8 | Image studies in action

Image studies interpretations proceed in three stages, devised to capture the functional aspects of the pictures and the logistics of their display. At the stage concerned with spatial design, the focus is on the physical set-up of the picture. In the second stage, which addresses iconography, the physicality of display is under scrutiny, along with how motifs are combined and subsequently experienced. The third stage explores historical dimensions, with a focus on space and perspective as modelled in and shaped by the picture.

1) The Karlsruhe hydria: the pot as spin doctor

The hydria and its spatial design.

The Karlsruhe hydria stands out because of the arrangement of its two pictorial areas, the upper picture field and the lower frieze. This design also characterises two pieces attributed to the Meidias Painter himself, and hence seems indicative of this artistic circle (for example fig. 5.3).[1] More commonly, hydriae are decorated with a picture or frieze on the frontal part of the shoulder, or a picture on the front of the body. A sizeable group of hydriae combine a shoulder frieze with a body picture on the front. Hydriae of the Camirus type display a frontal pictorial field with an all-around animal frieze.[2] The specific composition chosen for the three Meidian hydriae is unparalleled and at the core of the strategies used to generate and transmit meaning here.

The viewer approach required by the Karlsruhe hydria, with its two picture areas, contrasts with that required by hydriae with a frontal shoulder frieze and body picture, a design popular in the later sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. The upper picture field on the Karlsruhe hydria resembles the traditional frontal shoulder frieze-picture of earlier hydriae because it

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[1] RF Hydria, London, British Museum E224; see above, pp. 10–11 n. 29; RF Hydria, Athens, Ceramicus 2712; see above, p. 44 n. 37.

[2] Diehl 1964: esp. 61–8.

has to be viewed from above. However, the design is modified: the picture field is extended below the side handles of the vessel (fig. 0.1). This trapezoid picture field requires a lower viewpoint. Where the earlier design of a shoulder frieze established a focal point at the centre front of the body of the vessel, here the picture field takes its viewers across the whole horizontal extension of the vessel.

While such extension can also be found on other contemporary hydriae (figs 8.1, 8.2),[3] on the Karlsruhe hydria, the design is extended further, to include a frieze that runs around the whole vessel underneath the upper picture field. As a result of this arrangement, the two pictorial areas are only visible together in a restricted zone at the front comprising ten figures across the two areas (fig. 0.1). To appreciate the decoration fully, viewers have to engage in activity, turning the vessel or shifting their own points of view. And the movement required is not the normal binary action based on the single 180° rotation common for those Greek vases with a picture on each side of the vessel. The Karlsruhe hydria requires not two, but multiple viewpoints – with none of these viewpoints offering a complete view of both picture areas. The design of the vessel is constituted by individual visual clips.

This arrangement has considerable impact on the content transmitted. The picture field is seemingly a static tableau of thirteen figures, but under closer scrutiny reveals a distinct take on the story of the Judgement of Paris (fig. 5.1).[4] First and most notable is that the mathematical centre of the picture field, which in Greek vase-painting commonly features characters indicative of what is on display, in the case of the Karlsruhe hydria raises more questions than it answers. Although the figure of Paris together with Hermes, the Eros, and the dog forms a nucleus, based on interwoven actant-reactant relationships between the four, the group is also noticeably drifting away from the centre, highlighting its interdependency with other elements in the scene.

In addition, the surrounding cast puts pressure on the cohesion of the nucleus, adding contradictory layers of meaning. The circle of figures immediately surrounding the nucleus intermixes goddesses – Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite – with two personifications, Eris and Eutychia, with the latter

[3] Among those portraying the Judgement, cf. RF Hydria, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2366; see above, pp. 39–40 n. 19; RF Hydria, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 38031; see above, p. 42 n. 26; RF Hydria, once Cancello; see above, p. 42 n. 27; RF Hydria, once Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633; now lost; from Vulci. Cadmus Painter, 420/410 BCE. Gerhard 1845: pl. c; ABV² 1187,32; Add² 341; CVA Berlin, Antiquarium 9: Beilage 16; LIMC VII (1994) s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 47.

[4] For a summary of the iconographic features of the scene, see above, pp. 10–12, 37–44.

holding the garland towards Paris. With three of these four figures look-
ing towards the nucleus, that grouping is confirmed as the focal point of
the picture. And yet two pairings – a goddess and a personification in each
case – offer diametrically opposed commentaries on the activity taking
place within the nucleus, pointing to the positive (Eutychia and Aphrodite)
and the negative (Eris and Athena) repercussions of Paris' choice. The other
ancillary characters – Clymene, the second Eutychia, Helius, and Zeus –
add to that complexity.[5]

The physicality of the material carrier amplifies these dynamics: the fur-
ther the view drifts to the left, the more the negative consequences beyond
the contest come to the fore; the further to the right, the more Aphrodite's role
is emphasised. The depiction delivers both situative and attributive mean-
ings: the former expressed in the figures belonging to the mythological nar-
rative, the latter in the participation of the personifications. Meanwhile, the
figure of Eris supports both these strands – and thereby directs a particular
understanding of the scene, as a situative representation of the Judgement,
and at the same time an attribute of the Trojan War. The employment of
such a figure as the hinge of the scene confirms multi-stability as central to
the figurative decoration. In this sense, then, movement across the surface
of the vessel turns into pro- or retrogression in narrative time and com-
plexity, fuelled by different narrative voices and perspectives, and narrative
modes. The tableau character of the composition may seem to present a fait
accompli, but the image still contains suspense.

Finally, the frieze below offers yet another extension, once more sup-
ported by the vessel itself. Its content, the Dionysian thiasus and the bou-
doir scenes (fig. 5.2), is generally taken as playing up the characteristics of
the Meidian circle.[6] And yet its role goes beyond a mere reinforcement of
the Meidias brand. The frieze interacts with the display above: the female
activity presented below, maenadic revelling and a more constrained show-
casing of beauty-related activity, provides an attributive enhancement of
the decision being taken above, Paris' scrutinising of female qualities. So,
while the Judgement scene itself pursues the issue of female roles as only
one aspect among several, the frieze highlights that one aspect by means of
comparative extension. Additionally, the distribution of the groups across

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[5] On Clymene: LIMC VI 1992 s.v. *Klymene IV* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann): the only occurrence
   listed is this instance on the Karlsruhe hydria. On the second Eutychia, see above, p. 39. On
   Helius' role, see above, p. 39. Zeus here carries a thunderbolt; on his iconography in general:
   LIMC VIII 1997 s.v. *Zeus* (M. Tiverios). The father of the god features first in the Meidian
   scenes of the Judgement, cf. Clairmont 1951: 110.
[6] See Burn 1987: 65–8; Robertson 1994: 237–42. See also above, pp. 45–6.

the expanse of the frieze serves up a noteworthy counterpoint to the scene above. While it connects the two types of female activity, it also identifies a correlation of thiasus with the Judgement – but not with the boudoir scenes, which would appear the more obvious choice if the set-up were to enforce the victory of Aphrodite depicted above.

Closer inspection reveals that the figure of Dionysus depicted below converges with the figure of Hermes above, for the figures mirror each other's stance (fig. 0.1). This replication seems more than just a coincidental double use of the same stock figure, not least because Dionysus' thyrsus overlaps the frame of the frieze and reaches into the dividing meander band. The connection thus established appears as if a visual take on the type of narrative transgression exploited by Cratinus in his *Dionysalexandrus*, where Dionysus takes over Paris' role and secures Helen for himself.[7] This extension of content along a medial axis is matched by the lateral widening of content facilitated by the boudoir scenes in the back of the frieze, which are entrenched in a mode of existence that is not necessarily part of the mythological realm.[8] And yet, despite this different setting and despite the separation from the upper pictorial field, the back part of the frieze still successfully crosses contentual and spatial thresholds to serve as an extension of female roles and behaviours as depicted in the Judgement and the thiasus.

In intermixing the parts of the vessel and also the levels of transmission, the vase and its decoration involve the viewer in processes of what could be termed modal metalepsis:[9] by breaking down the boundaries between the narrative and the descriptive and between the mythological and the normal, the design of the vessel reaches towards its audience, immersing them in what is on display. The transmission is not merely a product of image-processing in the mind of the viewer, but is made *corpo-real* on and through the body of the vessel.

Space, design, and content – an iconographic perspective.

The character of this specific form of transmission can be further defined by comparing the design of this vessel with the design of other vessels

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[7] See also above, pp. 40–1 n. 22.

[8] On the relationship of mythology and the normal/everyday, see above, pp. 100, 122 n. 12, 164–5.

[9] For the narrative category of metalepsis, see Genette 1980: 33–85, 234–7; Melina 2002; De Jong 2004b: esp. 16; De Jong 2009: esp. 88–93. For its use to describe phenomena of visual storytelling, see Lorenz 2007: 117–21; Lorenz 2013a: esp. 119–20, 142–4. On the categories *narrative* and *descriptive*, see Lorenz 2007: 129–30, with a discussion of Giuliani 2013: 15–18, 132–4, 244–8.

representing the Judgement. The Judgement was popularly depicted in black- and red-figure vase-painting and across different types of pottery. Certain trends emerge.[10] Whilst symposium ware was the preferred habitat for the story, it appears marginally more often in black-figure than in red-figure.[11] Red-figure vase-painting was increasingly likely to be found depicting the Judgement on hydriae and notably less likely to be found on lecythi, but the subject was particularly popular for white-ground black-figure lecythi in the last quarter of the sixth-century.[12]

The Judgement was frequently displayed along with other figure scenes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the variety of combinations was widest in the second half of the sixth century, the period in which the myth enjoyed greatest popularity on vases. Then, Judgement scenes were most frequently partnered with depictions of generic warriors, including scenes of soldier's farewell,[13] followed by combinations with Dionysian scenes,[14]

[10] Of the 216 occurrences of the myth listed in the Beazley Archive, 149 are black-figure and 67 are red-figure.

[11] 55.6% for black-figure as against 52.1% for red-figure; 'symposium ware' here comprises amphorae, craters, stamni, pouring vessels (oinochoae, pelicae), and drinking vessels (cups, scyphi, and canthari). This overall picture cannot account, however, for the comparative rise of occurrences on either drinking vessels towards the end of the sixth century and in the first half of the fifth or craters in the third and fourth quarter of the fifth.

[12] For the hydriae, 14.74% in black-figure with 19.37% in red-figure; for the lecythi, 16.08% in black-figure (two-thirds of which from the last quarter of the sixth century) with 8.94% in red-figure. For white-ground black-figure lecythi, see Kurtz 1975.

[13] Of the 127 sufficiently preserved depictions of the Judgement in black-figure vase-painting listed in the Beazley Archive (147 in all), about one in six shows a scene with warriors alongside the Judgement. Scenes of warrior farewell: BF Amphora, London, British Museum B171; from Vulci. *c.* 530/520 BCE. CVA *London, British Museum* 3: III.He.6, pl. 31.4A–B; BF Neck-amphora, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquinese 630; from Tarquinia. Antimenes Painter, *c.* 520 BCE. ABV 271.76; Burow 1989, no. 99, pl. 98; BF Neck-amphora, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3865. Antimenes Painter, *c.* 510 BCE. ABV 278.30; Add² 73; BF Neck-amphora, London, British Museum B326; from Vulci. Group of Würzburg 179, *c.* 520 BCE. ABV 290.2; Para 126; CVA *London, British Museum* 4: III.He.7, pl. 57.4A–B. On the theme more generally, see Spieß 1992; Matheson 2005.

