

EURIPIDES SCENES IN BYZANTINE ART

(PLATES 25-36)

NEXT to Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* no classical text has stimulated the imagination in the representational arts of classical antiquity more than the dramas of Euripides. A few decades after they were written vase painters of the fourth century B.C. depicted significant moments of Euripidean plays, the two *Iphigenias*, the *Medea*, the *Oenomaus*, the *Hypsipyle*, the *Andromeda* and many others in complex compositions.¹ Hardly a century later, at the beginning of Hellenism, the desire of the artists to represent the content of a single drama more fully than was possible in even the most complex vase paintings led to the invention of narrative picture cycles in which scene follows scene as the narration proceeds with constant repetition of the chief actors. It is significant that even in the earliest group of monuments on which this new principle of pictorial narration can most clearly be studied, the so-called Megarian bowls, illustrations of Euripidean dramas already rival those of Homeric poems for numerical superiority.² In both methods, the monoscenic and the cyclic, illustrations from Euripides enjoy a rare popularity throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Numerous Pompeian frescoes which seem to copy earlier panel paintings of great masters depict moments of highly dramatic tension such as the sudden recognition of Jason by Pelias, the brooding of Medea before the killing of her children, or Iphigenia's encounter with Orestes and Pylades,³ scenes which undoubtedly are dependent on the *Peliades*, the *Medea*, and the *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* of Euripides. A newly discovered mosaic in Antioch, with a moving scene of Iphigenia's meeting with Agamemnon before her self-sacrifice, is proof that the *Iphigenia at Aulis* was still popular in the second or third century A.D. (Plate 36³⁰).⁴ In cyclic form themes of Euripidean tragedies, as Robert has pointed out, dominate the Roman frieze sarcophagi;⁵ and they occur frequently in other media as well.

Whereas the monoscenic pictures were in all probability invented for fresco and panel painting, the cyclic narration originated, as we have tried to demonstrate,⁶ in book illustration. After some time monumental painting and miniatures exercise a

¹ L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la Tragédie Grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris, 1926.

² C. Robert, "Homerische Becher," 50. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1890.

³ L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929, pl. VII and figs. 140-145.

⁴ K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the mosaics of Antioch," *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. III, *The Excavations of 1937-39*, Princeton, 1941, p. 242 and pl. 49. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, p. 119 and pl. XXII.

⁵ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vols. II and III, 1-3, Berlin, 1890-1919.

⁶ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, II, Princeton, 1947, pp. 37 ff.

mutual influence upon each other: scenes of papyrus rolls were used as models for frescoes, as, e. g., the frieze with tragic and comic scenes in the Casa del Centenario,⁷ and for sculpture such as the frieze sarcophagi; and vice versa monoscenic frescoes were copied by miniaturists. This, however, could hardly have happened before the invention of the codex at the end of the first century A.D.⁸ Only the codex with its format of nearly equal height and width provided the opportunity for the copying of panel painting of similar proportions. All that was needed was a reduction in size. At the same time the parchment permitted the application of gouache painting by which means the rich coloristic effects of Roman paintings as we see them in Pompeii and Herculaneum could be imitated.

The first mentioned process of transformation from Euripidean miniatures into fresco and sculpture has often been discussed ever since Robert in many of his writings proposed this theory as the most plausible explanation for the existence of large but nonetheless abbreviated cycles of literal illustrations in various media. But that vice versa monoscenic frescoes with Euripidean subjects exerted a retroactive influence upon miniature painting is a proposition offered for the first time, to our knowledge, in the last chapter of the present study.

Yet this is only one of several aspects in the general picture which we shall endeavor to sketch in the following discussion of the survival of Euripidean illustrations in the very medium for which the majority of them were invented, i. e., book illumination. Because of their fragility, illustrated papyrus rolls have virtually disappeared, save for a very few fragments. For this reason, Byzantine miniatures made during the renaissance movement of the tenth century are of primary importance for the reconstruction of a branch of classical painting which is now almost totally lost. The variety and number of mythological miniatures copied from classical models is very considerable, which shows that Constantinople must still have been a treasure house of classical art objects, including precious manuscripts, before its destruction in the year 1204 A.D. The following discussion will be confined to those scenes which in our opinion hark back to illustrated dramas of Euripides. Since there are several scenes among them for which no classical prototype has thus far been found in any medium, they should be considered as *disiecta membra* to be used as aids in the reconstruction of Euripidean iconography.

I. THE JEALOUSY MINIATURE IN PSEUDO-OPPIAN'S *CYNEGETICA*

The library of St. Mark's in Venice possesses a richly illustrated 11th century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian, cod. gr. 479, which once belonged to cardinal Bessarion.⁹ It is one of those classical texts with pictures the copying of

⁷ *Mon. dell' Inst.*, XI, 1881, pls. XXX-XXXII.

⁸ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.

⁹ A. W. Byvanck, "De geïllustreerde Handschriften van Oppianus' *Cynegetica*," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 1925, pp. 34 ff. Diehl, *Manuel*, II, p. 602 and

which became fashionable in the 10th century, owing to the scholarly enterprises of the learned emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. There exist two more copies of the *Cynegetica* with illustrations, both in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 2736 and 2737 which belong to the 15th and 16th century,¹⁰ but they shed no light on the classical archetype, since they are direct copies of the Venetian codex. The didactic poem, which, as the title suggests, has to do with the use of dogs for hunting is dedicated to the emperor Caracalla, and since most miniatures, particularly those which are made up directly from the text and demonstrate the various techniques of hunting, have a distinct classical character in the vivid and naturalistic rendering of the animals, we have every reason to assume that the archetype, or at least a very early copy of the 3rd century, was already illustrated. However, in spite of the classical reminiscences in the miniatures, their style is somewhat debased, and it seems not very likely that the Venetian codex was the first copy in the middle Byzantine period to be made from a classical model. The historical probabilities are that in the 10th century the first mediaeval copy was made in connection with the above-mentioned revival movement, and that this copy, now lost, showed an even better preservation of classical style than the Venetian.

Not every picture goes back to the classical model, as an analysis of the elaborate miniature cycle reveals. There are numerous scenes which are not fully explained by the text of the *Cynegetica* and which must have been taken over from various models, while others are distinctly Byzantine not only in style but also in concept. Because of these purely Byzantine elements the enrichment of the original picture cycle must have occurred fairly late, most probably not before the 10th century.¹¹ In a few instances the model from which the added miniatures were taken over can still be determined, such as, e. g., the scenes with Alexander and Bucephalus which undoubtedly go back to an illustrated Alexander-romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.¹²

Whereas the hunting scenes proper are very consistent in style and concept, the added pictures, which mostly depict mythological subjects merely alluded to in the text, lack this homogeneity. Here classical and Byzantine features are often mixed within the same miniature, as, e. g., in the miniature of jealousy which is the subject of our present study (Plate 25 1).¹³ After having narrated an incredible idiosyncrasy of

figs. 283-284. Gasirowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzysmskie*, Cracow, 1928, p. 162 and figs. 77-79. W. Lameere, "Apamée de Syrie et les Cynégétiques du Pseudo-Oppien dans la miniature byzantine," *Bull. de l'Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, 1938, pp. 1 ff. E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum*, 1945, p. 24 and fig. 3.

¹⁰ H. Bordier, *Description des peintures dans les mss. grecs*, 1883, pp. 270 and 286. Lameere, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and 6.

¹¹ K. Weitzmann, "Book illustration of the Macedonian Renaissance," to be published in the *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, figs. 17-18. *Idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Vol. IV of *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (in print).

¹² K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 145 ff. and figs. 133-134.

¹³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 88 and fig. 72.

the jealous wild ass, the poet makes an excursus and enumerates heroes and heroines of classical mythology in whose life jealousy played an important and tragic role. This is what he has to say (III, 237 ff.):¹⁴

O father Zeus, how fierce a heart hath Jealousy! Him hast thou made, O lord, mightier than nature to behold and hast given him the bitter force of fire, and in his right hand hast vouchsafed to him to wear a sword of adamant. He preserves not, when he comes, dear children to their loving parents, he knows nor comrade nor kin nor cousin, when he intervenes grievous and unspeakable. He also in former times arrayed against their own children heroes themselves and noble heroines—Theseus, son of Aegeus, and Athamas, son of Aeolus, and Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela and Colchian Medea and glorious Themisto. But notwithstanding, after the race of afflicted mortals, to wild beasts also he served up a banquet of Thyestes.

The miniature illustrates in two superimposed friezes some, though not all, of the crimes committed as the result of jealousy by the above-mentioned heroes and heroines, and as an introduction to the various episodes there is depicted a personification of Jealousy himself. Here we see a boy in a short tunic, inscribed $\delta \zeta\eta\lambda\omicron[\varsigma]$, who stands in a frontal position, leans with one hand on a lance, and holds with the other the "sword of adamant" mentioned in the text. In myth and poetry Zelos is not unknown,¹⁵ but a pictorial representation from classical antiquity has so far not come to our attention. It may well have existed, since particularly towards the end of the classical period the pictorialisation of abstract concepts was extremely widespread. Yet the figure in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature, in its stiff position and the way in which the attribute is displayed, does not reveal any classical traces, and it seems to us much more likely that it was made up directly from the *Cynegetica* text at a time when the following mythological scenes were added.

