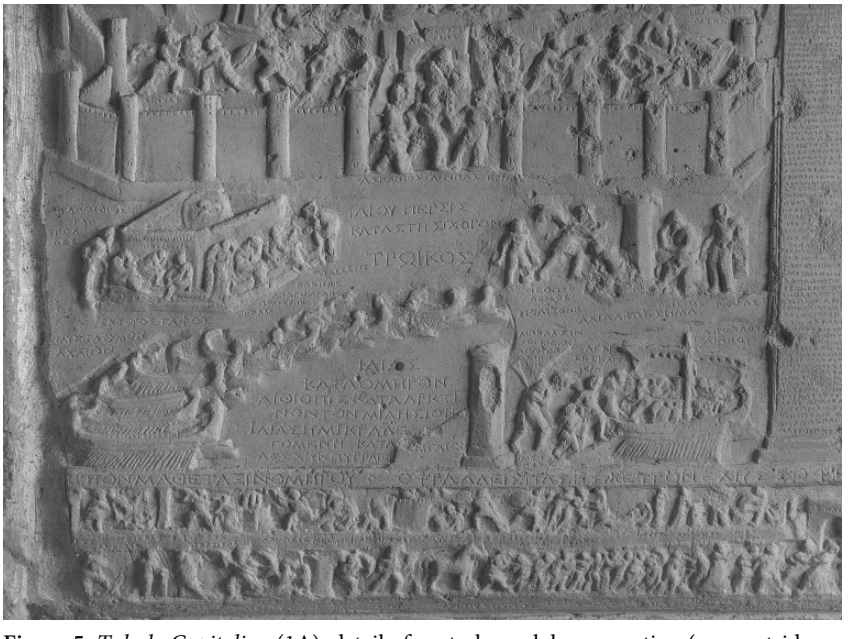


Figure 5 *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), detail of central panel, lower portion (area outside Troy, inscriptions) and friezes for *Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*

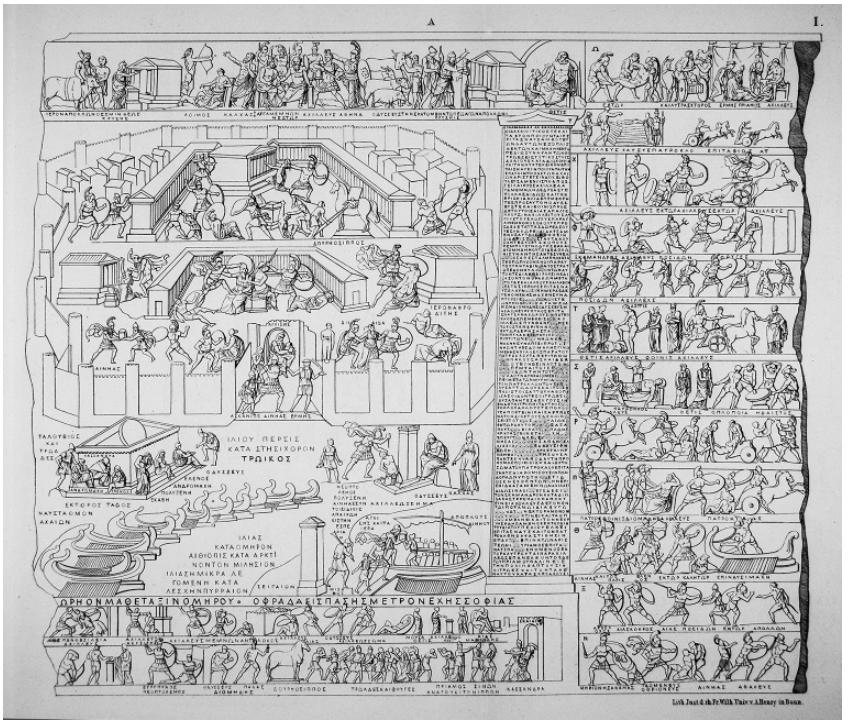


Figure 6 *Tabula Capitolina* (1A), line drawing by Feodor Ivanovitch, draftsman to Lord Elgin. The drawing cannot be trusted for details or for the placement of inscriptions