[14] Scenes with Dionysus: BF Neck-amphora, Bochum, Ruhr Universität, Kunstsammlungen S1089. Exekias, 530/520 BCE. CVA *Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhruniversität* 1: 37–8, Beilage 9.1, fig. 13, pls 26–7; BF Neck-amphora, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G272. Group of Würzburg 199, 520/510 BCE. ABV 290.2; Add² 75; CVA *Oxford, Ashmolean Museum* 3: 5, pls 12.1–2, 13.1–2; BF Neck-amphora, Brussels, Musées Royaux A 3089. 530/520 BCE. CVA *Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* 3: III.He.18, pl. 26.2A–C; BF Hydria, Auckland, The Auckland Institute and Museum 12964; from Italy. Group of Faina 75, 530/520 BCE. ABV 327.5; Para 144, 192; Add² 88; CVA *New Zealand Collections* 1: 12–13, pl. 49.1–5; BF Pyxis, Lentini Museum 4640; from Lentini. *c.* 550 BCE. Panvini & Sole 2009: 326, VI/364; BF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1894; from Vulci. Antimenes Painter (Manner of), *c.* 520 BCE. ABV 277.14, 692; Para 122; Add² 72; CVA *Berlin, Antikenmuseum* 7: 27–8, Beilage 5.1 pls 19.3–4, 20.2.4, 48,3; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 33; BF Neck-amphora, New York, Gallatin.

and with scenes of the Trojan War, in particular of Troilus and the Recovery of Helen;[15] combinations with Heracles and Athena were also popular,[16] and

Group of Compiegne 988, *c.* 520/510 BCE. ABV 285.5; CVA *Cambridge (MA), Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections*: 86, pl. 37.2A–B; BF Neck-amphora, Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Arts 60.27. Antimenes Painter, *c.* 520 BCE. Para 120.6STER; Add² 70; Burow 1989: no. 84, pl. 85. Two vessels include Dionysus within the scene of the Judgement: BF Scyphus, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles I4791; from Corinth. *c.* 500 BCE. CVA *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale* 2: 51, pl. 70.4.6–8; BF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1894; as above. Combinations of Dionysian character, but without the god: BF Neck-amphora, Purrmann 8763 (Satyrs and Maenads). Tyrrhenian Group, 560/550 BCE. *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44, 1973: 24–5, figs 29–32; BF Neck-amphora, London Market (Maenad and Bull). *c.* 510 BCE. Sotheby, sale catalogue: 9.12.1985, no. 262; BF Amphora, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano 39515 (Symposium); from Vulci. Ptoon Painter, 560/550 BCE. ABV 84.3; BF Neck-amphora, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 70995; see above, p. 39 n. 13 (Symposium). Lydus, 570/560 BCE. ABV 110.32; Para 44; Add² 30.

[15] Combination with scenes from Troy: BF Pyxis, Lille, Musee de Beaux Arts 763 (Achilles and Memnon). C Painter, 570/560 BCE. ABV 681.122BIS; Add² 16; CVA *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts-Université Charles de Gaulle*: 25–8, fig. 2, pls 5–7; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 5; BF Neck-amphora, London, British Museum B239 (Achilles dragging Patroclus' body); from Vulci. Leagrus Group, *c.* 520/510 BCE. ABV 371.147; Add² 99; CVA *London, British Museum* 4: III.He.7, pl. 58.3A–B; BF Neck-amphora, Hannover, Kestner-Museum 754 (Aeneas); from Etruria. Painter of Munich 1519, *c.* 510 BCE. CVA *Hannover, Kestner-Museum* 1: 25, pls 9.4, 13.1–2, 14.4. Scenes of the Troilos myth: BF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1895; from Vulci. Antimenes Painter, *c.* 510 BCE. ABV 268.31; Add² 70; Burow 1989: no. 63, pl. 63; BF Hydria, Munich, Antikensammlung J136. The recovery of Helen: BF Lecanis, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection 2116; from Acropolis. C P, 570/560 BCE. ABV 58.121; BF Neck-amphora, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts 60.790. Group of Würzburg 199, 520/510 BCE. Para 126.12BIS; Add² 75; CVA *Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 1: 33–4, fig. 37, pl. 45.1–4; BF Neck-amphora, Munich, Antikensammlung 1392. Antimenes Painter, 520/510 BCE. ABV 281.16; Add² 73; CVA *Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst* 1: 20–1, pls 26.2, 27.4, 28.5; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 34; BF Neck-amphora, Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Arts 57.9. Antimenes Painter, *c.* 520 BCE. ABV 271.78, 691; Para 118; Add² 71; Burow 1989: no. 39, pl. 39. On the myth, see LIMC IV 1988 s.v. *Helene* (L. Kahil); Ghali-Kahil 1955: 16–22, 71–113, 190–202; Scherer 1966–67; Hedreen 1996.

[16] Combinations with Heracles: BF Hydria, London, British Museum B312 (Heracles and Triton); from Vulci. Chiusi Painter, 530/520 BCE. CVA *London, British Museum* 6: III.He.5, pls 70.1, 81.3; Ahlberg-Cornell 1984: 136, no. VIII.2; BF Hydria, University of Chicago, D. & A. Smart Gallery 1889.15 (Heracles and Triton); from Cerveteri. Leagrus Group, 510/500 BCE. ABV 673; Para 164; Add² 148; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 16; BF Amphora, Paris, Musée du Louvre F31 (Heracles and Cycnus). Witt Painter, third quarter of the sixth century BCE. ABV 313.1; CVA *Paris, Louvre* 3: II.He.10, III.He.13, pls 11.6.9, 17.2; Zardini 2009: 272, 516, figs 6, 110A; BF Hydria, NYMC (Heracles and the Lion). Antimenes Painter, *c.* 510 BCE. ABV 277.13; Add² 72; CVA *Northampton, Castle Ashby*: 13, pl. 21.1–4. Combinations with Heracles and Athena: BF Loutrophorus, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.1174; from Acropolis. *c.* 530/520 BCE. Graef & Langlotz 1925: pl. 68.1151A; BF Hydria, London, Market. Third quarter of the sixth century BCE. Christie, Manson and Wood sales catalogue 28.4.1964, no. 64, pl. 9; BF Neck-amphora, London, British Museum 1847.8–6.27. Eye-Siren Group, *c.* 520/510 BCE. ABV 286.3; Add² 74; CVA *London, British Museum* 4: III.He.7, pl. 58.1A–B; BF Scyphus, Athens, National Museum 12626. Krokotus Group, *c.* 510 BCE. CVA *Athens, National Museum* 4: 44–5, fig. 10.2, pls 33.1–4, 33.3–4. Birth of Athena: BF Pyxis, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA616; from Thebes. C Painter, 570/560 BCE. ABV 58.122; Para 23; Add² 16; LIMC

joint depictions with Theseus and the Minotaur, Apollo, and the gigantoma-
chy were also found.[17]

From the end of the sixth century onwards, however, the Judgement more
often than not appeared as the only theme on its material carrier, rather than
in combination with other scenes. In part, this shift can be explained by the
types of vessel now employed for depiction of the myth, which provided space
for only a sole picture field: the lecythus and the calpis-type hydriae become
more prominent while the amphorae disappear from the Judgement portfolio.
And the combinations that still occur set a different emphasis: whilst no new
subjects are introduced, the partnering with warrior scenes and with scenes
of Heracles and Athena ceases,[18] and scenes of the Trojan War that still occur
in combination with the Judgement focus on Helen.[19] Combinations with
Dionysian scenes continue, on occasion intermixed with the appearance of
Apollo.[20]

This shift towards the Judgement as sole content and away from previously
popular combination topics coincided with changes in the iconographical
reach of the figure of Paris. In black-figure vase-painting, the Judgement is

VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 6; BF Neck-amphora, Munich, Antikensammlung J101; from
Vulci. Leagrus Group, *c.* 510 BCE. CVA *Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst* 8: 85–6, Beilage
F8, pls 424.4, 427.1, 430.4; BF Pyxis, Athens, Ceramicus 21290; from Ceramicus. Kunze-Götte
et al. 1999: pl. 40.1.8, 2–5, Beilage 5. Athena in chariot: BF Neck-amphora, Vatican, Museo
Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 399; from Vulci. Group of Copenhagen 114, 530/520 BCE.
ABV 395.7.

17   Combinations with Theseus: BF Amphora, Brussels, Musées Royaux R306. Class of Louvre
F215BIS, 530/520 BCE. Para 138; CVA *Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* 1: III.He.4, pl.
11.2A.2B; BF Neck-amphora, Munich, Antikensammlung J107; from Vulci. Antimenes
Painter, *c.* 510 BCE. ABV 278.31; Add² 73; CVA *Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst* 8: 80–1,
Beilage F4, pls 419.4, 423.1–2, 430.1. Apollo: BF Neck-amphora, London, British Museum
B238; from Vulci. Nicoxenos Painter, last quarter of the sixth century BCE. ABV 392.9; Para
172; Add² 103; CVA London, British Museum 4, III.He.7, pl. 58.2A–B; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis
Iuridicum* no. 1. Gigantomachy: BF Neck-amphora, New York, Metropolitan Museum 98.9.11.

18   Instead, a combination with an amazonomachy occurs: RF Pelike, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty
Museum 83.AE.10. Marsyas Painter, 330/320 BCE. LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 52A.

19   RF Cup, Paris, Musée du Louvre G151 (Paris returning to Priam and Hecuba); from Cerveteri.
Brygos, *c.* 480 BCE. ARV² 406.8; Para 371; Add² 232; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 35;
RF Cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2291 (Paris and Helen); from Vulci. Makron, 490/480
BCE. ARV² 459.4, 481, 1385, 1654; Para 377; Add² 244; CVA *Berlin, Antiquarium* 2: 33–4, pls
84; Kunisch 1997: no. 295; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 36; RF Cup, Berlin, Staatliche
Museen F2536 (Helen and Menelaus); from Nola. Painter of Berlin 2536, *c.* 440 BCE. ARV²
1287.1, 1689; Add² 358; CVA *Berlin, Antiquarium* 3: 17, pls 117.2–4, 118.1–2, 133.2.4.9; LIMC
VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 39.

20   RF Stamnos, London, British Museum E445 (Poseidon, Nike, Dionysus); from Vulci. Painter
of London E445, *c.* 470 BCE. ARV² 217.1; CVA *London, British Museum* 3: III.Ic.9, pl. 21.4A–
D; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 21; RF Stamnos, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2182; from
Tarquinia. Syleus Painter, 480/470 BCE. ARV² 251.32; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 104;
RF Amphora, London, British Museum E257; from Vulci. Niobid Painter, 460/450 BCE. ARV²

the Trojan prince's sole iconographic presence, some appearances as a participant in the Trojan War aside.[21] In red-figure vase-painting, his iconographic portfolio diversified to include scenes of romantic encounter with Helen,[22] frequently in the presence of Aphrodite.[23] Scenes displaying Paris as a warrior were discontinued.

These changes in compositional layout, thematic juxtaposition, and internal iconography[24] were not all synchronous. They should be understood as indicators of gradual shifts in the appropriation of the Judgement. Over time, they would shape the Judgement iconographically such that the scenes from the later fifth century look considerably different from those of a century earlier. But notwithstanding the seemingly uncoordinated nature of the changes, together they establish a clear trajectory in the characterisation of the individual participants and in the depiction of their relationships.

The scenes of the sixth century put great emphasis on the goddesses and on the homogeneity of their group (fig. 2.1). The Judgement here is not so much about mortal arbitration as about divine force,[25] an interpretation supported by the absence of Paris or his fleeing from the scene. In addition, the processional character of the scenes encourages their interpretation in light of ritual activities, such as wedding processions.[26] The Judgement then marks a stage in life and the power of the gods in orchestrating its course.[27] To a lesser

604.50; Add² 267; CVA *London, British Museum* 3: III.Ic.5, pl. 7.2A–B; Prange 1989: N65, pl. 24; RF Bell-crater, Sarajevo, National Museum 33 (Satyr and Maenad). 440/430 BCE. CVA *Sarajevo, Musée National de la Republique Socialiste de Bosnie-Herzegovine*: 49–50, pls 46.1–3, 48.1–2; RF Hydria, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259; RF Calyx-crater, St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum ST1807 (Dionysus and Apollo); see above, p. 128 n. 30; RF Pelike, Athens, National Museum CC1855. Marsyas Painter, 350/340 BCE. ARV² 1475.5; Para 495; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 53; RF Calyx-crater, Athens, National Museum N1106 (Satyrs and Maenads). LC Group, *c.* 330 BCE. ARV² 1457.11, 1461, 1694; Add² 380; LIMC VII s.v. *Paridis Iuridicum* no. 54. Combinations with Apollo: RF Cup, Paris, Musée du Louvre G151; see above, p. 190 n. 19; RF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633 (Apollo and Leto in the Judgement scene); see above, p. 185 n. 3; RF Bell-crater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1771 (Apollo and Leto); see above, p. 42 n. 26.