THE AEGEUS

Next to the figure of Jealousy a youth in a short tunic leans over a hillock and seems to empty a sword and a shield out of a bag. Since the first hero mentioned in the text of Pseudo-Oppian in connection with jealousy is Theseus, son of Aegeus, one would expect to see depicted a scene from the life of this hero, and, indeed, there is an episode of the hero's youth which provides the explanation. When Aegeus was in Troezen, he had intercourse with Aethra, and before leaving for Athens he buried a sword and sandals under a heavy stone, telling Aethra, if she should give birth to a son, to raise him until he should be able to lift the rock and to send him with the tokens to Athens, so that the father might recognize his son by these *γνωρίσματα*. At the age of sixteen Theseus, as Aethra's son was named, lifted the rock and took

¹⁴ Transl. A. W. Mair in the *Loeb Class. Libr.*, 1928, p. 133.

¹⁵ L. Deubner in Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Personifikationen, cols. 2089, 63 and 2104, 35. J. Schmidt, *ibidem*, s. v. Zelos, col. 562.

the tokens.¹⁶ The miniature undoubtedly represents this finding of the tokens, though the details are no longer understood by the Byzantine copyist. According to all texts Theseus should lift the rock with some effort, while in the miniature he simply seems to take the tokens out of a sack-like object resting upon an immovable hillock. The sword's hilt stands out prominently in the silhouette, but underneath one recognizes what looks like a shield, and there is no trace of the sandals. But not every deviation from the literary tradition must necessarily be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, because the shield occurs already in some classical representations (Plate 25³). It is clear that the miniaturist no longer realized that the figure he painted was meant to represent Theseus, because the inscription *ὁ Θησεύς* is written over the next figure which, as we shall see, represents another hero.

Pausanias (I, 27, 8) describes a bronze sculpture in the round, representing the same theme, on the Acropolis of Athens, but he omits any indication of the period of its origin or of its style. Coins from Athens and Troezen very probably reflect this group.¹⁷ Here we see Theseus pushing back the rock which hardly reaches to his shoulder and looking at the hidden tokens. There existed a second pictorial version which occurs in a number of gems,¹⁸ where Theseus stands behind the rock and, bending over it, raises it towards him instead of pushing it back. The miniaturist surely goes back to the first version which was apparently the more popular one, since it occurs more frequently and in different media.

Besides the above-mentioned statuary group the scene of the finding of the tokens was already integrated in classical antiquity within a narrative cycle of the life of Theseus. On a marble relief in the Villa Albani in Rome (Plate 25²)¹⁹ Theseus performs his deed of discovery before the eyes of two astonished maidens of Troezen, and in a second scene alongside he appears once more, prominently displaying his sword and speaking with his mother Aethra, saying farewell to her before starting on his trip to Athens. In another example, a terracotta plaque that belongs to the so-called Campana reliefs (Plate 25³),²⁰ the lifting of the stone is represented in the presence of Aethra. This plaque belongs to a set which includes other episodes from Theseus' life: the slayings of Sinis, of Sciron of Corinth, of a centaur, of the

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Theseus*, XII, 4-7. Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, I, 9, 28 and *Epit.*, I, 5. Diodorus Siculus, IV, 55, 4. Pausanias, II, 3, 8. Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 406-424. Schol. in *Il.*, XI, 741. Eustathius, *Comm. on Dion. Perieg.*, 1017.

¹⁷ Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Theseus, col. 681, fig. 1. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, "Numismatic commentary on Pausanias," *Jour. Hell. St.*, VI, 1885, p. 98 and pl. LV, M XI; VIII, 1887, p. 42 and pl. LXXVII, D. D. II.

¹⁸ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, I, 1900, pl. XVII, no. 55.

¹⁹ G. Zoëga, *Li bassirelievi antichi di Roma*, I, 1808, pl. 48. Arndt-Amelung, *Einzeltaufnahmen*, no. 1126. Helbig, *Führer*³, 1913, II, p. 455, no. 1924 (706).

²⁰ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas of the Brit. Mus.*, 1903, p. 398, no. D594 and pl. XXXIX. V. Rohden-Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit*, 1911, pp. 98, 246 and pl. XII.

Marathonian bull and, further, the recognition of the hero by his father at the moment when the latter tried to poison him without being aware of his identity.²¹ In both instances the rock scene is a part of a cycle which narrates in detail the deeds of Theseus.

But such a cycle of the deeds can hardly have been the model for the Pseudo-Oppian painter. The main problem involved in the miniature is its relation to the dominant theme of jealousy, and only a thesis which explains this relation can be considered as satisfactory. Therefore the source was in all likelihood not an epic poem or a mythological handbook in which various adventures follow the discovery of the tokens, but a text where the finding of the tokens and the theme of jealousy were more closely related with each other. This apparently was the case in Euripides' *Aegeus*, a drama which is lost today but whose plot we can still reconstruct at least in a dim outline.²² The leitmotif was obviously the jealousy of Medea, the Colchian sorceress, who had married the aged Aegeus and borne him a son, Medus. When Theseus comes to the court of his father, Medea naturally sees in the newcomer a rival to her own son whom she wishes to be installed as Aegeus' successor to the throne. She works out a plot according to which Aegeus, not knowing the identity of the stranger who has come to him, is supposed to offer him a poisonous drink. At the critical moment Theseus displays his sword which is immediately recognized by Aegeus, the poisonous drink is spilled, Theseus is welcomed as the legitimate heir to the throne, and Medea is expelled from Athens. The recognition of Theseus by the tokens was the high moment in the drama and it can reasonably be assumed that the spectator was informed in advance about the significance of the tokens. It is very likely that Medea herself, who seems to have spoken the prologue, may have narrated the events of Theseus' past, since she was informed about the hero's arrival, and in such a report the finding of the tokens must have played a major role.

Since the 3rd century B.C. the Euripidean dramas were illustrated in papyrus rolls on a large scale.²³ That the *Aegeus* was also among them, has recently been suggested by the writer in connection with a Bactrian silverplate; this plate represents among scenes from various Euripidean tragedies the figure of an old man who holds in his left hand a cylix whose contents have just been spilled, and for this reason he was tentatively identified with Aegeus.²⁴ A full cycle of illustrations of this drama most likely had near its beginning a picture of the finding of the tokens as an illus-

²¹ V. Rohden-Winnefeld, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII, LI, CII, no. 1, fig. 193, and pls. XII and CIX.

²² F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, II, 1839, p. 729 ff. Aug. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragmenta*², 1926, p. 363, nos. 1-13. A. Michaelis, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1885, p. 291. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides Hippolytos*, 1891, pp. 43, 45, 243. W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, 1930, p. 204. W. Schmid & O. Stählin, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft VII*, I, 3, 1940, pp. 375 f.

²³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 40 ff.

²⁴ Weitzmann, "Three 'Bactrian' silver vessels with illustrations from Euripides," *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, p. 317 and fig. 23.

tration of the prologue, preceded perhaps by another miniature which showed Medea herself reciting the prologue. Thus we may deduce that the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian, seeking a Theseus scene in combination with the jealousy motif, copied a miniature from an illustrated *Aegeus* of Euripides. But why he chose just this miniature which reveals the connection with jealousy not in itself, but only by implication, is more difficult to answer. We should rather have expected another scene from the *Aegeus* which included Medea, perhaps the one where she witnesses the attempted poisoning of Theseus by Aegeus. One might speculate that an earlier, richer copy of the 10th century possessed this additional scene which in the poorer Venetian copy was dropped. As support of such an hypothesis one may point to the lower strip in the left half of which two scenes from one and the same drama—from the *Peliades* as we shall see—were placed side by side, one of them showing Medea.

The assumption of the existence of an illustrated Euripides in the middle Byzantine period may at first glance seem rather daring and could indeed hardly be sustained if we had only this one scene. But first let us examine from the same point of view the following scenes before final judgment is passed on this hypothesis.

THE INO

The next infanticide mentioned in Pseudo-Oppian's list is Athamas, son of Aeolus and, indeed, the following scene represents a figure inscribed *ὁ ἀθάμας*. This inscription is written above a bleeding warrior who is falling forward upon his discarded weapons and is about to receive the final stroke from a second warrior with upraised sword in front of him (who, as noticed before, is wrongly inscribed *ὁ θησεύς*). Not only is a combination of Theseus and Athamas meaningless, but we have no record that Athamas was slain at the end of his tragic life. However, ancient sources²⁵ tell us that Athamas slew his son Learchus, and this episode is obviously the one represented in the miniature. As in the preceding scene, the copyist was no longer aware of the meaning of the scene, and so he shifted the inscription of Athamas from the left to the right figure, after having already made a similar mistake in the case of the Theseus figure.

The long series of crimes in the house of Athamas comes to an end when the king in a fit of madness slays his son Learchus and is about to kill the second son Melicertes also. But his wife Ino snatches the boy away and jumps from a promontory into the sea. The motif of his jealousy is explained in the literature in two different ways. According to one version it was the wrath of Hera who had driven Athamas mad because he had raised the child Dionysus in his house, but a more rationalistic explanation attributed Athamas' madness to his wrath over the intrigues of his second

²⁵ They are enumerated in Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Athamas, col. 670 [Seeliger], and Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Athamas, col. 1932 [Escher], and s. v. Leukothea, cols. 2297 ff. [Eitrem].

wife Ino who was an accomplice of the murder of the two children borne to him by Themisto, his third wife. The story of Learchus' death is told in the sources with slight differences and a varying degree of minuteness. Hyginus in his fourth fable entitled "Ino Euripidis" tells us in his terse way that Athamas killed his son while he was hunting; Apollodorus in his *Library* (I, 9, 2) uses the word *ἐρόξευσε*, i. e., shooting with an arrow, adding in another place (III, 4, 3) that Athamas "hunted his elder son Learchus as a deer"; and according to Ovid (*Met.*, IV, 516) Athamas dashes the child, which in his madness he considered a young lion, against a rock. The most detailed description, however, is found in Nonnus (*Dion.*, X, 48 ff.) where first Athamas shoots his son, likewise with an arrow, believing him to be a stag. But then the text goes on: ²⁶ "He cut off the head with his knife and knew it not, turned stag by his fancy; laughing he felt the hair at the top of the bloodstained cheek of the face unmarked, and pawed over his game. . . ." It is this second phase of the killing which is represented in the miniature: Athamas is about to decapitate his son who is copiously bleeding and offering no resistance. We may well ask why the illustrator chose the second phase of the slaying instead of the shooting with an arrow. It must be remembered that he had strongly emphasized a sword in the hand of the personification of Jealousy and this attribute probably gave him the idea to select, wherever feasible, an episode in which a sword could be displayed as the agent of Jealousy's wrath.