Figure 7 *Tabula Iliaca of New York* (2NY), recto. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

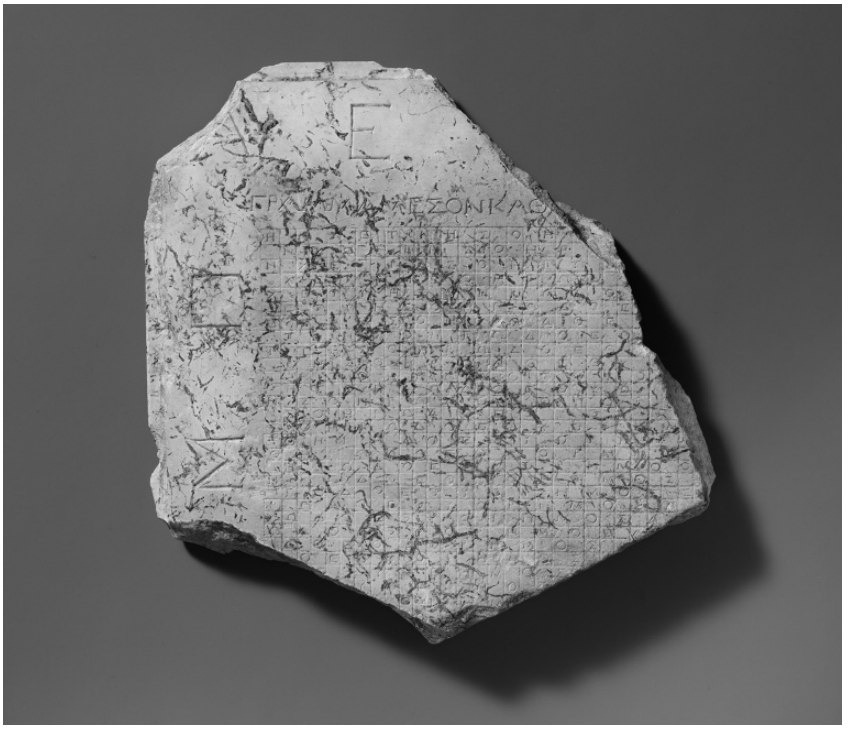


Figure 8 *Tabula Iliaca of New York* (2NY), verso

Figure 9 *Tabula Veronensis I* (3C), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