[21] LIMC I 1981 s.v. *Alexandros* nos 71, 74, 78 (R. Hampe); see above, pp. 39–41.

[22] For these scenes, see above, pp. 43–4.

[23] On the relationship between heroine and goddess in these scenes, see Bron 1996; cf. Shapiro 2005: 54–60; Meyer 2009: 90–3.

[24] For the iconographic development of the individual characters, see above, pp. 37–44.

[25] The Judgement seems to be appropriated in this way in those cases where it is combined with scenes of Heracles and Theseus, see above, pp. 189–90 nn. 16–7.

[26] See above, pp. 38–41; cf. also Dodson-Robinson 2010 on Sappho's version of the Judgement and connections to wedding ritual. On wedding depictions more generally, see Oakley & Sinos 2002.

[27] This notion is strongest in those cases where the Judgement is combined with scenes of the Birth of Athena, but might reverberate also in combinations with the recovery of Helen, and with Troilus (for examples see above, p. 189 n. 15).

extent, consecutive narratives across an individual vessel were also deployed during this period, with the Judgement depicted along with scenes of the Trojan War, which would follow.[28]

The emphasis on the goddesses as a group is redirected in the last quarter of the sixth century, first with the growing individualisation of the goddesses, then with Paris' continuous presence in the scene. From here, the Judgement was no longer about the three goddesses as a ritualised, powerful unit, but rather increasingly about the relationship between the Trojan prince and the individual qualities embodied by each of the goddesses. This shift was most pronounced from the second quarter of the fifth century, when the goddesses, having arrived on Mount Ida, were depicted surrounding Paris, and the prince was shown choosing between them (fig. 2.2).[29]

Space and narrative towards the end of the fifth century.

The focus on the relationship(s) between the individual actors offered an opportunity for the story to reach beyond its immediate mythological and contentual framework. The Judgement could still be employed as an important episode in the Trojan War or, indeed, as a marker for a stage in life,[30] but the zooming in on the characters and, in particular, on the power of Paris facilitated a step change: with the all-encompassing, formidable power of the divine trinity discontinued in the scene, the behaviour of the individual participants in the Judgement and the consequences of their actions for the course of (mythological) history were carved out more and more within the scene itself.[31] Whilst earlier the juxtaposition of the Judgement with other scenes had facilitated an extension of the story, these later depictions, and those from the last decades of the fifth century in particular, negotiate such extension within the Judgement scene itself, and to this end a flurry of personifications and other mythological characters is introduced.[32]

This reworking of the story in favour of greater emphasis on relationships and on the power of Paris is found in the scene on the Karlsruhe hydria, and indeed on the other examples of the Judgement from the wider circle of the Meidias Painter (fig. 8.1, 8.2).[33] And on a number

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[28] See above, pp. 40–1, 119–20.

[29] For the iconographic development, see above, pp. 38–9.

[30] As is the case when the Judgement is combined with the subject of Paris and Helen: RF Cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2291; see above, p. 190 n. 19.

[31] Other additions to the Judgement scene in the later fifth century include Priam and Hecuba, for example: RF Hydria, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2366; see above, pp. 39–40 n. 19.

[32] See above, p. 39.

[33] RF Hydria, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmusum 259; RF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633, see above, p. 185 n. 3; RF Calyx-crater, St Petersburg, Hermitage ST1807; see

of vessels from this group, including the Karlsruhe hydria, the visual exploration of the internal relationships that shape the Judgement are taken even further, a development that is particularly evident when the Karlsruhe hydria is compared with the calyx-crater by the Cadmus Painter.[34] Whilst personifications are employed in both scenes, the latter presents these extending characters in a register above and separate from the core cast.[35] On the crater, the viewer is confronted with a static juxtaposition – on the one hand the myth, on the other the consequences – and because of the physicality of the material carrier, both elements are in view together.[36]

The situation on the hydria is not as straightforward. Different permutations of its content depending on the position of the viewer could be encountered, a method that feeds off and maximises the impact of the more complex hydria shape. This technique was also adopted for a group of other hydriae representing the Judgement.[37] Two pieces in particular provide insight into aspects explored in this period. Figures such as Priam, Hecuba, and Oinone were included on a piece by the Nicias Painter such that the further along the sides the viewer's scrutiny falls, the more the Judgement is explored in light of family relationships (fig. 8.2).[38] A hydria by the Cadmus Painter shows the Judgement from an entirely different angle, quite literally (fig. 8.1):[39] Aphrodite takes up the centre of the composition here,

above, p. 128 n. 30; RF Hydria, once Cancello; see above, p. 42 n. 27; RF Hydria, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2366; see above, pp. 39–40 n. 19; RF Hydria, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi 38031; see above, p. 42 n. 26; RF Bell-crater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; see above, p. 42 n. 26.

34 RF Calyx-crater, St Petersburg, Hermitage ST1807; see above, p. 128 n. 30.

35 In addition to Eris, the crater also features Themis; and on the crater Helius' role in providing the scene with a temporal framework is appropriated by Selene and Eos, standing either side of Themis and Eris in their carriages. For Themis, see LIMC VIII 1997 s.v. *Themis* (P. Karanastassi); Clairmont 1951: 112; Shapiro 1993: 216–26; Borg 2002: 131, 145; see also Davies 1988b: 31, 5–11. On the bell-crater in Vienna depicting the Judgement, Helius and Selene are combined to instil a temporal dimension: Bell-crater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1771; see above, p. 42 n. 26.

36 One could indeed argue that the crater in St Petersburg translates the new iconographic shape of the Judgement into the presentational framework of the mid-sixth century, given that it represents a scene of Apollo and Dionysus on the reverse. On the relationship of Apollo and Dionysus, see Mitchell-Boyask 2008: 107–9.

37 RF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633, now lost; see above, p. 185 n. 3; RF Hydria, once Cancello; see above, p. 42 n. 27; RF Hydria, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2366; see above, pp. 39–40 n. 19; RF Hydria, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi 38031; see above, p. 42 n. 26.

38 RF Hydria, once Cancello; see above, p. 42 n. 27. Complexity is added because the additional figures can bear dual identifications, see Lorenz 2007: 121–8. This family aspect is also championed by Euripides in his *Hecuba* (premièred before 423 BCE), see Mossman 1995.

39 RF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633, now lost; see above, p. 185 n. 3.
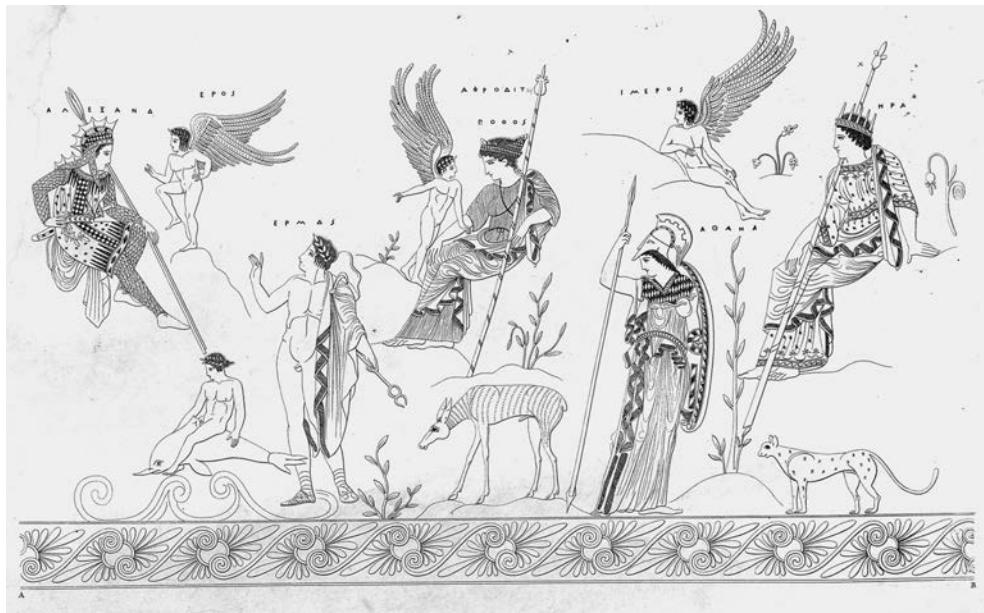
Fig. 8.1 Aphrodite in the centre of the Judgement of Paris. Red-figure hydria by the Cadmus Painter; from Vulci. Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2633 (now lost). 420/410 BCE.

accompanied by Pothus;[40] Paris and Hermes, on the left, and the other two goddesses, on the right, only come into view when the viewer glances sideways.[41] This breaking down of the scene into individual frames, in terms of both location and content, puts emphasis on the theme of love and desire, but by the same token generates anticipation about the story the scene will

[40] Pothus is the personification of desire: LIMC VII 1994 s.v. *Pothos I* (J. Bažant); Shapiro 1993: 121–4. Other personnel include Himerus and a boy on a dolphin, both rendered in parallel to Pothus. On Himerus: see above, p. 43 n. 32. The dolphin boy is interpreted as Taras by Clairmont 1951: 113; on this figure, see LIMC 1997 VIII s.v. *Taras I* (R. Vollkommer). Taras is one of Sparta's allies on Sicily (Thuc. 6.34.4; 44.2), which raises the question whether the Eros figures here supply a subcutaneous political commentary. Similar personnel can be found on the name vase of the Cadmus Painter, also in Berlin, which depicts a scene with Cadmus and Athena: RF Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2634; from Vulci. Cadmus Painter, 420/410 BCE. CVA *Berlin, Antikensammlung* 9: 59–64 fig.16 pls 34–9, 58.11, Beilage 9.1; LIMC V 1990 s.v. *Kadmos* I no. 19.

[41] The placement of the figures in a w-shape across the curved surface of the hydria's shoulder enhances this fragmentation: Paris, Aphrodite, and Hera are laid out across the edge of the curve, well visible from an elevated viewpoint; Hermes and Athena, placed in the intervals between the three, are positioned further below and can therefore best be seen from a lower viewpoint. In addition, behind the handle attachments, stand a woman with burning torch and bow (on the right) and a man with wreath and laurel staff (on the left). They bear no name labels, unlike most other figures in this scene, but their attributes suggest that they represent Leto and Apollo.

Fig. 8.2 The Judgement with extended entourage. Red-figure hydria by the Nicias Painter; from Suessula. Once Cancello. 420/410 BCE.

yield. It thereby restructures the Judgement, selecting one aspect of its outcome for particular attention, in this case the fulfilment of Paris' desire.

On the Karlsruhe hydria, the same techniques are employed, with characters extending the core content and their placement across the vessel fuelling the narrative. But perhaps more pronouncedly than on the other examples, the arrangement here emphasises how the activity required of the viewer, both physical and intellectual, results in continuous interchanges in modes of transmission, not least because from a certain angle the hydria partners the Judgement with the Dionysian scene, within a single visual field. The hydria therefore serves as the 'body of narrative', taking the role of an extradiegetic or primary agent of narrative that guides the viewers,[42] a body of narrative with the potential to determine the content and dissolve the boundaries between reality and virtuality.

In this way, then, the design of vessels such as the Karlsruhe hydria surmounts one of the essential problems of visual storytelling: that is, how to guide or control the recipient's gaze.[43] That problem is solved by creating individual frames of transmission, visible only from distinct viewpoints. Not all of these frames provide content of their own, and yet the overall content is shaped by their interplay, with thresholds of meaning continuously renegotiated and challenged.[44] The vessel conveys content while mapping both the individual perspectives that mould that content and the interstices between those perspectives.