From a copy of a classical model we should not expect to see Learchus represented realistically as a deer. This would be contrary to the anthropomorphic nature of ancient art which, e. g., never renders Actaeon as a stag when he is torn by the dogs of Artemis and at the most adds a pair of small antlers to a human head. On the other hand, where the Pseudo-Oppian painter is left to himself to invent a mythological composition, he does not shrink from the more literal representation of a metamorphosed human being as, e. g., of the bull-shaped Pentheus who is pursued by Maenads in the shape of panthers.²⁷ This distinction makes it all the more likely that the Athamas miniature goes back ultimately to a classical model, no matter how much it has been transformed in style by the Byzantine copyist. Moreover, the compositional scheme calls to our mind a very similar situation in Euripides' *Mad Heracles* which is represented on the previously mentioned Bactrian silver bowl. There the hero in a similar fit of insanity slays his unresisting son who has fallen to the ground, but here the weapon is a club instead of a sword.²⁸

Before we try to solve the problem from which illustrated text the Athamas miniature might have been copied, let us first discuss the next scene. There we see two little children lying in a bed, one wrapped in swaddling clothes and the other naked, and a

²⁶ Transl. Rouse in *Loeb Class. Libr.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 333.

²⁷ Weitzmann, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, fig. 16.

²⁸ Weitzmann, *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, p. 307 and fig. 14.

woman holding the latter and strangling it. The inscription reads ἡ φιλομήλη above the head of the woman, but here we meet for the third time a mistake on the part of the copyist, which is easily explained by the fact that the next heroines mentioned in the Pseudo-Oppian are indeed Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela. Nothing in the miniature fits the story of these two sisters. According to Apollodorus (III, 14, 8) and other sources, Procne is rejected and concealed in the country by her husband Tereus who in the meantime had fallen in love with her sister Philomela. Later he cuts out the tongue of Philomela, but she is able by means of weaving characters in a robe to reveal her sorrows to her sister Procne, who in turn kills her own son Itys, boils him and offers him to Tereus for supper. So it is not Philomela who does the killing, as the miniature would suggest, but Procne, and furthermore she slays only one child and not two.

On the other hand, the miniature very well fits the story of another jealous heroine whom Pseudo-Oppian mentions farther on in his list, namely "glorious Themisto." The murder of her two children, who in Nonnus (*Dion.*, IX, 317) are Porphyrion and Ptoüs, was the main theme of Euripides' *Ino*. There are preserved 25 fragments of this lost tragedy,²⁹ which, however, are not very helpful for the reconstruction of the drama. The plot is told in outline by Hyginus in his fourth fable under the title "Ino Euripidis," but his scanty summary has to be supplemented by additional information from other sources.³⁰ The plot is as follows: after his marriage with Ino who bore him the two sons, Learchus and Melicertes, Athamas marries Themisto who likewise gives birth to two sons. Later Athamas brings back Ino to the court and makes her a servant of Themisto, who does not recognize her rival in this disguise. But Themisto has heard rumors about the return of Ino and, being afraid of her, plans to get rid of her rival's children. She gives the order to her servant to dress her own children in white and Ino's in black, so that in the semi-darkness of the bedroom she may recognize the latter and kill them. Ino takes her revenge by interchanging the garments, and so Themisto unwittingly kills her own offspring. This is the scene illustrated in the miniature every detail of which fits the story. Themisto's two children are lying in a bed and the jealous mother, leaning over them, is on the point of strangling one of them.

But why did the painter depict this scene out of place, deviating from the order in which Pseudo-Oppian enumerates the jealous heroes and heroines and according to which it should have followed the Medea scenes of the lower strip? The only reason we can deduce is its thematic connection with the preceding story of Athamas killing Learchus, which was also told, as we know from Hyginus, in the *Ino* of Euripides. The Athamas and Themisto scenes belong together, and thus we have every reason

²⁹ Nauck, *op. cit.*, pp. 482 ff., nos. 398-423.

³⁰ Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 615 ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Leukothea col. 2297 [Eitrem]. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 254. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

to assume that they go back to a common source. It is true that the most detailed description of Learchus' death is in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, but at the same time the killing of Themisto's children is mentioned in this epos so briefly (III, 315) that the picture cannot have been made up from this text. This makes the assumption of an illustrated Nonnus as the source of the two related scenes in the miniature very unlikely. We may therefore, from the evidence of the miniature, now argue that the motif of killing Learchus with a sword or knife, as described in Nonnus, goes back ultimately to the Euripidean *Ino*. The madness and infanticide of Athamas was in all probability not enacted on the stage; Welcker suggested that they were told by a *deus ex machina* who most likely was Dionysus because it was for his sake that Hera had driven Athamas mad and induced him to commit infanticide. Thus we come once more to the conclusion that the Pseudo-Oppian painter used an illustrated Euripides as source, from which he took two scenes, each one illustrating an act of violence resulting from Jealousy. These two scenes do not follow the order of the drama, but this shift is obviously to be explained by the Pseudo-Oppian text which mentions Athamas first and Themisto later.

The story of Athamas was a subject for ancient artists as we know from Pliny who mentions an iron statue of Athamas, subsiding in repentance after the killing of Learchus, by the Rhodian sculptor Aristonidas (*N.H.*, XXXIV, 140), and from the description of a picture by Callistratus (14) in which Athamas was represented in his madness while the trembling Ino with the little Melicertes on her bosom stood near the promontory from which she is about to jump. Yet no pictorial representation of the infanticides of Athamas or Themisto have so far been found among the extant monuments, so that the two scenes in Pseudo-Oppian are the first ever to be connected not only with the Euripidean *Ino*, but with this myth in general. It now becomes understandable, too, why the illustrator passed over the story of Procne and Philomela: this myth was not treated by Euripides, and therefore an illustration of it was not available in the model, from which the painter took over not only the scenes mentioned so far but, as we shall see, the remaining ones also.

THE PELIADES

Another of the jealous heroines mentioned in the *Cynegetica* is "Colchian Medea," the ill-famed sorceress with whose name is associated the most notorious case of infanticide. She must have had a reputation as a murderess even in the Byzantine period, because the illustrator was in her case not satisfied with the representation of a single episode but chose two, each from a different drama, and in addition depicted the first episode in two phases, so that the whole lower strip is filled with Medea stories. There is no difficulty in identifying the episodes: one illustrates the unsuccessful attempt of the daughters of Pelias to rejuvenate their father and the second shows Medea as the murderess of her own children. This selection suggests at once

that we are dealing again with famous scenes from Euripidean tragedies, the *Peliades* and the *Medea*.

The *Peliades* is another of the lost dramas of which we have only a few fragments,³¹ and the plot has to be reconstructed from different sources.³² The hypothesis of this drama is preserved in the *Progymnasmata* of Moses of Chorene³³ which tell us that Medea wanted to kill the aged king Pelias. She persuades his daughters to rejuvenate their father and demonstrates the method by which it could be accomplished with an old ram. She cuts the animal to pieces, boils it in a cauldron and reconstitutes it in a rejuvenated form. The daughters thereupon cut up their own father, boil him likewise in a cauldron, but nothing more happens and so the experiment ends in catastrophe. The story is told in Apollodorus (I, IX, 27), Hyginus (24), and Pausanias (VIII, XI, 2) in a similar terse way, but where the sources elaborate, there is a difference as to whether Pelias was killed against his will as Ovid says (*Met.*, VII, 297 ff.) or whether he had given his consent to being cut up as Diodorus Siculus asserts (IV, 50-51). Robert³⁴ and Séchan³⁵ decided in favour of the Diodorus Siculus version as the one going back to the Euripidean play, and this theory is strongly supported by archaeological evidence, including the already mentioned Bactrian silver plate where the leading of the decrepit Pelias by one of his daughters to the spot where his cutting up will take place is incorporated in a larger cycle of scenes from various Euripidean dramas.³⁶

However, the two scenes in the Pseudo-Oppian have no bearing on this particular problem, since they depict two phases on which all sources agree. In the first we see the sorceress, inscribed ἡ μῆδεια, dressed in a sleeveless garment and stirring a cauldron over a flaming fire. Pieces of flesh and a pair of horns rather resembling those of a goat are visible, and these details leave no doubt that we are dealing with an illustration of the rejuvenation of the ram. In the next scene two of Pelias' daughters, clad in the same sleeveless garment as Medea, but of different colors, stir a similar cauldron and boil their father whom they have cut to mincemeat and whose head, looking upwards, is visible between the two ladles. The number of the daughters varies in the sources. Diodorus mentions three: Alcestis, Amphinome, and Evadne, and this seems to have been the most popular version, because we find it most frequently in the representational arts. But Diodorus, who seems to rely in this point also on the Euripidean drama, mentions explicitly that Alcestis alone, though present, would not take an active part in the slaughter of her father, and thus it is perfectly in agreement with

³¹ Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550, nos. 601-616.

³² Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 625 ff. L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, 1926, pp. 467 ff. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

³³ Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

³⁴ Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, 3, 1921, p. 868.

³⁵ Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 469 ff.

³⁶ Weitzmann, *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, p. 311 and fig. 16.

his description that only two are represented in the miniature as stirring the cauldron.

One may ask why this episode was chosen at all by the illustrator. Not only would the next scene have been sufficient as an illustration of Medea's jealousy, but the main idea of Pseudo-Oppian, that Jealousy "arrayed against their own children heroes themselves and noble heroines," is not conveyed in the Pelias episode, since it represents a parricide and not an infanticide like all the other scenes of this miniature. The easiest explanation, in our opinion, lies once more in the availability of an illustrated Euripides which the illustrator perused for scenes dealing with jealousy; in doing so, he went beyond what was suggested by the text of the *Cÿnegetica*. This is not the only case where the illustrator added scenes on his own initiative, unaided by any hint from the text. Where Pseudo-Oppian speaks about Alexander's horse Bucephalus (I, 229) the first miniature in which the horse is brought before Philip would have been sufficient, but having an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes at his disposal, he added two more for no other reason than embellishment.³⁷

Pelias' death was a popular theme in ancient art and had been depicted long before Euripides' tragedy was written. In black and red-figured vases³⁸ there occur three scenes: the demonstration of the rejuvenation of the ram, the council of the daughters before their fatal step, and the leading of the old Pelias to the cauldron. In the Hellenistic-Roman period we meet an additional scene in a Pompeian fresco where it is part of a continuous narrative (Plate 26⁴).³⁹ In front of a fanciful building which is built up from elements of the 2nd and 3rd Pompeian styles and, as Curtius realized, does not represent an individual palace of Pelias, there are two figure compositions which seem too small in relation to the dominating architectural setting. These two little scenes are to be read from right to left. In the first Medea enters the palace, accompanied by a girl⁴⁰ and holding a little idol of Artemis. This appearance of Medea as priestess is in agreement with Diodorus and hence has been taken as a strong argument that the fresco reflects the Euripidean drama. One of the daughters rushes forward to greet the disguised sorceress while the two others, one seated—surely Alcestis—and the other standing, wait in the rear of the palace chamber. The second scene represents the rejuvenation of the ram and, in agreement with our miniature, Medea stands at the left in front of the cauldron. However, she is not stirring, but lifting a plate on which lie branches and what are presumably some

³⁷ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 145 ff.

³⁸ Cf. the list of the monuments in Roscher, *L. d. M., s. v. Medeia*, col. 2505 [Seeliger]. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E., s. v. Medeia*, col. 59 [Lesky], and *s. v. Peliades*, col. 311 [Scherling]. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 477 ff. and figs. 136-138.

³⁹ Robert, "Medeia und die Peliaden," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXII, 1874, p. 134 and pl. 13. Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pl. V, no. 2. L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1929, p. 293 and fig. 170. Ch. M. Dawson, "Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting," *Yale Classical Studies*, IX, 1944, p. 102, no. 44, p. 161 and pl. XVIII, no. 44.

⁴⁰ Robert (*Arch. Ztg., loc. cit.*) had first suggested that this figure was a boy and identified him with Acastus. Later (*Heldensage*, p. 868, note 4) he corrected himself on this point.

implements of her sorcery, while out of the cauldron leaps the rejuvenated ram. On the opposite side of the cauldron are the three daughters who were probably also in the ultimate source of the miniature but omitted either because of lack of space or the desire of the illustrator to confine his scene to the most essential. Two of them look with astonishment and approval at the miracle while the third—again Alcestis—sits aside and views the performance rather pensively.

Curtius assumed that these small scenes were reductions of what were originally large-scale figure compositions. In this reasoning, which has a bearing on the whole group of mythological landscape paintings recently treated by Dawson, we cannot follow Curtius. It does not seem to us very likely that a scene like Medea's entrance into the palace ever existed as a large-scale figure composition, for the subject is not important enough in itself, but rather has the appearance of being a link in a continuous narrative, which usually has interspersed some scenes of lesser importance between climactic ones with no other function than to maintain the movement of the picture story. This type of continuous narrative occurs as early as the 3rd century B.C. on the so-called Megarian bowls, which contain a great number of illustrations of Euripidean dramas. These cups are ultimately derived from illustrated papyrus rolls, and it seems to us more likely that the small fresco scenes go back to some similar cyclic illustration.⁴¹

Moreover, our miniature is in all likelihood only an excerpt from a fuller cycle of illustrations of the *Peliades*. Not only is it probable that the entrance of Medea in the palace once existed in this cycle, but between the two phases of the boiling of the ram and of Pelias in the cauldron there must also originally have been certain intermediary scenes. The leading of the decrepit Pelias to the spot where his rejuvenation will be attempted, as reflected in the Bactrian silver vessel, is one of these, and the council of the daughters, as represented on a vase-painting⁴² may have been another. But so far nowhere in ancient art has a representation of the boiling of Pelias been found, and here the miniature is a valuable addition to our knowledge of scenes from the *Peliades*. Of course, details may have been changed considerably in the Byzantine miniature, and whether so realistic a motif as the stirring ever existed in a classical representation may well be doubted. But at the same time, it must be kept in mind that the Byzantine painter could not have invented this, or for that matter any other of the jealousy scenes, from the Pseudo-Oppian text and that he must have used a model which told the stories in some detail. Since we can still make a calculation on the basis of the Megarian bowls, we know that a cycle of a single Euripides drama had at least fifteen scenes⁴³ and also that a fully illustrated *Peliades* must have existed containing many more scenes than we are able to trace today.

⁴¹ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 40 ff.

⁴² Séchan, *op. cit.*, fig. 138.

⁴³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 44-45.

THE MEDEA

The only scene in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature which goes back to one of the extant tragedies of Euripides is from the *Medea*. The illustration is of the climax of the drama where Medea takes her revenge for Jason's desertion by killing her own two children, a deed which did not take place on the stage, but was told by the chorus of the Corinthian women (lines 1251-1292). Medea is represented wearing a richly embroidered garment with long sleeves and a huge headgear, both being of typical middle Byzantine character. The miniature illustrates the infanticide as an accomplished fact: one child in swaddling clothes lies dead on the ground and the second, with the dangling limbs of a corpse, has just been thrown aside by the cold-blooded murderess who stands in perfect calm, facing the spectator. One would expect her to hold a weapon, but her right hand is lowered and without any attribute, a shortcoming which must be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, since a sword or knife in her hand is implied not only by the drama, but even more so by the Pseudo-Oppian text which stresses so much the "sword of adamant" in the hand of Jealousy.

Instead of merely inscribing the name of Medea, the scribe or the miniaturist, whoever is responsible for it, wrote the following iambic trimeter on the background:⁴⁴

πῶς οὐκ ἐφείσω τῶν βρεφῶν τρισαθλία;
ἢ φαρμακὶς μῆδεια τυγχάνεις ἄρα,
ἢ τις βριμῶ σὺ καὶ νέα τζικλωνίτις.

Why shall I not touch upon the trice-miserable woes of the children?
For you are the sorceress, Medea,
Some new and terrible mistress of the cauldron.⁴⁵

In the Venetian manuscript such an addition in verse is unique, but another, unillustrated Pseudo-Oppian manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 2723 from the beginning of the 14th century, has in its margins a considerable number of similar iambic trimeters,⁴⁶ which have been explained by Ludwich⁴⁷ as the beginning of a metric paraphrase. These verses are of no great poetic value and they are apparently not all by the same writer, for sometimes the same verse of the Pseudo-Oppian text is paraphrased twice; and there is no way of dating these Byzantine trimeters more precisely.

⁴⁴ O. Tüselmann, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Oppians Kynegitika*, Nordhausen, 1890, p. 7.

⁴⁵ I wish to express my gratitude to Milton Anastos in Dumbarton Oaks for his kind help in the translation of these verses and in particular for the explanation of the word τζικλωνίτις as being derived from σίκλα = vessel, pot, basin.

⁴⁶ P. Boudreaux, *Oppien d'Apamée, La Chasse*, Paris, 1908, p. 17. U. Cats Bussemaker, *Scholia et Paraphrases in Nicandrum et Opianum*, Paris, 1849, pp. 370 ff.

⁴⁷ A. Ludwich, *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, II, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 597 ff.

The infanticide of Medea is depicted quite frequently in ancient art, but not before the first performance of the Euripidean tragedy in 431 B.C., and this play must very soon have become so famous that apparently no artist illustrating this myth could escape its influence. Although the vase-painters of the end of the 5th and the 4th centuries often make additions not called for by the text, yet the nucleus of the scene seems always to reveal a connection with the Euripidean drama, although this has been contested by some archaeologists.⁴⁸ However this may be, there is at least a general agreement about a 4th century amphora from Nola in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Plate 26⁵),⁴⁹ that its infanticide scene is an illustration of the Euripidean drama, although here too there are slight inconsistencies with the underlying text. Medea occupies the center of the composition, having already slain one of her children and being about to kill the second, catching it by the hair with the hand which holds the sword. The slain child lies at the right and in this compositional detail the scene agrees with the miniature, although the child does not lie on the ground but over an altar. This feature is not called for by the Euripides text and is possibly connected with the story that the children died or were killed in the temple.⁵⁰ In this respect the miniature is closer to the basic text. On the vase Medea is draped in a richly embroidered oriental costume and a Phrygian cap, and this characterization goes back in all probability to the influence of a performance of the Euripidean play. A Medea in such a costume must also have been in the ultimate model of the miniaturist, although he changed the details under the influence of contemporary fashion, maintaining only the rich embroideries and the idea of a sumptuous headgear. At first sight one may have wondered why Medea in this scene is draped differently from the one in the preceding representation of the *Peliades*. Yet, this differentiation is in full agreement with the Euripidean text and the classical monuments as well: in the *Peliades* Medea makes her entrance as the priestess of Artemis, while in the *Medea* she appears as the Colchian princess. One of the supplementary figures not only in the amphora from Nola, but in other vase paintings as well, is the pedagogue, who, of course, is not stated by Euripides to be a witness of the catastrophe. His omission in the miniature may well be explained as a stricter adherence to the text, though on the other hand there must be taken into consideration that the illustrator may have abbreviated a fuller model, just as he did in both scenes from the *Peliades*.