Figure 10 *Tabula Veronensis I* (3C), verso

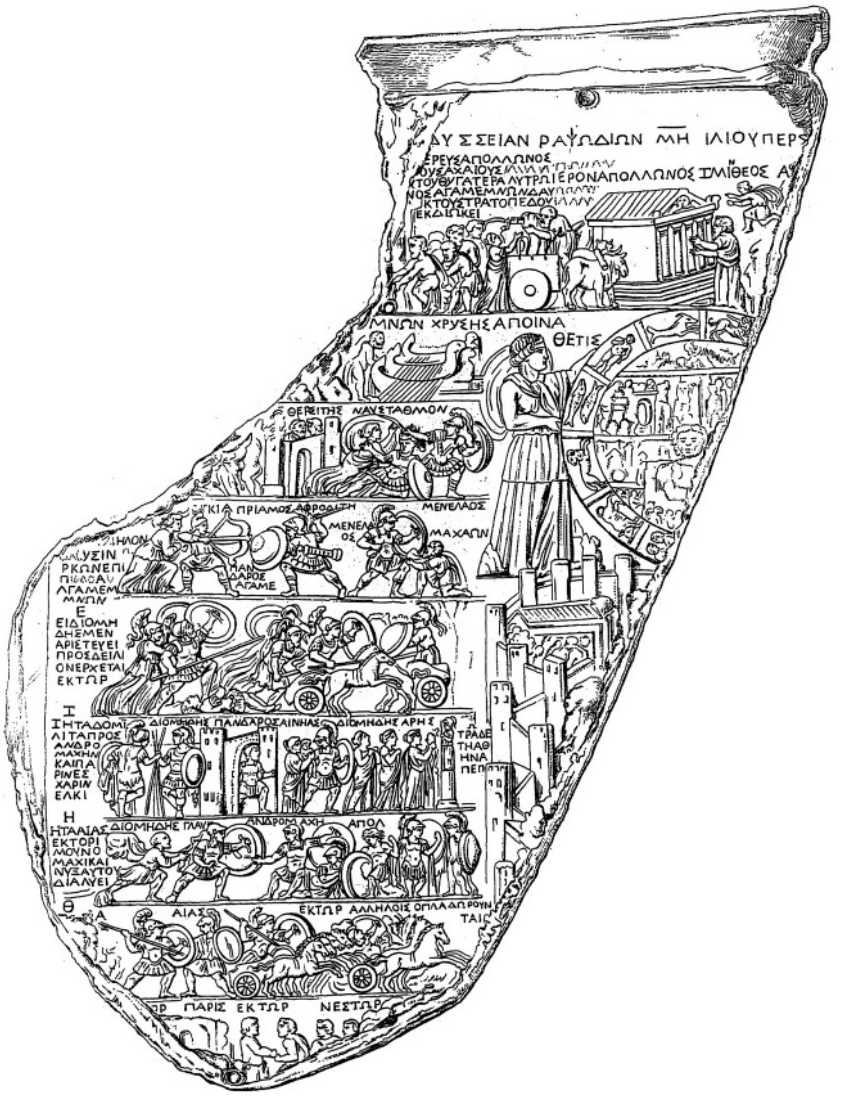


Figure 11 *Tabula Sarti* (6B), Sarti's original drawing published by G. Henzen in 1863

Figure 12 *Tabula Thierry* (7Ti), recto, heliogravure published by G. Rayet in 1882

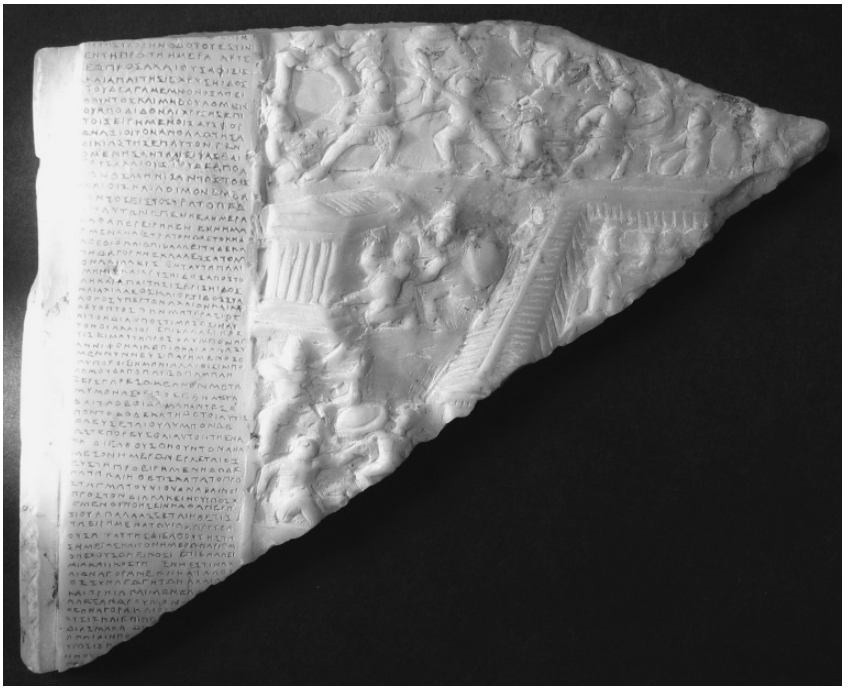


Figure 13 *Tabula of Zenodotus* (8E), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

Figure 14 *Tabula Veronensis II* (9D), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