Here we can capture the genuinely innovative thrust of this type of visual design, and of late fifth-century vase-painting more generally. Many of the strategies employed on these vessels stem from the standard corpus of storytelling in Greek vase-painting; some are even rather old-fashioned, for

[42] On the terms extradiegetic and/or primary, see De Jong 2004a: 1.
[43] Giuliani 2013: 248–9.
[44] On the impact of individual frames on meaning production, see Friedberg 2006: 196.

example the employment of polychronous and proleptic features such as the combination of the Judgement with elements pointing to the imminent war.[45] But these earlier examples lacked the same integration of the material carrier. In the later fifth century, the shape of the vessel – its corporealisation – was newly discovered as a narrative engine, something it certainly had always been, but without being exploited to the same extent. These innovations resulted in the vessel's surface appearing as if a holographic foil – a surface that constantly evolves as the viewer glances over it – supported by the shape of the hydria, which called for movement to the sides as well as up and down.

The notion prevalent in scholarship that these vessels are free of narrative cannot be upheld.[46] The distributed narrative created on these vessels must be understood as their particular strength in transmitting content,[47] and not as evidence of their creators' inability to shape a story or as a symptom of the imminent decline of Athenian vase-painting in the fourth century. Decorations on vessels such as the Karlsruhe hydria consist of individual units, or frames, that demand activity – and not simply reaction – from their viewers if meaning is to be generated, whether those viewers are to reposition either themselves or the vessel, or to select from sets of possible relationships and levels of meaning – the mythological, the allegorical, and the normal. The vase becomes a sphere of virtual discourse. It provides not an escapist gateway into a dream world,[48] but an interface that blurs levels of existence.

Overall, then, vessels from the end of the fifth century such as the Karlsruhe hydria document an increase in awareness of issues of the visual during this period[49] and were engaged in particular with the essential problem of how to direct viewers – concerns that will become increasingly prominent in vase-painting throughout the following century. They explore designs that demonstrate a concern for strictly visual ways

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[45] Polychronous storytelling, with cataphoric or proleptic reference to events to come, can be found in vase-painting throughout the sixth and fifth centuries, see Snodgrass 1982 (contra Wickhoff 1900: 13–16); Giuliani 2013: 134–5; cf. Lorenz 2007: 128–31.

[46] Hahland 1930; Real 1973: 62–3, 71. For a more diversified analysis, see Isler-Kerényi 1985; Burn 1987: 95; Borbein 1995: 445–6; Schmidt 2005: 287–8.

[47] Cf. the notion of narrative described by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson (Bal & Bryson 1991: 205): 'What this view of narrative suggests, then, is that the act of looking at a narrative painting is a dynamic process. The viewer moves about the surface to anchor his or her look at a variety of positions. These positions are not just alternatives, as a pluralistic view would have it, but are interrelated and embedded.'

[48] The vase was interpreted in this sense in earlier scholarship: Burn 1987: 21. Contra Lorenz 2007: 138–41; and above, pp. 48–51.

[49] Cf. Borbein 1973: 174–8; Borbein 1995: 443–8.

of transmission and catered for audiences not accustomed to the newly
developing culture of reading.[50] The type of storytelling practised on these
vases is characterised by the simultaneousness of modes of transmission
and media (visual and textual); the storytelling is fed by communicative
choices usually employed in the construction of a text, but those choices
here are subordinated to the physical framework of the vessel and there-
fore organised in distinctive ways. Thus, the Judgement of Paris on the
Karlsruhe hydria does not operate on the basis of a dichotomy of text and
image; rather it dissolves that dichotomy. The painter has achieved that
end by exploiting the most basic device of his trade, the vessel itself. The
pictures overcome the limitations of their two-dimensional, static surface
and force the recipients to turn the vessel. Quite literally, these depictions
establish a pictorial turn.

2) The Pergamon frieze: myth outside the box

The Great Altar and its spatial design.

Its Π-shape distinguished the Great Altar from earlier altars (fig. 0.2).[51] The
architectural shape in concert with the positioning on the altar terrace –
the east side, the altar's back, faced the entrance to the *temenus*, a situation
similar to that of the Parthenon – meant that visitors were exposed to the
outside of the altar and the Great Frieze adorning it for as long as possi-
ble, for they had to make their way around the building and up the stairs
towards the upper courtyard.[52]

   In another way, too, the Great Frieze was clearly designed for extensive
interaction. The figures were carved in extremely high relief and therefore
jut into the space occupied by the viewers. This effect is enhanced by the
blank background, with the absence of any illusionistic rendering of depth
behind the figures. In addition, the dark blue colour that the background

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[50]   Contra: Giuliani 2002: 338–9; Giuliani 2013: 195–224. For the culture of reading in general:
       Harris 1989: 43–115. For the relationship between literature and art more generally: Robert
       1881: esp. 5–11; Snodgrass 1982; Hedreen 1996: 153–6; Small 2003: 21–36; Giuliani 2013:
       1–18.

[51]   For the architecture of the Great Altar, see Stähler 1978; Hoepfner 1989; Hoepfner 1993;
       Linfert 1995; Scholl 2009; 2011. Jim Coulton refers to the upper storey as '[Ionian] stoa with
       wings'. Coulton 1976: 81–5; cf. Scholl 2009: 257.

[52]   The Great Altar is the only building known from antiquity completely surrounded by a
       gigantomachy: Kähler 1948: 108–9.

Fig. 8.3 The Great Frieze, north projection: the two giants on the stairs. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

was painted would have made the figures appear yet closer to the space in front of the picture.[53]

Another technique was also employed on the Great Frieze in order to break down the boundary between viewer and picture. In the section of the frieze on the inner flanks of the projections lining the staircase, the bodies of three giants along with their snake legs spill out of the space of the frieze and onto the stairs (figs 8.3, 8.4). In the south, the giant Bronteas has broken down, his knee on the stairs. His body is facing the viewer, but his head is turned to the right and faces down the stairs, where his opponent is approaching (fig. 8.4). His right leg ends in a snake body that spirals up the stairs to the left to attack Zeus' eagle, who has seized the jaw of the reptile with his claws.

In the north, the two opponents of Thetis and Oceanus are also placed on the stairs (fig. 8.3, cf. also 2.13). The one in front is a fully humanoid giant. He is shown frontally as he attempts to escape up the stairs. No longer standing, he kneels on the stairs, with his weight on his left knee. With his left hand he is grasping a rock, again placed on the stairs, possibly intending to throw it at Oceanus. His comrade is seen from the back, sitting further up on the stairs and depicted in a futile attempt to protect himself with his shield. The snake body of his left leg reaches out next to Oceanus, but shows no sign of resistance. Perhaps his right leg-snake planned to fight against

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[53]   For the relationship of space and figure on the Great Frieze, see Kähler 1948: 88–96. Cf. Queyrel 2005: 173–4.

Fig. 8.4 The Great Frieze, south projection: Bronteas on the stairs. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

the eagle up in the corner of the frieze, just as Bronteas, on the opposite side, fought against the other eagle.

In their original condition, these figures spilling out of the frieze and onto the stairs must have had an impact even stronger than today for they were painted and had been set in front of a dark background, which acted as a barrier. The stairs, by contrast, were probably of white marble. The difference between coloured frieze and external marble architectural features would have enhanced the act of boundary crossing undertaken by the giants – with the giants thrown into relief by being thrown out of the relief and into the sphere of the viewers.

The composition in the part of the frieze that runs along the stairs follows the composition of the sides. The battle of gods and giants surging around the altar is frozen in time, as if a snapshot. Meanwhile, a noticeable concern of the arrangement is to guide the viewer past the combat groups and, especially, around the corners.[54] By moving to the south Hecate, who appears at the south end of the east frieze, guides visitors towards the corner and onto the adjacent south frieze (fig. 2.7). On the south frieze in turn, Phoibe takes up the baton to lead visitors further westwards and to the stairs of the altar (fig. 8.6c). A similar progression can be found on the projections: Triton, in the north (fig. 2.14), and Semele, in the south, are both pointing the viewer

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[54] Winnefeld 1910: 139, 142; Kähler 1948: 109, 113–14; Pfanner 1979: 52.

towards the stairs. On the inside of the north projection, Nereus and Doris complete these efforts (fig. 2.13).

In light of these compositional dynamics, the sidestepping giants by the stairs can be seen as amplifiers: they augment the way in which the composition of the frieze overall guides visitors towards the upper courtyard of the Great Altar. They do so by throwing into sharp relief the fierceness of the fight taking place in the approach to the upper courtyard – a fierceness that is expressed in the fact that for these giants their only means of countering the onslaught is to exit the frieze. That exit, in turn, seals their destruction. But above all, that exit underlines the all-encompassing power of the gods – a power that enables them to annihilate the physical boundaries of the frieze and expel the giants from the pictorial space.

Still, one might argue that the giants' spilling out of the frieze is nothing more than a formal consequence of the pairing of an unusual architectural layout with exceptionally high-relief carving:[55] as the lower standing line of the frieze disappears in this part of the frieze, it is inevitable that some figures end up on the steps (figs 8.3, 8.4). But it is noteworthy that only the giants, and not the gods, feature on the steps. Therefore, rather than see a mere coincidence that stems from the formal conditions of the frieze, one could take this situation as an attempt to situate the giants within the sphere of the viewers as a means of raising pity, or even compassion, for their fate.[56]

Yet it is surely more likely that an entirely different emotional charge is intended here. The set-up allows the viewers to step into the role of the gods and tread with gusto on the bodies of the giants – just as Doris does on the projection (fig. 2.13) and just as Artemis and Aphrodite do on the east and north friezes respectively (fig. 2.11, 2.15). With this invitation to join the battle, the viewers become allies of the gods. That extra involvement both increases the reality of what is on display and causes a rapture, for with the giants entering the sphere of the viewers, the latter are elevated into the realm of the gods.

When the Great Frieze is compared with another representation of the gigantomachy on a building, this complicity of gods and viewers – along with the divinisation this complicity might yield for the viewers – is revealed as a particularly potent feature. The situation on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi is in general similar to that on the Great Frieze: name labels are used for identification, and the main axis of the

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[55] See for example Kähler 1948: 84–9 with a detailed discussion of the claims for reality established by the high relief.

[56] An understanding analogous to Tonio Hölscher's interpretation of the Large Attalid anathema: Hölscher 1985; for the monument more generally, see Schalles 1985: 68–103.

composition, from east to west, invites the viewers to follow the depiction up the Sacred Way and towards the entrance to the Treasury.[57]

But where viewers of the Great Frieze become divine accomplices when they turn towards the stairs, viewers of the Siphnian Treasury remain mere followers, an audience of the divine. The battle on the Siphnian Frieze is self-contained. As is characteristic of hoplite warfare, opposing lines move against each other, a practice that excludes viewers from participation.

The exclusion of the audience is manifest in particular when we zoom in on the one element on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury that displays a physical anomaly that has parallels on the Great Frieze. One giant is attacked by the two lions drawing Cybele's chariot, her animal satellites. Both lions hold the giant with their paws; the one in front is biting into the opponent's cuirass. The giant in turn is making attempts, albeit futile, to wrestle himself free.

In this section of the frieze the profile view, characteristic for the remainder of the depiction, is suspended. The face of the lion in front is presented frontally, as is that of the giant, albeit almost completely covered by his Corinthian helmet. This arrangement, too, might bring these two figures closer to the spectators, but instead it primarily emphasises the fierceness of the battle in which they are ensconced – so fierce that these two figures break out of the orderly hoplite ranks in order to end their confrontation. The scene thus generates a particularly bold image of war, but it does not integrate the viewer. The message it conveys – about the power of the gods – is similar to that in the presentation on the Great Frieze, and that message is also conveyed similarly, by displaying the demise of the giants. However, on the Siphnian Treasury frieze this message is put on display, but not put into practice – not put into practice as it is on the stairs of the Great Altar, where the viewers are invited into the fight, and into direct participation.

Space, design, and content – the Great Frieze, from a distance and close up.