⁴⁸ J. Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 79 and 146 ff. Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Medeia, col. 2506 [Seeliger]. J. H. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, London, 1898, pp. 144 ff. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 396 ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Medeia, col. 61 [Lesky]. D. L. Page, *Euripides Medea*, Oxford, 1938, pp. lvii ff.

⁴⁹ Raoul-Rochette, *Choix de peintures de Pompéi*, Paris, 1844, p. 277 (vignette). Huddilston, *op. cit.*, fig. 25. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1902, p. 519, fig. 126 and pl. XXV. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 402 and fig. 119.

⁵⁰ Page, *op. cit.*, p. lxii, note 2.

Roman art generally preferred the representation of a less brutal phase of the catastrophe. In two frescoes from Pompeii and one from Herculaneum⁵¹ we see Medea at the moment before the actual slaying: with the sword already in her hand she is brooding and still torn by an inner conflict whether she shall execute her evil designs, while the children are playing gayly as yet without misgivings. These frescoes have been considered as more or less faithful reflections of a famous picture by the painter Timomachos of Byzantium, and a similar concept also occurs in the Roman sarcophagi,⁵² the only group of classical monuments which illustrate the Euripidean drama in continuous narrative. But besides this more humanized representation, that of the actual killing likewise persisted in the Roman period. An engraved gem in the British Museum (Plate 26 6)⁵³ shows Medea standing in a frontal position displaying a sword which she is just about to thrust into the neck of one of her children who has sunk to his knees, while the other child is lying dead on the ground as in the miniature. In its general conception as well as in the detail of the slain child on the ground this scene is comparatively the closest to our miniature, but at the same time the gem possesses supplementary figures in the tradition of the Greek vases that are lacking in the latter: a female attendant who tries in vain to hold Medea back from the murder, and the pedagogue who turns around hiding his face in grief. Comparing our miniature with the classical representations in general, we may observe that the complete absence of any supplementary features, either human figures or objects like the altar, make it, from the iconographic point of view, the most literal rendering of the Euripidean play, in spite of the transformation of style and misunderstandings such as the omission of the sword.

Summing up our study of the jealousy miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian, we come to the conclusion that every one of its scenes can be related to certain Euripidean tragedies, the *Aegeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades*, and the *Medea*, and that the most likely model of the Byzantine miniaturist was an illustrated Euripides manuscript. But it must be pointed out that of the six heroes and heroines mentioned in the passage of the *Cynegetica* the painter chose only four to be illustrated in pictures. He passed over the story of Procne, the sister of Philomela, who killed her son Itys, an omission most easily explained by the fact that this story did not occur in any drama of Euripides so far as we know. The second infanticide not illustrated in the miniature is

⁵¹ C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin, 1919, p. 135 and fig. 103; pp. 198 ff. and figs. 154-155. P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, pls. 7, 73 and 130. L. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and fig. 139; p. 305, figs. 174-175 and pls. VII-VIII.

⁵² C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. II, 1890, pp. 205 ff. and pls. LXII-LXV. Eug. Strong, *La scultura Romana*, Vol. II, 1926, p. 296 and pl. LIII.

⁵³ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, 1926, p. 303, no. 3185 and pl. XXXII. I wish to thank B. Ashmole, the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Brit. Mus. for sending me a cast of this gem, from which the reproduction of our Plate 26 6 is made.

that of Thyestes who served the flesh of his own children at a banquet in the house of his brother Atreus. This episode may have existed in Euripides' *Thyestes*,⁵⁴ though this is by no means sure. It rather seems as if the main theme of this lost play, of which we know very little indeed, was another of the many crimes of Thyestes, for which he was responsible though he did not commit it himself, namely the slaying of Pleisthenes by his father Atreus who mistakenly believed that he had killed Thyestes' son. But besides the uncertainty whether the banquet scene did occur in Euripides' play or not, the omission of its illustration in the Pseudo-Oppian may, of course, have other reasons. Granting that one, or perhaps even more than one, copy of an illustrated Euripides existed in the middle Byzantine period, it is more than doubtful that all Euripidean plays were still known at that time, and the *Thyestes* may very well have no longer existed among the other illustrated Euripides' plays that had survived in the imperial scriptorium.

In selecting scenes from various Euripidean tragedies for the illustration of a certain idea—in this specific case, jealousy—the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian does not stand alone. The excavations of Antioch brought to light a floor mosaic which illustrates in five panels the theme of the destructive power of mad love.⁵⁵ The central panel contains, characteristically enough, a scene from the *Medea*, undoubtedly in antiquity already one of the most famous plays, and around it are grouped scenes which were identified by the writer as from the *Hippolytus*, the *Meleager*, the *Sthenoboea*, and the *Troiades*. One may, therefore, raise the question whether the Pseudo-Oppian must indeed have had an illustrated manuscript at his disposal, or whether there might have existed a classical monument in another medium, not necessarily a mosaic, in which the jealousy scenes were combined, such as are the scenes of mad love in the floor from Antioch. Yet, in our opinion, the intrinsic probability for the latter assumption is not very great. We know that the so-called Macedonian renaissance, which in the middle Byzantine period had led to a revival of classical learning, was primarily a book-renaissance connected with the enterprise of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in which ancient manuscripts were copied on a large scale. Therefore, the majority of the classical elements which make their appearance in the 10th century must be connected primarily with these activities in the imperial scriptorium. It is much too modern a concept to assume that a miniaturist of the 10th or 11th century would go sketching outside the scriptorium and making copies of mosaics or similar media, particularly if there was a chance of finding what he was interested in much more conveniently in the library of the palace.

⁵⁴ Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 675 ff. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 480, nos. 391-397. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 302 ff.

⁵⁵ Weitzmann, "Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the mosaics of Antioch," *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. III, 1941, p. 233 and pls. 66, no. 140 E and 67, no. 140 B, D, F and H. *Idem*, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 28. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, pp. 68 ff. and pls. XI-XIII (where some of the scenes are interpreted differently).

II. THE ROSETTE-CASKETS

In Constantinople in the 10th century several workshops of ivory-carvers were established which must have been very flourishing to judge from the considerable amount and the high quality of their productions still preserved.⁵⁶ One of these ateliers used primarily, or perhaps exclusively, miniatures as models, and for this reason its products were called the "malerische Gruppe" in the corpus of the Byzantine ivories. To this group belong, in addition to plaques with religious scenes, a large number of caskets which because of their ornamentation were termed "rosette-caskets," and their panels are filled chiefly with figures of distinct classical derivation. However, these classical figures, which occasionally are mixed with Christian ones, are purely decorative and it is perfectly clear that the carvers no longer had an understanding of their meaning. This makes their interpretation often very difficult or even impossible, because only in a few instances did the carvers leave scenes intact, tending instead to isolate single figures on narrow plaques and then to re-group them again in strip-compositions, with the result that heterogeneous figures from quite different contexts are brought together.

The few Christian scenes or single figures are nearly all from the Book of Joshua, for which the model was undoubtedly the Vatican rotulus.⁵⁷ But for the pagan figures the models are more difficult to determine for the simple reason that too few of the illuminated manuscripts which were copied during the revival movement of the 10th century have come down to us. Yet it can be shown in one instance that the carvers used the same manuscript which served as model to the Pseudo-Oppian illustrator. There is a miniature in the Venetian codex which depicts Heracles driving away the kine of Geryon; around him there are putti playing with the hero's weapons who can be traced to a picture of the resting Heracles at the court of Omphale.⁵⁸ The same type of Heracles and the same putti occur in several replicas on the ivory caskets, and this can only mean that the Pseudo-Oppian painter and the ivory-carvers used the same model which in this case was most likely a poem dealing with the life of Heracles. Therefore, if we should succeed in identifying scenes or single figures on the caskets as representations of Euripidean dramas, we have, by analogy, good reason to assume that the carvers used the same model from which the Pseudo-Oppian painter copied the scenes from the *Aegeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades*, and the *Medea* in the jealousy-picture.

⁵⁶ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I, 1930, Vol. II, 1934.

⁵⁷ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 23, pl. I, nos. 1-4 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ Weitzmann, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, figs. 19-20.