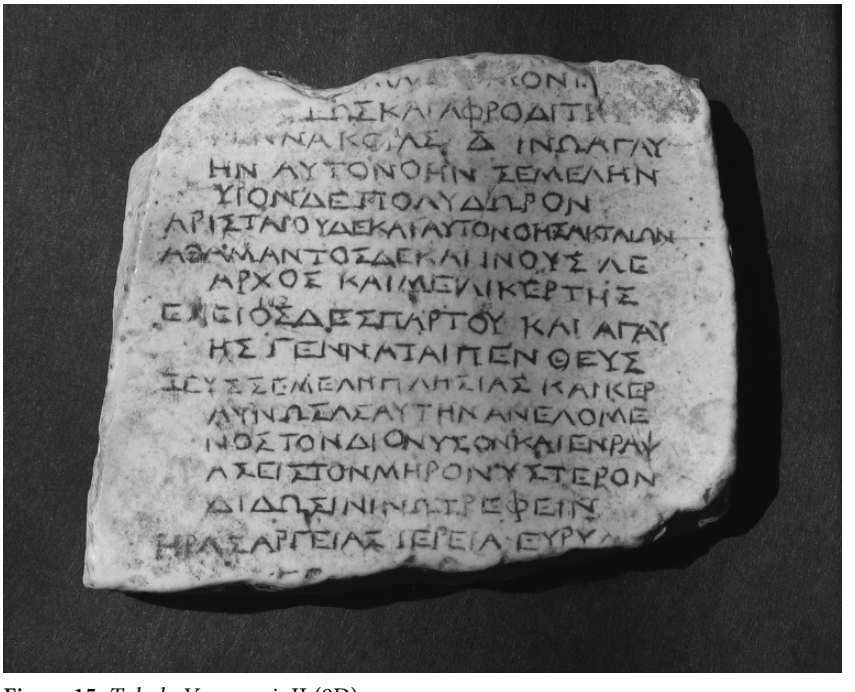


Figure 15 *Tabula Veronensis* II (9D), verso

Figure 16 Ransom of Hector (12F), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles

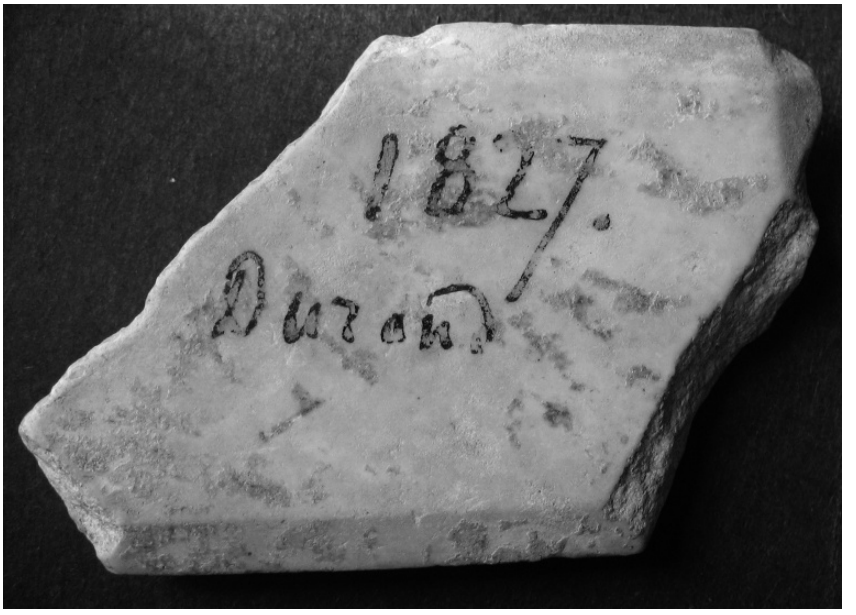


Figure 17 Ransom of Hector (12F), verso

Figure 18 *Tabula Froehner* (20Par), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Froehner