The cityscape of Hellenistic Pergamon was shaped by impressive visual axes that connected buildings and monuments by cutting across the terraces of the citadel.[58] The Great Altar was intricately involved in these strategies: its position on a dedicated terrace rendered it highly visible from a distance, its visibility further enhanced by the gleaming white of its marble shell, which

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[57] For the Siphnian Treasury, see Simon 1984; Neer 2001. For the inscriptions, see Brinkmann 1985: esp. 87–105, 121–30 for the inscriptions on the north frieze.
[58] Radt 1988; Rheidt 1992; Stähler 1978; Scholl 2009. Cf. La Rocca 1998: 8–13.

distinguished it clearly from the surrounding structural walls of the altar ter-race.[59] At the same time, the altar appeared relatively isolated from some of the constitutive dynamics of the acropolis:[60] whilst it provided the backdrop to the panegyric festivals that took place in the theatre, its position excluded it from a role in any of the related processions, and indeed cut it off from the rituals taking place in the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephorus on the terrace above.[61]

Various axes for viewing the frieze would have opened – and closed – as individuals approached and then surrounded the Great Altar. Each of these axes emphasised a different aspect of the monument and of the gigantoma-chy that surrounded it. Viewers approaching the city from the south-west would have seen the Great Altar itself as a discrete element of the acropo-lis.[62] From a distance, the entrance facade of the Great Altar would have been visible, along with the west side of the gigantomachy, the two fronts of the projections. Essentially, these two sections provided a condensed, well-integrated version of the battle.[63] The composition of these sections is symmetrical,[64] presenting in both cases an extended pyramidal arrange-ment with a divinity left and right fighting towards the centre. In both cases the movement from the outside towards the stairs of the altar takes up a large proportion of the space.[65] This compositional symmetry is comple-mented by the choice of figures: in the north, the gods of the sea – Triton to the left, Amphitrite to the right (fig. 2.14) – engage the giants;[66] in the south it is the gods of the land, Dionysus and Semele.[67]

This tableau combines clear-cut messages.[68] The pyramidal composition on display here was traditionally chosen for battle groups. The depictions of sea and land can be taken as shorthand for a description of the gigantomachy

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[59] Scholl 2009: 73.

[60] Massa-Pairault 2007a: 2–3 (cf. Coarelli 1995): she links this phenomenon to the dual character of Pergamon as both a polis and a kingdom.

[61] Queyrel 2005: 138–47 analyses the relationship of the gods depicted in the gigantomachy and their sanctuaries across Pergamon; cf. also Schefold 1981: 115.

[62] Schraudolph 2007: 198. The extent to which the detail of the Great Frieze was visible from this distance is not clear.

[63] On the west frieze, see Schmidt-Dounas 1992; Massa-Pairault 2007a: 38–48.

[64] Pfanner 1979: 47.

[65] Kähler 1948: 110. Kähler also points out that the lion attacking on the south projection is matched by the lion skin the giant uses on the north projection as protection against Triton (1948: 110).

[66] On Triton, see LIMC VIII 1997 s.v. *Triton* (N. Icard-Gianolio); on Triton's depiction as a sea centaur, first recorded in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (34), see Massa-Pairault 2007a: 44–6. On Amphitrite, see LIMC I (1981) s.v. *Amphitrite* (S. Kempf-Dimitriadou).

[67] For a comprehensive description, see Winnefeld 1910: 13–17 nos 1–2, 83–6 no. 29; cf. Pfanner 1979: 46–8.

[68] For a discussion of the similarities between the two sections, see Kähler 1948: 109–11.

as a battle spanning the whole globe. Finally, the choice of gods continues
this theme of global threat, with both male and female gods, generations, as
expressed by the two pairs of divine mothers and sons,[69] and families. And
the intertwinement of these gods goes further: both divine families depicted
here have a share in the thiasus; Dionysus has a close relationship to the
sea.[70] The bold and simple structure of the composition in this part of the
frieze might have been discernible even from afar, especially when painted.
Those approaching might then have been placed in a mind-set fuelled by
expectations generated by battle scenes inspired by classical Greek art.

Viewers climbing up the road onto the acropolis would have experienced
a different perspective when they reached the Upper Agora, from *c.* 220/210
onwards the civic centre of Pergamon.[71] Seen from here, the Great Altar no
longer appears as an autonomous monument, but rather as if the founda-
tion for the Temple of Athena Nikephorus, positioned above and beyond on
the terrace of the Athena Sanctuary (fig. 8.5).[72] The Great Altar also formed
an integrated element of the Upper Agora in another respect. The key fea-
tures of the marketplace were the Temple of Zeus Soter, founded by Attalus
I,[73] and a set of dedications by the royal family, celebrating their military
successes.[74] When these elements of the Upper Agora were paired with the
altar and the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephorus, 'the victory bringer', together
these three aspects of the acropolis served to emphasise victoriousness as
an essential element of Attalid state ideology.[75]

The Great Altar, however, was not merely an architecturally impressive
basis for the Athena Temple above.[76] The south side of the altar was only
some 50 metres away from the dedications on the Upper Agora, which

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[69] This aspect has been understood as a reference to Pergamene politics and the special
relationship Eumenes II and Attalus had to their mother Apollonis; see Schmidt-Dounas
1992: 299–300; cf. also Massa-Pairault 1981/2; Schmidt 1990: 150–2; Massa-Pairault
2007a: 185–205.

[70] Barbara Schmidt-Dounas has convincingly argued for this last point; see Schmidt-Dounas
1992: esp. 297–9.

[71] For the restructuring of the Upper Agora under Eumenes II, see Rheidt 1992: esp. 266–9. Cf.
La Rocca 1998: 8–13; Massa-Pairault 2007a: 3–6.

[72] A composition comparable to that of the Athena Sanctuary on Lindos, see Hoepfner
1989: 622–4.

[73]   Schrammen 1906: 93–118, esp. 108–18; Radt 1996; Radt 1999: 92–3; Massa-Pairault
2007a: 3–4.

[74] This explanation of the purpose of the dedications is based on the interpretation of an
inscription possibly celebrating the victories of Attalus I, see Fränkel 1890, n. 41. The three
foundations for monuments in the west section of the Upper Agora are likely to be connected
with this.

[75] Cf. Massa-Pairault 2007a: 4.

[76] Webb 1998: esp. 244–54; Ridgway 2000: 23–5.

Fig. 8.5 The acropolis of Pergamon: Upper Agora, Great Altar, and the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephorus. Model by Hans Schleiff. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

in turn were around 170 metres away from the Temple of Athena Polias. The frieze on the south features a type of composition that would have been visible from the Upper Agora, for that composition is characterised by centralised arresting elements and by elements that guide the viewer on (fig. 0.2). In the east section of the south frieze, figures such Phoibe,
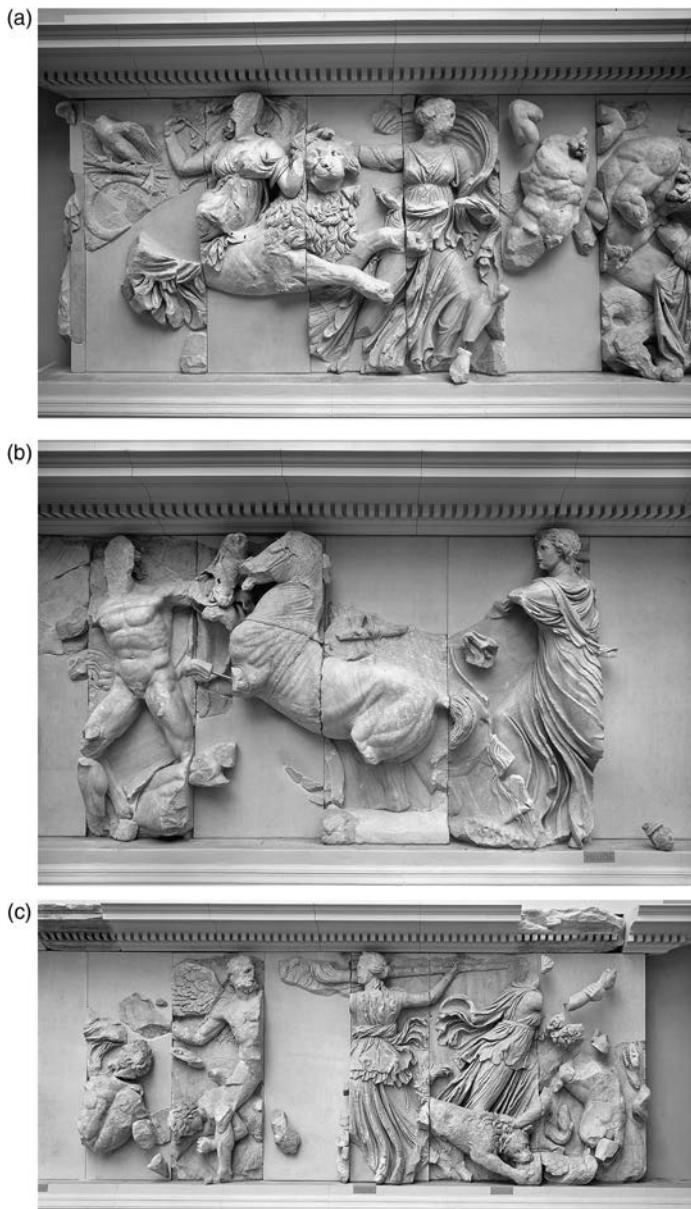
Fig. 8.6 (a) The Great Frieze, south: Rhea on the lion. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. (b) The Great Frieze, south: Helius in his chariot. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. (c) The Great Frieze, south: Phoibe. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

encountered above, clearly push towards the west (fig. 8.6c). And further to the west, the gods riding animals take this movement up: Selene and Helius in the middle of the frieze (fig. 8.6b), and Rhea and Eos in the west (figs 8.6a, 0.2).

Yet again, dynamic features are intermixed with more static scenes.[77] In the east section, Phoibe's movement is countered by Themis, who fights towards the east, and the two combat groups involving Ouranus and Aether absorb the momentum. Selene introduces a new dynamic towards the west, only to be muted by the combat group featuring Thea. After reinvigoration by Helius, the movement westwards is brought to a full halt by Eos, who rides into the group with the bull giant with its strong eastward momentum. This combination of compositional elements on the south frieze means that from a distance the gods riding on animals – Rhea, Eos, Helius, and Selene – are presented as if spot lit. Each takes up a relatively large amount of space, and if the god faces an opponent at all, then that figure is a significant distance away. More generally, the emphasis on these gods takes attention away from the battle and directs it instead towards the divine sovereignty on display here.

This depiction serves as a stage in the relay that runs from the Upper Agora, with its focus on Attalid victory, to the Temple of Athena Nikephorus, and its celebration of divine support. Thus, when viewed from a distance and in connection with the two other areas of the acropolis, these gods – Rhea, Eos, Helius, and Selene – seem removed from their narrative context in the gigantomachy and reappropriated to underpin the Temple of Athena Nikephorus, prefiguring the course of the day in a way similar to that found in the pediment decoration of classical temples, as in the Parthenon east pediment.[78] The Temple of Athena Nikephorus thus gains in the Great Altar an attribute that positions it in reference to Athenian art of the classical period, an objective also present in other monuments within its *temenus*.[79] That attribute provides the Temple of Athena Nikephorus with a place within divine order and also a place within history.

Viewed close up, the Great Frieze offers further messages to its viewers. Because of the frieze's position on the building, a viewer would have experienced it primarily from a low angle.[80] At the same time, the high relief and background rendering bring the figures forward. That apparent positioning

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[77]   Ever since the discovery of the Great Frieze scholars have recognised that it does not follow the principles of centralised composition: Brunn 1884: 50, 53–4; cf. also Pfanner 1979.

[78]   For the Parthenon east pediment, see Berger 1974: 15–16, 19–21; with a new reconstruction, Palagia 1993: 28–30.