THE IPHIGENIA AT AULIS

The most beautiful of all the caskets, the one which comes from Veroli and today is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,⁵⁹ belongs to the 10th century. This explains the purity of the classical tradition in its figures which is greater than we find anywhere in the miniatures of the 11th century Venetian copy of the Pseudo-Oppian. The right plaque on the front side (Plate 27⁷)⁶⁰ represents in its center a scene to which archaeologists have paid much attention because it undoubtedly illustrates a scene from the end of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides. As noted before, the ivory carvers often combined heterogeneous figures. Therefore, we will have first to determine the parts which belong to the Euripidean scene, for there has been no agreement on this point among scholars. The nucleus is, of course, formed by Calchas who cuts the lock from Iphigenia's hair and the youth who guides the heroine. This group is flanked by two youths who seem to be conceived as counterparts, each having one foot resting on a pedestal. That the one at the left belongs to our scene is assured by a Roman replica of this scene with which we will have to deal later (Plate 27⁹), and since the other is so much a pendant figure it is very likely that, from the purely compositional point of view, this figure also is a part of the original composition. But there is a still better reason for its belonging to our scene. Calchas, the basket-bearer behind him, and Iphigenia's guide wear laurel wreaths⁶¹ whose double row of leaves is clearly distinguishable from the row of locks beneath, and by this attribute the figures are characterized as participants in the sacrifice. The pendant figure of the basket-bearer also wears such a wreath as can be seen not only in the Veroli casket, but even more clearly in a replica of this figure on a casket in the Louvre (Plate 27⁸).⁶² This, moreover, has the advantage of being undamaged and of showing the right hand in a pensive gesture, indicating that the man is very intently looking at the action taking place before his eyes.⁶³ In the left corner of the Veroli plaque sits a half-nude, bearded man with his head resting on his right arm, who likewise has been connected by some archaeologists with the Iphigenia scene.

⁵⁹ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pls. IX-X.

⁶⁰ Schneider, *Serta Harteliana*, 1896, p. 284, no. 13 and p. 287. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, II, 1923, p. 697, and III, fig. 639. Löwy, "Der Schluss der Iphigenie in Aulis," *Jahresh. des Österr. Arch. Inst.*, XXIV, 1929, p. 4 and fig. 3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32 (here further bibliography) and pl. IX, no. 21b.

⁶¹ Löwy's statement to the contrary (*loc. cit.*, p. 8) was based on an inadequate reproduction of the ivory from a drawing.

⁶² Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 33-34 (here further bibliography) and pl. XII, no. 26 f.

⁶³ Because of the wreath the identification as Alexander which the writer had proposed in the text of the *corpus* on the basis of similarities with the Alexander statue in Munich (*op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 11) has to be given up.

Amelung⁶⁴ proposed Menelaus; Pfuhl,⁶⁵ objecting to this identification, preferred to call him Odysseus; Michela⁶⁶ called him Agamemnon, whereas Löwy⁶⁷ believed it very unlikely that a man would be seated at the sacrifice and therefore, in our opinion rightly, excluded this figure altogether. A replica of the figure occurs on an ivory casket in Cividale,⁶⁸ and since, in this case, the man sits in front of a tripod with a serpent he can hardly be any other than Asclepius.⁶⁹ This identification is all the more justified because the pendant figure at the right corner is unmistakably Hygeia feeding a serpent. Thus we come to the conclusion that only the five figures in the center of the Veroli plaque belong to the scene from the drama and that the two at the corners must be regarded as intrusions.

In considering the scene as a copy of a miniature, a much stricter interpretation must be attempted than in works of monumental art, since the essential quality of book illumination is its close adherence to the text. Whereas the painters of frescoes, panels or pre-Hellenistic vases focussed the content of a drama on one of its most significant events and took the liberty of enlarging it by supplementary figures which are either anachronistic or at least not called for by the text, the illustrators of narrative cycles represent the content of a drama in a series of concise scenes each of which is limited to the essential participants, regardless of whether the scene is actually performed on the stage or told in a messenger's report. Therefore one has to try to identify the five participants of the Iphigenia sacrifice, if possible, with the characters of the drama. But in the present case this is difficult because the messenger's report at the end of the drama which narrates the sacrifice explains only part of the scene—enough, however, to make sure that we are actually dealing with the Euripidean tragedy. Other sections of the epilogue are obviously at variance with the details of the relief. This divergence should not be dismissed with arguments about the freedom of the artist, which in the case of text illustration is comparatively limited.

The reason for the differences must rather be sought in the textual transmission. The *Iphigenia at Aulis* was the last play of Euripides and it is generally agreed by philologists that the drama was unfinished at the time of his death and that the whole messenger's report with the story of the sacrifice is a later addition, leaving open to discussion whether Euripides even contemplated such a report at all. The play was staged, probably in the year 405 B.C., i. e., one year after the poet's death, by the younger Euripides who presumably wrote the first version of the messenger report.

⁶⁴ W. Amelung, "Judicium Orestis," *Röm. Mitt.*, XX, 1905, p. 308.

⁶⁵ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

⁶⁶ M. Madd. Michela, "Il sacrificio d'Ifigenia," *Ausonia*, IV, 1909, p. 100.

⁶⁷ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶⁸ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27a.

⁶⁹ Cf. the similar type of Asclepius in a Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Adonide. Helbig, no. 202. Reinach, *Rep. Peint.*, p. 28, no. 3. The identification of the ivory figure now seems to us preferable to the identification as a philosopher which we proposed in the text of the *corpus* (*op. cit.*, p. 34).

In the opinion of most philologists Euripides' hand stops with verse 1531. But the messenger's report even as we know it today is not of one piece. In the two key manuscripts, both of the 14th century, the hand of the chief scribe stops in cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 287 with verse 1568, and in cod. Florent. Laurent. Plut. XXXII, 2 with verse 1577. After this break a different hand finishes the epilogue in language and versification which is considered to be so debased that the part from verse 1578 to the end is attributed today to a Byzantine humanist.⁷⁰

For our purpose the first break in the text is of no consequence since the illustration in papyrus rolls in all probability does not go back beyond the early Hellenistic period, when the *Iphigenia* already had a messenger's report. The important break is the second after verse 1578 where the "Byzantine part" begins. But how much older this part is than the 14th century manuscript we do not know. This part should, therefore, be used with the utmost caution in the interpretation of the ivory relief which surely goes back to a classical model, i. e., a time when the original messenger's report was still intact. Consequently only the first part of it can be used with certainty as a basis for our interpretation; so far as the second part is concerned we have every reason to believe that, wherever text and relief disagree, the latter represents the original version because of its older ancestry. From this point of view the relief becomes a document of primary importance for the literary reconstruction of the original form of the epilogue.

In the original part, i. e., up to verse 1578, two phases of the epilogue are told. In the first Iphigenia, reaching the grove, meets her father who turns his head to hide his grief, while she tries to console him. The second phase narrates the preparation of the sacrifice proper. After Talthylus, the herald of Agamemnon, has proclaimed silence, the seer Calchas lays down the knife in a golden basket and crowns the victim's head while Achilles takes the basket and the lustral bowl for the libation. While performing this rite he speaks a few lines; then follows the last verse of the original part according to which the sons of Atreus and all the host stood by with their eyes fixed on the ground. This implies that Agamemnon is at that moment no longer standing aside but that he has regained control of himself and is now standing, together with his brother Menelaus, in the crowd attending the ceremony of the sacrifice. The ivory relief, obviously, has to do with this second phase, i. e. the preparation of the sacrifice, although it does not represent the crowning of Iphigenia as described in the epilogue but the *κατάρχεσθαι*, i. e., the consecration for the sacrifice by cutting off a lock from the forehead. This act most naturally follows the crowning with the wreath, and so we may assume that the cutting of the lock was told in the original messenger report immediately following the lacuna of the manuscripts. The act of the *κατάρχεσθαι* is

⁷⁰ Th. Zielinski, *Tragodumenon Libri Tres*, Cracow, 1925, pp. 281 f. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 151. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 651 f. (here further bibliography).

also described in other Euripidean dramas⁷¹ and there is nothing strange in the assumption that it existed in the original epilogue of the *Iphigenia*.

In order to identify the figures of the ivory one should commence with those who are mentioned in the older part of the epilogue. There can, of course, be no doubt about the figure of Calchas who is half nude and draped in a garment that is knotted around the hips. He approaches Iphigenia with an upraised knife and is about to cut the lock while with his left hand he lifts the veil covering the victim's head. Iphigenia stands quiet and resigned to her fate. Her garment has slipped from her left shoulder, the right hand is raised in a pensive gesture and with the left she holds the end of her peplos. Fully explained by the text—and the only one to be so accounted for—is the figure behind Calchas: it is Achilles of whom the text says (lines 1568 f.)⁷²

Then Peleus' son took maund and lustral bowl,
And round the altar of the Goddess ran,
And cried . . .

He is represented half naked like Calchas and in his left hand holds the *κανοῦν*, i. e., the basket of barley. His right hand should hold a lustral bowl, the *χέρυβον*, and so he does in the ancient replica of this scene (Plate 27⁹). The left foot is resting on a pedestal, and since according to the text Achilles is walking around the altar, one might think that this pedestal is meant to be the altar. But surely Achilles would not put his foot on an altar. The above-mentioned ancient replica depicts a little rock under the raised foot and this obviously is the better version. Moreover the pendant figure to Achilles also puts his foot on a similar pedestal, and an altar would certainly not be represented twice in the same scene. In an early publication of the ancient companion piece, the so-called ara of Cleomenes (Plate 28¹⁰), Uhden, not yet knowing the ivory, identified the basket-bearer with Achilles,⁷³ but no archaeologist followed him in this interpretation. Michaelis⁷⁴ objects to Uhden's theory because of the attribute which he takes to be a fruit bowl and not a basket with barley. But he too was not aware of the ivory which actually shows a basket and thus represents in this detail a better version than the ara. Moreover Michaelis⁷⁵ proposes to call the man holding Iphigenia's arm Achilles⁷⁶ and the basket-bearer simply an attendant at the sacrifice,

⁷¹ *Alcestis*, 73 f.; *Electra*, 810 f.