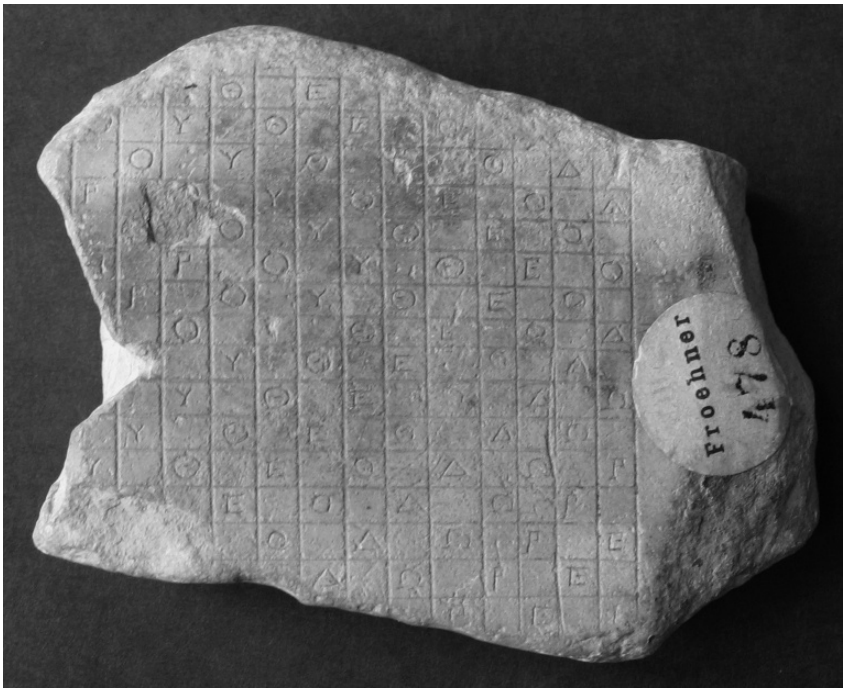


Figure 19 *Tabula Froehner* (20Par), verso

Figure 20 *Lytra* (21Fro), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Froehner

Figure 21 *Lytra* (21Fro), verso

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Plate 1 *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (1A), recto. Rome, Museo Capitolino. (See also Figure 1.)

Plate 2 *Tabula Iliaca of New York* (2NY), recto. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (See also Figure 7.)

Plate 3 *Tabula Veronensis I* (3C), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. (See also Figure 9.)

Plate 4 *Tabula of Zenodotus* (8E), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. (See also Figure 13.)

Plate 5 *Tabula Veronensis II* (9D), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. (See also Figure 14.)

Plate 6 Ransom of Hector (12F), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. (See also Figure 16.)

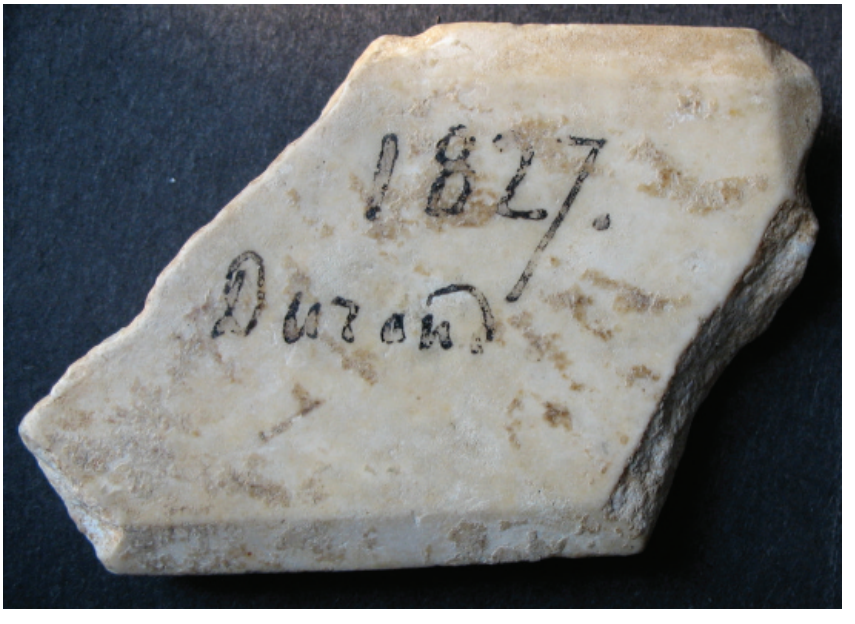

Plate 7 Ransom of Hector (12F), verso. (See also Figure 17.)

Plate 8 *Tabula Froehner* (20Par), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Froehner. (See also Figure 18.)

Plate 9 *Lytra* (21Fro), recto. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Froehner. (See also Figure 20.)