[79]   Conversely, from the terrace of the Athena sanctuary, the view opens onto the distinctly paratactical combat groups of the north frieze. For the architectural layout of the terraces, see Schrammen 1906: 88–90. Junker sets the specificity of the Athena Nikephorus sanctuary balustrades against the generic nature of the Great Altar, see Junker 2003: 432–3. For the furnishings of the sanctuary, see above, pp. 68–70.

[80]   The frieze sections lining the staircase are an exception.

is supported by the dynamic composition more generally:[81] the contours of the figures seldom follow clear lines and instead appear broken and asymmetrical; the movement within the composition diverges and breaks off. A notable predilection for exaggerated contrapposto depictions and body torsion is also evident, with limbs and objects projecting out from the relief ground, such as Artemis' quiver, Aphrodite's arm, or the pot with snakes.

Overall, this rendering of the relief makes the depictions reach into the space occupied by the viewer. In particular, the bodies and faces of the dying giants, contorted with pain, are positioned to catch the viewer's eye.[82] On the east frieze, Apollo's opponent would have stared directly at those approaching from the north-east. Artemis' opponent, who is fighting the Molossian dog, was turned towards viewers coming from the south-west. On the south frieze, the giant next to Phoibe, who is shown trying to pull an arrow out of his breast, would have appeared to be veering towards those walking towards him from the south-east (fig. 8.7). On the north frieze, the face of the dead opponent of Aphrodite would have greeted viewers coming from the north-east corner; further down that side, the giant fighting the Moirai would have faced those coming from the same direction.

In addition, and as also in the gigantomachy on the Siphnian Treasury from the archaic period,[83] on the Great Frieze not only the giants but also the animal satellites of the gods are depicted as facing the viewer. This description applies to Hecate's dog on the east frieze, chewing on the snake leg of a giant (fig. 2.7), and equally to the dog on the south frieze, who supports Phoibe and Asteria. This looking out of the frieze is an act of metalepsis and establishes a relay with viewers,[84] who are drawn into the sphere of the picture, strengthening the frieze's claim to be real. With the application of this strategy to the giants, viewers are again put in the role of divine allies: here is another invitation to enter battle, and at the same time an assurance that this adventure will be victorious. The interaction with the divine satellites supports this interpretation: in directing their attention to

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[81] It was noted early on in scholarship that the irregular rhythm of the Great Frieze sets it apart from classical frieze depictions. For a comprehensive assessment, see von Salis 1912: 38–40; Kähler 1948. Equally, it was argued that this exceptional character could not be explained merely by way of a response to the architectural physicality of the monument demanding such an unbalanced arrangement, see Winnefeld 1910: 232–3; contra Brunn 1905: 483–4.

[82] Contra Kähler 1948: 93 (cf. also Prignitz 2008: 36): Kähler is correct that there is no direct eye contact, but the orientation of faces and bodies still creates a rapport between figure and viewer.

[83] For the Siphnian Treasury, see above, p. 54 n. 81.

[84] For metalepsis as a device of storytelling, see above, p. 187.

Fig. 8.7 The viewers' perspective: the giant next to Phoibe on the Great Frieze, south. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

the outside, these satellites connect with viewers, who are thus once more put on a par with the gods.

Space and narrative in the Hellenistic world.

The design of the Great Altar, and especially the fact that visitors to the monument had to go around the building in order to reach the stairs to the altar proper, grants the depictions a diegetic function: while orchestrating the movement around the building, the depictions also guide through the narrative. But they are not a single narrative voice. The multi-directionality of the frieze, which contrasts with friezes such as the Parthenon frieze, allows for bilateral movement as well as movement back and forth at the relief ground. Viewers do not have to simply proceed past the frieze, but can enter into zones of deep contact, and not just on the stairs. The narrative on display can therefore be explored through a multitude of trajectories.

Distance also defines the narrative. The content of the frieze would have depended on whether it was viewed from the valley, from the Upper Agora, or from its immediate vicinity. The messages of that content then range from generic victoriousness to celebration of Athenian heritage and the

power of the gods; they also tell of putting viewers in the role of gods, a message related to the way in which individual parts of the frieze draw the viewer into the action.

The Great Frieze is evidence that viewing was understood as a process, for a comprehensive understanding of its scenes required synthesis of varied viewing experiences. As such, the Great Frieze replicates characteristics of multi-viewpoint sculpture of the third century BCE. The Ludovisi Gaul and the Farnesian Bull, for example, not only were positioned in space, but also demanded distinctly spatial perception.[85] These sculpture groups were not to be assessed from a single viewpoint; they required their viewers to move around the whole monument, frequently assaulting them with contradictory viewing experiences and deliberately hiding aspects.[86] In addition, the sculpture of the high Hellenistic period became more closely integrated into its spatial context, becoming an actual part of that space.[87]

As if the principles of this type of sculpture have been mapped onto a relief on a square monument, viewers' movement through space around the Great Altar is also a journey across layers of narrative and conceptual frameworks. The sculpture functions as a body of narrative. Narrative diegesis is accomplished here in space and by means of space: contact zones between narrative levels and between the narrative and the sphere of the viewers are established in the physical space around the sculpture. Their tangibility, in turn, grants the scenes greater presence and increases their *enargeia*.[88] Thus, the zone of interaction between monument and viewer is turned into an area of pervasive virtuality.

At Pergamon, the result of such design was a viewing of the Great Frieze that took those synthesising what was on display on a journey in which they first acted as an audience for the display of Attalid power and Athenian heritage, then became witnesses of divine exploits, and finally turned

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[85] For the Ludovisi Gaul, see Kunze 2002: 40–3; see also Hansen 1937; Marvin 2002. For the Farnesian Bull, see Kunze 1998; Kunze 2002: 25–38.

[86] For the first and still most influential discussions of the composition of Hellenistic sculpture groups, see Krahmer 1923/4; Krahmer 1925; and also Künzl 1968. For a critical discussion, see Stewart 1993; Kunze 2002: 12–20, 229–38. For the relationship of sculptural composition and forms of narrative in the literature of the same period, see Zanker 2004: 72–103.

[87] Kunze 2002: 232–9. Various examples of sculpture as if acting in the space of the viewer appear in Hellenistic literature, throughout emphasising the strong claims for reality such sculpture makes. The most vivid description is by Herodas, of the visit of two women to a sanctuary and its sculptural display: Herod. 4, esp. 4.27–38; see Zanker 2009: 98–113. On this phenomenon in Hellenistic literature, see Zanker 1987: 39–112; Manakidou 1993; Kunze 2002: 233–4; Lorenz 2013a: 125–6.

[88] Hölscher 1980: 354–5; Zanker 1987.

themselves into divine accomplices. The approach to and the movement around the Pergamon altar were intended to trigger a transformative process for the viewer not unlike that of the Via Crucis, the stations of the cross, in Christian churches – with the objective that, eventually, the viewer would become one with the divine.

Again the Great Altar is at odds with the Athenian Parthenon. The exterior decoration of the Parthenon, with its metopes and the frieze, prepared those viewing and moving around the building for an encounter with the resident divinity in the sense that by synthesising the combined display of Athenian youths and pan-Hellenic myths as they approached, the viewers were weaving a virtual peplos – a fabric of the city state of the type depicted over the entrance to the Parthenon – ready to be handed over to Athena. At Pergamon, in contrast, the process of viewing and synthesising turned those approaching into more than just devotees bringing gifts to the gods, for they were to share in the divine sphere in an explicitly physical way. That promise on the part of the Pergamene monument also sat well with its global aspirations, which were so much greater than those of its Athenian predecessor.[89]

3) The Louvre sarcophagus: facing Atalanta

The sarcophagus and its spatial design.

While Ovid's account of the myth moves from the hunt to the killing of the Thestiadae, then to Althaea's burning of the log, and finally to Meleager's death, the Louvre sarcophagus renders Meleager's death as the pivotal point in the narrative, framed by the episodes with the Thestiadae and Althaea. These two scenes to the sides of the deathbed take place before the death scene (fig. 0.3), but their sequential relationship is not at all clear. According to Ovid, the episode with the Thestiadae occurs before Althaea burns the log, but, again in Ovid, the Moirai/Parcae are only present at the point in the myth when Althaea decides to keep the log, after Meleager's birth, and not when she burns it; then, she only summons them, and not as Fates, but Furies.[90]

On the Louvre sarcophagus, the presence of the demons of fate and fury in the scene on the left suggests that the scene conflates two episodes in

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[89] See above, pp. 60–3.
[90] Ovid *Met.* 8.451–7 and 8.488–90; see also above, pp. 80–1 with a discussion of the iconography of the three demons.

the narrative of Meleager, conveying at the same time his rescue and his damnation at the hands of his mother. Drawing out Althaea's conflict in this way heightens the general drama of the scene, but it also puts it both before and after events with the Thestiadae on the right. The two scenes to the side seem arranged to form a narrative loop, presenting at the same time cause and result. The scenes' reciprocal relationship is supported by the deployment of the female demons, whose trinity is distributed across these two scenes, with two on the left and one on the right.

This compositional arrangement has no parallels in other versions of the deathbed group: in those cases where two scenes of Althaea and the Thestiadae appear, they follow on from each other, with each marking the beginning or the end; they are not shown in this ring composition.[91] On the Louvre sarcophagus, such a reciprocal relationship is underpinned by another structuring feature, in the distribution of figures across the three scenes. The two scenes to the sides each comprise three standing figures arranged in a pyramidal composition, but each time differently: in the scene on the left the apex of the pyramid is at the top of the scene, constituted by the head of the demon behind the altar (fig. 2.22); in the scene on the right the apex is at the bottom, at the point where Meleager's left foot joins with the boar hide.

The centre scene is not composed in pyramidal form and follows instead two competing strategies: within the scene, and at the mathematical centre of the casket's front, the shield with gorgoneion is placed frontally looking out of the picture (fig. 0.3);[92] at the same time, the figures of Meleager and Atalanta act as two magnetic poles, stretching the scene out and away from a central point, a notion enhanced by the presence towards the right of the scene of three mourners moving towards Meleager. More competing forces are also at play across the composition. The relief may be divided into three individual scenes but these open up to each other at the seams: on the left,

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[91] The earlier sarcophagi seem to favour the Althaea episode's preceding that of the Thestiadae; the later caskets reverse that sequence: on the sarcophagi in the Capitoline Museums and in the Torno Collection, Althaea (in the latter depicted on the side panel) precedes the Thestiadae, with the narrative sequence developing from right to left (see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (4, 5)). On the sarcophagi in Wilton House and Castle Gandolfo (see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (7, 8)), the narrative sequence develops from left to right, and the Thestiadae precede Althaea, followed by Meleager's death. The scenes depicting the demons of fate leave room for interpretation, for they may be set at the point of Meleager's birth or after his killing the uncles: on the casket in Museo Capitolino, that scene comes before the scene with the Thestiadae; on the casket in Wilton House after; see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (4, 7). For an iconographic summary of the group of sarcophagi depicting Meleager's death, see above, pp. 72–80.

[92] For gorgoneia in funerary scenes, see above, p. 79 n. 153, 148 n. 101.

Althaea turns towards Atalanta (fig. 2.22);[93] on the right the *parapetasma* screens the two Meleager figures and thereby combines them;[94] additionally, the spear under Meleager's bier points to the scene of the killing of the Thestiadae (fig. 0.3).

Offsetting these competing directions in movement is the compositional arrangement around the edges of the relief, which facilitates a viewing from the front of the casket and thus connects up with the compositional structure established by the gorgoneion shield: the lion-bodied Sphinxes depicted in profile on each side panel stride to the front, with two figures moving around the side corners and into the front of the relief. These conflicting forces – the centralised composition competing with the looping scenes to the sides – confronts the viewers with a complex visual offering, drawing them towards certain points whilst also creating multiple relationships across the casket.