⁷² This and all the following quotations are taken from A. S. Way's translation in the *Loeb Class. Libr.*

⁷³ W. Uhden, "Iphigenia in Aulis," *Abhandl. der Preuss. Akad.*, hist.-philol. Klasse, 1812-13, p. 78.

⁷⁴ A. Michaelis, "Ein verlorenes attisches Relief," *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, p. 203. He follows in this point O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, 1847, p. 380.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 206. Likewise Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁷⁶ This identification was also adopted in the *corpus*. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 31.

and so does Löwy,⁷⁷ but in our opinion the latter is too prominently portrayed to be an anonymous attendant. If we follow the text, the epilogue leaves no doubt that the basket-bearer is no other than Achilles.

But who is the guide of Iphigenia? Achilles is ruled out not only because of the basket-bearer who has a better claim to this name, but also for intrinsic reasons. Achilles had most violently objected to Iphigenia's sacrifice and declared his willingness to defend her against the whole host of the Achaeans. Although he consents after having heard the heroine's own decision to sacrifice herself, is it likely that he would now so willingly take part in the execution of the sacrifice? Löwy leaves the figure anonymous, referring simply to the persons who according to verse 1546 had led Iphigenia to the grove. But this figure likewise is surely too important to be dismissed as anonymous. Uhden, following the sounder method of first searching in the text itself for an explanation, calls him Talthybius, and of all the characters mentioned in the epilogue, he seems indeed the best suited to the situation, although it is not to be denied that this identification presents a difficulty. As the personal herald of Agamemnon he seems well qualified to render a service which Agamemnon could not be prevailed upon to undertake.⁷⁸ It is not so much the unsuitability for this situation which leaves some doubt, but the iconographical type. That he does not hold his kerykeion may be accounted for by the fact that he uses both hands to hold Iphigenia; likewise, the sword at his side is not surprising and can be found in other representations of Talthybius.⁷⁹ The real difficulty lies in the fact that he is completely nude and for this we know no parallel in classical art.

There remains the figure at the right, draped in a chlamys, holding a sword over the raised leg and looking intently at the preparation of the sacrifice. As a pendant to Achilles and judging from his self-conscious behaviour he can only be one of the leaders of the Achaeans. Löwy⁸⁰ called him Achilles, but from what has been said above it is clear that we cannot accept this identification. The epilogue names as the attendants at the sacrifice the sons of Atreus, but the original text that breaks off just at this point may have mentioned a few more as, e. g., Odysseus. Yet the chief character, besides Agamemnon, is surely Menelaus who more than anyone had an interest in the execution of the sacrifice, so that the Achaeans might proceed with their voyage to Troy. Agamemnon, who shortly before had stood aside with his head veiled, would surely be represented in a long enveloping garment and therefore must

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ It hardly seems to be a coincidence that in a miniature of the *Iliad* manuscript in Milan, where Briseis is taken away from Achilles, Talthybius is depicted in a similar attitude, i. e., walking behind the woman and gently touching her elbow with one hand while the other is placed around the averted shoulder. Ceriani-Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae*, Milan, 1905, pict. VI.

⁷⁹ Cf. the vase painting of Hieron in the Louvre. J. Cl. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, Vol. II, 1919, fig. on p. 81.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

be excluded. This leaves us with Menelaus as the most likely choice, and for him the air of concentration seems indeed most appropriate. But this identification too has an iconographical difficulty, because Menelaus should be bearded. But among the ivories we repeatedly find beardless figures whom we should expect to see provided with a beard; a case in point is the figure opposite the replica of our Menelaus in the Louvre casket⁸¹ who holds a thunderbolt and therefore should be Zeus, although he is beardless. This tendency to omit the beard is concomitant with the ivory-carver's inclination gradually to transform all classical types into putti. Thus we come to the final conclusion that only three persons can be identified with certainty, Achilles, Calchas, and Iphigenia, while for the other two, Talthybius and Menelaus, a full proof cannot be provided for their identification. It is quite clear that this difficulty is due to the faulty transmission of the messenger's report which breaks off just in the midst of the preparation for the sacrifice.

The reason that a Byzantine ivory as late as the 10th century has been trusted so implicitly as a faithful copy of a classical model in spite of misunderstandings of small details lies in the fact that we possess a replica from classical antiquity, about a millenium earlier than the ivory, in which at least four of the figures agree to an astonishing extent. It is a neo-attic relief of a round marble altar in the Uffizi in Florence (Plate 27⁹) which bears the signature of Cleomenes, and although most scholars agree that this inscription is a forgery, the altar continues to be known in the literature as the ara of Cleomenes.⁸² Its relation to the ivory has been much discussed, yet no one has hitherto offered a suggestion as to the channels through which these two monuments, so far apart in time and locality, are to be connected. Surely the Byzantine ivory-carver did not depend directly on a Roman marble altar as model; there can only have been a common model for both. If the hypothesis we have given above is right, that the ultimate source of the ivory is a miniature, then we have also to assume the same for the ara, and from this would follow that its relief is an enlargement in scale, in contrast to the ivory which could maintain the original scale of the miniature. Such a process of altering scale is by no means uncommon in ancient art. It suffices to quote as an example the Roman mythological sarcophagi whose chief themes, as Robert has clearly shown, are once more Euripidean tragedies. Here we have repeatedly the same scenes now on the lid in small scale, now on the trough in larger scale, and usually the ones on the lid are, from the point of view of continuous narrative, more coherent and better understood.⁸³ But in considering the relief of the Florentine ara an enlarged miniature, there is more involved than the mere change of

⁸¹ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, no. 26 f.

⁸² Uhden, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. O. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, 1847, p. 380. Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, fig. p. 201 (after which our Plate 27⁹ is repeated). Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX, 1905, p. 306 and fig. 3. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 638. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pl. I and figs. 2, 10-13, and elsewhere.

⁸³ As to the relation of the sarcophagi to miniature models cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 23 ff., 40.

scale: it means that we are dealing with an excerpt from a narrative cycle and this has its bearing on the interpretation.

The relief of the ara is in some details better than the ivory, in others not. The attitude of Iphigenia on the altar holding her right hand to her chin and supporting the right elbow with the left hand is surely more dignified and purposeful and hence closer to the archetype than the Iphigenia of the ivory who has the right arm so much lowered that the gesture has become meaningless; moreover, the holding of the end of the peplos with the left looks like an inappropriate gesture of embarrassment. It must seem strange that neither in the ara nor in the ivory does Iphigenia wear a laurel wreath, particularly since the text is so explicit about its being placed on her head by Calchas (line 1567: “. . . then crowned the maiden’s head”). Now it is interesting to see that an old engraving in Uhden’s article (Plate 28¹⁰) clearly shows a wreath on Iphigenia’s head. Shall we assume that the engraver invented this motif out of a detailed literary knowledge, or were there at that time traces of the wreath, perhaps in paint, still visible? Also Calchas is more faithfully rendered in the ara in having a sheath hanging on a balteus in close agreement with the text which states explicitly (lines 1566-67) that he had drawn the sacrificial knife out of its sheath. On the other hand, in the ivory the so-called Talthybius has a sword, and since it is not very likely that a Byzantine copyist made this addition, the ivory apparently represents the better version. Achilles has a dual position: in the ivory he is more faithful to the archetype in having a real basket with barley whereas in the ara he is more complete in having a lustral bowl in his right hand.

But the main difference lies in the fifth figure where the two reliefs disagree entirely. Where the ivory has Menelaus the ara shows Agamemnon, deeply veiled and turning away, a very precise illustration of lines 1547-50:

. . . But when King Agamemnon saw
 The maid for slaughter entering the grove,
 He heaved a groan, he turned his head away
 Weeping, and drew his robe before his eyes.

It is self-evident that only one of the two figures can have stood in the model at this very place and we have to ask which is the original one. There is no doubt that the intently looking Menelaus is more closely related to and even inseparable from the action in the center, and thus we have no hesitation in giving him the preference. Moreover, we have mentioned already that according to the epilogue Agamemnon no longer stands aside during the preparation of the sacrifice but looks to the ground together with Menelaus, so that the version of the ara does not quite suit the present situation. We must realize that the marble ara is round, without beginning or end, and that any division made in unrolling the frieze is arbitrary and based on an individual scholar’s interpretation. The drawing of our Plate 27⁹ goes back to

Michaelis who altered two previous arrangements, the one published by Uhden (Plate 28¹⁰) and the other by Raoul-Rochette (Plate 28¹¹),⁸⁴ believing that he was correcting earlier mistakes. He, of course, did not yet know the ivory which shows Menelaus where he had placed Agamemnon and therefore was not aware of the conflict. The simplest way out of this difficulty is to make the division between Talthybius and Agamemnon and to place the latter at the left as Raoul-Rochette did.

This arrangement has also the great advantage that it is in closer agreement with the textual sequence of events. The veiled Agamemnon belongs to the first phase of the epilogue which precedes the preparation of the sacrifice, and in an illustrated manuscript he would be placed in a different miniature, separated from the following one by at least twenty verses of writing. According to the text of the epilogue he is addressed by Iphigenia while he turns away, and it is by no means unlikely that in the miniature he was accompanied by a figure of Iphigenia who in the ara might easily have been dropped either because of lack of space or in order to avoid a duplication of the heroine. Artistically this separation of two different phases is made visual by the dividing tree. In the miniature model this tree belonged in all probability to the sacrifice scene and not to that of Agamemnon. It will be observed that there is a similar tree behind Menelaus in the replica of the Louvre casket (Plate 27⁸), and this suggests that in the archetype the sacrifice was framed on either side by such a tree as an indication of the grove. So actually there are two consecutive scenes represented on the ara both of which seem to be abbreviated.