In the Tomba della Medusa, the frontally composed sarcophagus was at the centre of a three-casket set-up, with the two coffins to the sides displaying complex, non-centralised compositions.[95] The original context of the Louvre sarcophagus is lost, however,[96] and so we cannot know whether its composition also answered to the way in which it was displayed within its tomb. We can assume that these reliefs were not viewed exclusively within the tomb, for their viewing context would have included the rituals and practices leading up to and during the burial.[97] The enjambment of individual scenes could be found on sarcophagi since the Hadrianic period, even if the non-linear arrangement of individual episodes of a myth was not the norm on mythological sarcophagi reliefs,[98] and, as outlined, at least unusual in the deathbed group.

Comparable in its juxtaposing of specific and generalised scenes is the composition of the reliefs on the Column of Marcus Aurelius: although the sequence appears linear, the scenes that make up that sequence are arranged so as to create a recurrent pattern. They do not recount a consecutive narrative, but rather emphasise one specific message: the Roman army is highly efficacious.[99] Whilst the frameworks of the column and the casket

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[93]   See also above, pp. 147–8.

[94]   See also above, pp. 147–8.

[95]   For the set-up and a discussion of the relationship between the three sarcophagi in that tomb, see Bielfeldt 2003: 136–49.

[96]   The casket was previously part of the Borghese collection and so likely comes originally from a tomb in Rome or its surroundings.

[97]   Zanker & Ewald 2012: 25–7; Borg 2013: 213–40.

[98]   Rodenwaldt saw in this break-up of a linear narrative sequence a sign of the dawn of late antiquity: Rodenwaldt 1935: 5.

[99]   So Faust 2012: 116–20. With a different interpretation, but comparable in the assumption that the composition on the Column of Marcus Aurelius is meaningful, see Griebel 2013: 200.

are different, the two forms share a common concern to produce essential visuals out of a seemingly consecutive visual narrative. The analogy with the column suggests that the Louvre sarcophagus might be regarded as depicting in the scenes to the sides cases of *superbia*, which has to be punished: on the right of the Thestiadae, on the left of Meleager. That punishment demonstrates the power of the demons of fate and their ultimate corrective, death, which is represented in the centre.

Space, design, and content – story and sequence.

On the Louvre sarcophagus the adjustment of the narrative sequence ties the two scenes to the sides closely together. It also puts a spotlight on the scene in the centre.[100] What is depicted here differs once more from other portrayals of Meleager's death across the deathbed group. In the early versions of this event, Meleager on his bier forms the centre of the scene (fig. 8.8).[101] On the piece in Wilton House dated to 180 CE, the bier with Meleager has been moved further to the right and in the centre is the figure of Althaea at the altar, with a frontally facing shield with gorgoneion to her side – the same type of shield that also appears on the Louvre sarcophagus and on a now-lost piece.[102] What makes the Louvre sarcophagus along with this now-lost piece stand out from the rest of the group is that in these examples in the centre of the casket is neither Meleager nor Althaea but Atalanta, sitting facing the bier. In the earliest version in Ostia, Atalanta is not part of the scene (fig. 8.8). In versions in Wilton House, Paris, and Castel Gandolfo, she is facing away to the far right.[103] Only in the pieces in the Capitoline Museum and Milan does she face the bier, and even then she is sat to the far left of the scene (fig. 8.9).

On the Louvre sarcophagus, Atalanta may not be at the physical centre of the relief but by being close to, indeed by overlapping, the actual centre held by the Gorgo shield, her figure becomes the focus. Across the whole group of deathbed sarcophagi, she is in the guise of Artemis,[104] and so here her

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[100] On the importance of elements that rub up against other versions of the depicted myth on sarcophagi, see Bielfeldt 2003: 120–3.

[101] Ostia; Rome, Capitoline; Wilton House; see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (4, 7).

[102] For the now lost piece once in Rome, see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (15).

[103] See above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (7, 2, 8).

[104] On the Paris fragment she appears differently, in a long tunic, with delicate sandals and a portrait-style coiffeur; only the quiver on her back and the rock on which she sits recall her usual characterisation (see above, p. 73 n. 133). Note also that Atalanta can be shown in different guises of mourning. On the piece in Wilton House she stands in front of an archway in profile view and has covered her face completely with her right (see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133

Fig. 8.8 The earliest depiction of Meleager on his deathbed on Roman sarcophagi. Ostia, Museo Archeologico 101; from Ostia. 160 CE.

Fig. 8.9 Meleager on his deathbed in combination with Althaea and the demons of fate. Rome, Museo Capitolino 623. 170 CE.

appearance ensures that the scene is firmly placed in a hunting context,[105] notwithstanding the attributes surrounding Meleager, which furnish a wider spectrum of associations.[106] Her decisive role is enhanced by the fact that she is the tallest figure on the frieze. If she stood up, she would burst

(7, 8)); in the version in Castel Gandolfo she is seen in three-quarter view, standing opposite a tree (see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (8)). On the depictions in Ostia, the Paris fragment, and Villa Albani Atalanta sits weeping, with her back to the deathbed (see above, p. 73 n. 133 (1, 2, 3)). In three versions, including the Louvre sarcophagus, Atalanta sits opposite Meleager's bed, with her face cradled in her hand (see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (5, 6)). While her hand covers her face completely on the sarcophagus in Milan, on those in Paris and Rome she has moved her right hand so far to the left part of her face that her right profile remains fully visible. Across all the different groups of sarcophagi depicting Meleager and Atalanta, her characterisation in the guise of Artemis remains constant; only on a sarcophagus in Florence one of her shoulder straps has slipped off in a motif, which is characteristic for depictions of Aphrodite: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 135. H 0.56 L 2.10 D 0.56. Early third century CE. Koch 1975 no. 21 pl. 29b. Outside the funerary sphere, Atalanta's appearance oscillates more often between the characteristics of Artemis and Aphrodite, see Lorenz 2008: 55–83, Lorenz 2011: 324–7.

[105]   An additional possible pointer towards her life in the outdoors is a piece of rock that appears between Atalanta's leg and the stool. The rock is a puzzling feature in a scene set indoors. It has previously been explained as a mistake by the artist, who had copied wrongly from a model book: Koch 1975: 39–40, 121; Ewald, in Zanker & Ewald 2012: 365.

[106]   For an iconographic analysis of Meleager and his attributes, see above, pp. 74–7.

through the upper edge of the relief. In this, she is matched only by the figure of Meleager fighting on the far right, who, if he stood fully upright, would have a similar effect.

Atalanta stands out in another way, once more differentiating the Louvre version from the others across the deathbed group. Her grief is visualised by means of an odd, unnatural motif: she covers the left part of her face with her right hand. This awkward gesture means that the viewers of the sarcophagus have an excellent snapshot of her face, which would not have been available if she had – more naturally – covered the right side of her face, as she does on some of the other sarcophagi in this group.[107] Instead, in the Louvre sarcophagus the shielding arm works almost like a frame, highlighting her facial features.

Atalanta is here designed to attract the gaze, a function underlined by her dog's looking up towards her and the positioning of the shield with the gorgoneion – the epitome of gaze-attracting devices – directly next to her.[108] Atalanta herself, however, is not actively seeking to establish contact. The way in which she shuts herself off from the action on the frieze opens her to the audience. She is not simply a figure who can offer consolation to a mourning female viewer, which is how she has been principally interpreted.[109] Rather, she functions as a gateway into the image as a whole, and the fact that she is taller than the space provided by the relief is suggestive of her relation to the sphere outside the image.

One final feature underlines Atalanta's central role in the frieze: she occupies the topmost relief layer, the layer closest to the viewer's own sphere. Towards the right, she dominates a hierarchy of relief layers that reaches down to the fighting uncle on the very right. That figure is partly covered by the body of his dead brother, in front of which Meleager is positioned, thus dominating the relief arrangement of this scene. In the central scene, in which Atalanta is the dominant figure, Meleager's bed overlaps the fighting Meleager, thus positioning the deathbed scene hierarchically above the scene on the right and turning Atalanta into the figure controlling the whole frieze on her right.

On the left of Atalanta, the arrangement is less clear-cut. The huntress overlaps in part with Althaea, but not wholly: they appear to share a relief plane, which could explain the need for the deeply drilled vertical ridge

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[107] On the two early pieces in Ostia and Milan, Atalanta covers her face completely: Ostia, Museo Archeologico 101; see above, p. 73 n. 133 (1); Milan, Torno Collection, see above, pp. 73–4 n. 133 (5).

[108] For the gorgoneion, see above, pp. 79 n. 153, 148 n. 101.

[109] Zanker & Ewald 2012: 62–70, esp. 64–5.

that separates their garments from each other. The figure with the torch is located on a plane further to the rear, while the Moira on the far left could occupy the same relief layer as Althaea and Atalanta.

The staggered arrangement that characterises the frieze in parts supports a modular system of representation, facilitated by the sarcophagus as a material object. The result is a very specific take on the story: Atalanta serves as the hook for the construction of this visual and thematic system, based on the compositional emphasis her figure receives. The appropriation of Atalanta as a gateway figure and narrative voice has an important effect on viewing the sarcophagus, for she provides a distinctly female perspective on Meleager's life and on the display of male virtues. That female perspective explains the appropriation of visual templates not employed elsewhere to present this particular myth.[110]

Atalanta's role as a gateway cannot change the basic descriptive content of the *conclamatio* scene around the deathbed: a young man associated through his weapons with the war and the hunt is dying. That death appears premature, to judge by the grief of old and young who surround him.[111] Perhaps here is a straightforward *allegoria apertis permixta*:[112] a depiction that includes elements that refer directly to the reality outside the image, to bereavement and a corpse newly buried inside the sarcophagus.

But Atalanta's role as gateway adds two further layers of meaning. First, it triggers an understanding that this is not a *Vita Romana* scene but a mythological scene. She is the only figure in the *conclamatio* scene characterised by elements that suggest a location outside the normal – her hunting attire, the rock and the dog at her feet, and the Gorgo shield. With her narrative baggage, she vouches for the mythological pedigree of the rest of the scene, only helped by the Corinthian helmet underneath Meleager's bed, which would not have been part of the equipment of a soldier in a *Vita Romana* scene.

And yet, because Atalanta has become part of this descriptive setting and herself sports features that belong in the sphere of the normal – the stool on which she sits and her being touched by the nurse – the distinction between the mythological sphere and the *everyday* world is blurred, and blurred precisely in the figure of Atalanta: viewers are invited into the picture by a mythological character, which clearly locates the scene in the mythological world of dreams and wishes, but what the audience then encounters is not so different from the normal world outside the picture. Atalanta's presence creates grounds

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[110] For an iconographic analysis of the relief, see above, pp. 14–16, 71–84.

[111] For *conclamatio* scenes on sarcophagi, see above, pp. 79–80.

[112] For this category, see Giuliani 1989: 38–9; Bielfeldt 2005: esp. 277 n. 810; also Zanker & Ewald 2012: 47–8 (referring to it as 'bridge-building'). Cf. Lorenz 2011: 306–7.

for a mythological interpretation while at the same time denying that mythological interpretation by showing that the myth reflects real-life mourning.

Secondly, with Atalanta as starting point for the experience of the central scene, the grief of the extended family, of siblings, nurse, and teacher, which takes up most of the space in that scene, is clearly channelled and subordinated to the sorrow of the wife and lover. Atalanta's exposed position highlights that while death is a family affair and orchestrated by poignant collective grief, the real and perennial grief, so grave that it cannot be part of the general mourning, is that of the faithful partner.

Atalanta's impact as a lens is even greater in the scene on the right. Seen through her eyes, Meleager's fight is unfettered by any ethical ambivalence about killing members of one's family or treating the dead without mercy. Meleager is not an overly emotional hero, blinded by love and acting in the heat of the moment, nor does he simply represent a select image of generic fighting prowess and virtue. From Atalanta's perspective, Meleager is a man who protects and who fights with all his might for the claims of his lover and wife. He is turned into a visual exemplum of deep and unconditional marital love.

Taking Atalanta's point of view has a destabilising effect on the categories of the narrative and the descriptive,[113] and on the clear differentiation between what belongs to the myth and what is part of an *allegoria apertis permixta*. This destabilisation is enhanced by another feature, for the towering size of Atalanta in the central scene and of Meleager in the scene on the right and the elements of *non-normal* mythology that characterise them – in case of Atalanta her attire, in the case of Meleager the arrangement around a boar hide and a dead body – link the two figures across the two scenes. They support each other in their mythological roles and provide a narrative framework for the *conclamatio* scene around the bier, which otherwise would veer towards the non-mythological. On the one hand, then, this portrayal of Atalanta and Meleager has the potential to turn description into mythological narrative and elevate the suffering on display to a heroic level.

On the other hand, however, as the fighting Meleager on the right becomes a model of virtue in the perspective enabled by Atalanta, he is turned into a descriptive attribute for what is on display in the centre of the frieze, the mourning of a formidable warrior, and he is exploited specifically as a descriptive attribute to explain the state of sorrow in which Atalanta is depicted, having been loyally devoted to her partner, who went as far as killing members of his family to secure her claim for the boar's hide. Meleager's

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[113]   These categories are here employed as defined by Luca Giuliani: Giuliani 2013: 15–17 (narrative); 16–17 (descriptive); 244–8 (both).

mythological pedigree is then once more dissolved, in order to be functionalised as an explanation for the depth of grief felt by the huntress and the extended family.

Atalanta not only serves as a relay that enables the external viewer to connect with the relief, but also links two stages of the mythological narrative – the love between the two hunters as manifested in Meleager's fight against his uncles on the one hand and his death on the other – and she does so by relating these stages to female emotion. With this doubled metaleptic function,[114] that is, in enabling the thresholds between viewers and picture and between different stages of the narrative to be crossed, the figure of Atalanta turns what is labelled the *Death of Meleager* into a tableau of female sorrow, a contemplation of both the causes and the results of that death.

For the scene on the left, the huntress is a gateway figure of minor importance, evident not least in her sharing a relief plane with Althaea. The mixture of allegorically and mythologically charged figures shaping this scene matches the significative quality of the scene on the right, and together these scenes provide a framework for the central *conclamatio* scene, which on its own would lean towards a representation of a human life (rather than mythological) event. And yet, even though Atalanta's impact on the left scene is more limited, her figure still brings instability into the narrative and descriptive categories for this part of the imagery. With Althaea and Atalanta on the same relief plane and with both depicted in poses of distress – the former outwardly trying to fend off fate, the latter inwardly grappling with it – the focus is directed towards an intimation of female attitudes of piety. This group of two becomes a visual sign of the mourning of sons, brothers, and husbands, and of sacrificing for these men.[115]

In all, then, Atalanta's function on the frieze is two-fold, both descriptive and narrative. Her figure delivers a descriptive visual image of mourning that is enriched by the two scenes on the right, which showcase the qualities of the lover she has lost. In this way, the scene on the far right, a narrative rendering of Meleager's fight against the uncles, can also be understood as an allegorical paradigm for *Vita Romana*. At the same time, the huntress also serves as the root and cause of the events that unfold on the right, which makes her an element of the narrative: she provides the narrative voice to guide the viewer through these events, first the death itself, and then the events that led to this death. Atalanta enfolds the figure of Althaea in the same ambivalent narrative-cum-descriptive power, providing the grounds for Althaea's state,

[114]   For metalepsis as a phenomenon of visual narrative cf. Lorenz 2007; Lorenz 2013a: 119–20.
[115]   Cf. above, pp. 81–2.

while offering a parallel visual of mourning. The only figures on the frieze that are not exposed to shifting narrative and descriptive values are the demons of fate and vengeance.[116] While anything else on the frieze is up for debate, the framing provided by the demons of fate and vengeance is consistent, and tells of a constant progression to an ultimate fate, and that ultimate fate is death.

Space and narrative towards the end of the second century CE.

The Louvre sarcophagus features a dual system of content transmission. The frontally composed Gorgo shield in concert with the side panels and the demons of fate and vengeance corroborates an unmitigated message about the generic powers of death already inherent in the sarcophagus as an object. The remainder of the frieze encourages viewers to reflect on the intersection of myth and everyday life. For these two forms of transmission, allegories and ideals form only one element within a vibrant set of stimulants. The key to the sarcophagus monument lies in unravelling interwoven strands of question and explanation.

The Louvre sarcophagus stands out from the other versions of the death of Meleager produced in the last quarter of the second and the early third centuries CE because of the way in which it functionalises Atalanta as a gateway figure and as a narrative voice for the experience it represents, welding around her figure an exploration at that interface of mythological and everyday content. In its engagement with the permeability of the categories of the mythological and the real, the Louvre sarcophagus moves away from the rhetorical concept of the *allegoria apertis permixta*, a shift linked primarily to the figure of Atalanta. In doing so, the sarcophagus continues strategies of display that could already be found about a century earlier in representations of the story of Meleager and Atalanta on the walls of Pompeii. In the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia, for example, it is also Atalanta who – with a period face and contemporary clothing – makes direct advances to the viewers, turning from a mythological character into a descriptive character (fig. 8.10).[117]

The homology of the depiction of the mythological episode and the experiential framework of death is emphasised by the personalisation of the former. An *interpretatio Romana* is made possible by bringing into that depiction of the myth an aspect of *Vita Romana*, the idealised version of Roman everyday life.[118] At the same time, the mythological cachet of

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[116] See above, pp. 147–8.
[117] Lorenz 2008: 64–6.
[118] Reinsberg 2006: 17; cf. above, pp. 79–80.

Fig. 8.10 Exploring myth and the everyday: Meleager and Atalanta in the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia in Pompeii (II 3,3). 60/70 CE.

Atalanta not only is a catalyst for such an 'abstract viewing',[119] but also adds content derived from her mythological persona. The image must therefore be assessed with regard to its character as both a 'real event', a scene of everyday life, and an 'artificial event', a myth.

In contrast to representations like that in Pompeii and on some other sarcophagi, on the Louvre sarcophagus the mythological and everyday spheres are not simply combined in order to trigger a discourse about the mythological and the real; they are amalgamated in order to generate a novel narrative force: with Atalanta as a gateway, the mythological story is personalised in its entirety. The modular narrative structure allows the viewers to immerse themselves fully in both the mythological world and real *conclamatio*, with each trajectory amplifying the other. The result, a mediated reality of sorts, differs significantly from the juxtaposition of the mythological and the real on

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[119]   For this concept, see Koortbojian 1995: 9–15; Bielfeldt 2005: 22; Zanker & Ewald 2012: 47–8; cf. also Blome 1992; Brilliant 1992; Fittschen 1992.

Fig. 8.11 Depicting myth alongside the everyday: the Rinuccini sarcophagus. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1987,2; from Florence, Villa Rinuccini. 200/210 CE.

sarcophagi such as that with the earliest relief in the deathbed group in Ostia (fig. 8.8),[120] or the unique representation on the near-contemporary Rinuccini sarcophagus, where two scenes from the repertoire of the 'commander' sarcophagi are represented alongside the death of Adonis (fig. 8.11).[121]

The narrative voice constructed around Atalanta is not just testimony to the strategies of selection that characterised the Romans' use of myth in which certain elements from individual myths were employed while others were discarded in order to generate distinct Roman messages,[122] nor does it simply represent a move from classicising symbolism to *interpretatio Romana*, which Peter Blome attests for the late Antonine period,[123] and against which Bielfeldt convincingly argues,[124] but it is not merely a mixture of myth and allegorical paradigm either. The Louvre sarcophagus is clearly concerned with the allegorical and emotional content that mythological scenes are capable of transmitting and has been designed around the assumption that its viewers would be willing and able to engage in acts of 'abstract viewing', by selecting specific aspects of mythological knowledge while ignoring others in order to make sense of this particular representation and grasp its allegorical meanings.

[120] See above, p. 73 n. 133 (1).
[121] Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1987,2; from Florence, Villa Rinuccini. 200/210 CE. L 2.15 H 1.01 B 0.99. Grassinger 1999 no. 59; Reinsberg 2006 no. 6; see also Zanker & Ewald 2012: 44. For the 'commander' sarcophagi, see above, p. 83.
[122] See Zanker 1999; Zanker & Ewald 2012: 245–62. Cf. also Giuliani 1989; Koortbojian 1995: 120–6; Bielfeldt 2005: esp. 321–8.
[123] Blome 1992: 1071–2.
[124] Bielfeldt 2005: 22.

But the sarcophagus' significance does not stop there: it is not just a reference to something else in an iconological sense; it does not just present Greek myths in order to generate and transmit behavioural ideals and allegorical messages related to death and to the religious rites at the tomb; it does not present a paradigmatic narrative only. Rather, it offers a pervasive narrative experience that feeds off the specific characteristics of its two constitutive components, the mythological and the everyday. As such, it invites the viewers to a reading of the myth very different from the known textual versions of the story, while by means of the modular set-up, the individual scenes can constantly generate their own narrative scenarios, adding to or countering Atalanta's perspective.

These different voices are facilitated by the material carrier, the sarcophagus, which provides narrative space, but at the same time filters those voices through its funerary function. As a body of narrative, the Louvre sarcophagus demonstrates that a multitude of perspectives and the ambivalence of the relationship between the descriptive and the narrative do not cause a breakdown in the way pictures can direct their viewers. While such ambiguities are usually regarded as a crucial problem of visual narrative,[125] on the relief surface of the Louvre sarcophagus these features help realise the potential of visual narrative. This coffin demonstrates that descriptive and narrative elements can be immanent in one and the same visual form, waiting for the viewers to unlock their workings in order to provide them with a story and, at the same time, also a counter-reading.

These strategies of modular, shuffled narrative, breaking with a linear pattern of storytelling, are a brilliant means of enticing the complexities out of a story, as the viewer is invited to revisit and rethink previous assumptions about the development of the storyline. But these multilayered strategies are not extended to all the figures depicted, facilitating a particularly subtle transmission. The Fates/Furies, who belong to an allegorical realm somewhere between mythological narrative and everyday life, are not affected by multiple interpretations: their meaning and their role on the frieze remain unchanged in that they point to the inescapability of fate and the inevitability of death. This stability is also manifested on the side panels of the Louvre sarcophagus, which show two Sphinxes striding towards the frontal frieze. The Fates/Furies and the Sphinxes together have an apotropaic significance that is matched by the Gorgon shield in the centre of the front, and together they provide a robust, clearly focused framework that enfolds the mythologically articulated world of female sorrow and grieving.

[125]   Cf. Mitchell 1986: 95–115 and his discussion of Lessing; also Giuliani 2013: 1–18.

Unlike earlier combinations of myth and *Vita Romana* in Roman imperial art as found on the walls of Pompeii and on other sarcophagi, reliefs like the Louvre sarcophagus no longer present a state of distress either simply or straightforwardly. The relief shows no indication that it was designed to facilitate forms of 'abstract viewing' of the type observed on sarcophagi of the early third century, notably the casket depicting Achilles and Penthesilea in the Vatican, with the episode on the casket arranged so as to lead viewers to pick up on an ulterior message triggered by specific, emphatic details not necessarily representative of the mythological story at large.[126] Instead, the Louvre relief engages in a cunning balancing act, with mythological narrative and ulterior messages crossing paths and supporting – and competing with – each other to provide the viewers with consolation as much as with guidance regarding the challenges of life. This multifold intent explains why these reliefs are designed to absorb their viewers into the pictorial sphere, with only the certainty of death delimiting this process of immersion.

The vitality of such images and their participation in an intense discourse about virtuality and about the power and versatility of visual narrative started earlier than the stylistic changes that can be observed on sarcophagi during the late Antonine period, but the evidence of monuments such as the Louvre sarcophagus throw light on the search for new ways to develop visual expression at the end of the second century CE.[127] These qualities were lost in the course of the third century CE, when more explicit and less discursive forms of representation appeared on sarcophagi, reflecting interests that eventually led to the abandonment of mythological stories altogether.

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[126] Zanker & Ewald 2012: 47–9.
[127] For Antonine art see above, pp. 84–8.