Passing over other replicas which repeat the scene of the cutting of the lock in even more abbreviated fashion such as a Pompeian fresco from the Vicolo di Modesto,⁸⁵ a stucco relief in the basilica near Porta Maggiore,⁸⁶ a fragment of a sigillata bowl in Dresden,⁸⁷ and two gems in Berlin,⁸⁸ there is one more monument which for the problem of cyclic illustration is quite as revealing as the ara. The excavations of Termessos in Pisidia brought to light two relief plaques which once belonged to the frieze decoration of a building, probably a temple (Plate 28¹²).⁸⁹ The right slab shows a figure of Iphigenia so similar in her attitude and posture to the one in the ara and the ivory that all archaeologists dealing with it have unhesitatingly incorporated it in our group, although the scene is not the same. It is not the preparation

⁸⁴ *Monum. inéd.*, I, 1833, pp. 129 ff., pl. XXVI, no. 1. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 17 and fig. 13.

⁸⁵ Helbig, no. 1305. Conze, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Ser. V, 1873, pl. VIII, no. 2. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 4. The fresco is today destroyed.

⁸⁶ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 7.

⁸⁷ Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXII, 1907, p. 344 with fig. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 9.

⁸⁸ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1896, p. 56, no. 788-790 and pl. 10. Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 6, note 10 and figs. 8a-b.

⁸⁹ G. Niemann, E. Petersen, and K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, 1892, pp. 45 f. and fig. 5. F. Studniczka, "Artemis und Iphigenie." *Abhandl. der Sächs. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, XXXVII, No. V, 1926, p. 46 and fig. 30 (here dated in the late Hellenistic period). Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 6.

of the sacrifice which is illustrated but the sacrifice itself: Iphigenia is faced by Artemis who suddenly appeared with a hind which puts its forelegs upon an altar decorated with festoons. This is the scene which we should expect to follow the preparation of the sacrifice and which thus can be considered as the third and last phase of the epilogue. According to the excavators there are traces of a male figure visible behind Iphigenia, probably Calchas once more. But we must always remain aware that the end of the epilogue is an unreliable basis, although it would strongly support an identification of the figure as Calchas (lines 1590 ff.). Now it is interesting that the same group of Artemis with the hind—only in mirror reversal—occurs on the same Louvre casket (Plate 29¹³)⁹⁰ which has the replica of Menelaus. This clearly indicates that more than one scene from the *Iphigenia* was copied by the ivory carvers and that, therefore, the cyclic implications of the sacrifice plaque are demonstrable within the ivory material itself.

The second Termessos plaque preserved in its full width, represents three figures just as originally did the first. In the center stands Clytaemnestra on a step; she is faced by Iphigenia while behind her stands Achilles in a leisurely attitude leaning on his lance. As Niemann and Petersen have rightly explained, the scene depicts Iphigenia at the moment where she reveals to her mother the final decision to sacrifice herself for the glory of Hellas. She seems to have stretched out her right hand in a gesture of speech, addressing her mother in the following words (lines 1374 ff.):

Hear the thing that flashed upon me, mother, as I thought hereon.
Lo, resolved I am to die. . . .

It is in perfect agreement with the text that Achilles, who shortly before had offered his services to save Iphigenia, should still be present, and so the scene is a very accurate illustration of the text. Moreover, it has been observed by the excavators that the two plaques were not joined together. Near the inner edges there are traces of what they considered to be branches of trees the whole of which must once have existed and served as typical devices to separate neighboring scenes from each other. Thus it is obvious that one or more scenes must have existed in between and that the two extant plaques are only fragments of a larger frieze which illustrated the Euripidean *Iphigenia* in cyclic form. From this it follows that the frieze, going ultimately back to an illustrated manuscript as we assume, must be considered—like the ara—as an enlargement of the archetype. The height of the frieze is approximately the same as that of the ara,⁹¹ and thus a similar artistic effort is involved in the change of the scale.

Furthermore, Niemann and Petersen pointed out that a similar group of Iphigenia, Clytaemnestra, and Achilles, though the types are slightly different, occurs on a relief-cup in Berlin which belongs to the so-called Megarian bowls and can be dated in the

⁹⁰ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XII, no. 26g.

⁹¹ Termessos 68 cm.; the ara 65 cm.

3rd century B.C. (Plate 29¹⁴).⁹² Here too we see—in the second scene from the left—Clytaemnestra in the center and behind her Achilles leaning on his lance just as in the Termessos relief, but Iphigenia does not speak to her mother. She turns away and tries to hide her face. This divergence is not to be understood as a mere variation of the same scene, based on formal considerations, but it is clear that the cup illustrates another—and earlier—phase of the drama. It depicts the moment in which Achilles has just entered the stage and Iphigenia feels that she cannot face him (lines 1338-41):

Iph.: Mother mine, I see a throng of men that hither hasten on!

Cl.: Child, 'tis he for whom thou camest hither, even Thetis' son.

Iph.: Handmaids, ope to me the doors, that I within may hide my face!

Cl.: Wherefore flee, my child?

Iph.: For shame I cannot meet Achilles' gaze.

We are clearly dealing with two successive scenes, and the Termessos relief continues the pictorial narration precisely where the Megarian bowl leaves off. Both monuments, therefore, belong to the same cycle. But to connect the Termessos relief with the cup carries with it the whole group of monuments of which the Pisidian relief is a part, i. e., the ara of Cleomenes and the ivories.

In our study of the picture cycles in roll and codex we endeavoured to show that the Megarian bowls are the earliest reflections of the cyclic method which originated at the beginning of the Hellenistic period in papyrus rolls. In the case of the Berlin cup its relation to the literary source is made particularly clear by the inscription ΕΤΡΙΠΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ. The salient characteristics of the cyclic method, as exemplified by the Megarian bowls, are the literal interpretation of the text and the limitation to the most essential figures. Recently another Megarian bowl with Iphigenia scenes has been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York⁹³ illustrating the beginning of the Euripidean drama; its last scene leaves off where the Berlin cup begins, so that there can be no doubt that the two are companion pieces. From this evidence we can conclude that there once existed a set of three cups of which the first represented the beginning, the second the middle, and the third, of which no replica has so far been found, the end of the drama. But the scenes of this lost third cup can now largely be reconstructed with the help of the Termessos relief, the ara, and the ivories. Taking all the evidence together we have now no less than 14 scenes of the original cycle.

⁹² C. Robert, "Homerische Becher," 50. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1890, p. 51 and fig. L. F. Courby, *Les vases Grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 293, no. 19 and fig. 53. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 44-45 and fig. 10.

⁹³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 45 and fig. 9a-e.

The bowl in New York :

1. Agamemnon sends his old servant with a letter to Clytaemnestra (lines 111 f.).
2. Menelaus takes away the servant's letter (lines 303 f.).
3. Menelaus reproaches Agamemnon (lines 322 f.).
4. The messenger announces to Agamemnon the arrival of Iphigenia and Orestes (lines 414 f.).
5. Iphigenia with Orestes in a cart on their trip to Aulis (lines 416 f.).

The bowl in Berlin (Plate 29¹⁴) :

6. Iphigenia, Clytaemnestra, and Achilles greet Agamemnon in the camp (lines 621 f.).
7. The discourse between Clytaemnestra and Achilles (lines 819 f.).
8. Clytaemnestra informed by her old servant of Agamemnon's intentions (lines 866 f.).
9. Iphigenia pleads before Agamemnon for her life (lines 1211 f.).
10. Achilles meets Iphigenia in the presence of Clytaemnestra (lines 1338 f.).

The Termessos relief (Plate 28¹² left) :

11. Iphigenia reveals to Clytaemnestra, in the presence of Achilles, her decision to die (lines 1374 f.).

The ara of Cleomenes (Plate 28¹¹ left) :

12. Agamemnon hides his grief (lines 1549 f.).

The ara (Plate 27⁹) and the Veroli casket (Plate 27⁷) :

13. The preparation of the sacrifice (lines 1568 f.).

The Termessos relief (Plate 28¹² right) and the Louvre casket (Plate 29¹³) :

14. Artemis appears with the hind as substitute for Iphigenia.

Of course, it must be realized that we are in no position to reconstruct the original cycle to its fullest extent. It is not very likely, to begin with, that the terracotta worker who laid out the program for three cups was able to incorporate the complete cycle of his model into the limited space available, and he may already have dropped one or the other of the scenes. Moreover, there is a lacuna after scene 11, and the Termessos relief, as we have seen, shows traces of a lost plaque at this place. The only illustrated dramas we possess today, still in their original medium of book illustration, are the comedies of Terence of which several copies from the 9th to 12th centuries are preserved.⁹⁴ They have an average of 20 to 30 miniatures for each play,

⁹⁴ L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, Princeton, 1931.

and since the comedies are shorter than the Euripidean tragedies, one might venture the suggestion that the latter had even more.

Our previous statement that the cyclic method does not occur in Greek art before the early Hellenistic period, and that the Megarian bowls are the earliest reflections of it, implies that the archetype of the Termessos relief, the ara and the ivories likewise cannot go back beyond the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. However, most archaeologists have dated the prototype from which the scene of Iphigenia's sacrifice on ara and ivory are derived earlier, i. e., in the pre-Hellenistic period. On what evidence is their earlier date based which conflicts with our opinion of a date not earlier than the Hellenistic period?

The whole body of material illustrating the sacrifice of Iphigenia has been divided by Michela into two groups, a division which has been accepted by Löwy and other scholars. Group A comprises the ara of Cleomenes and the monuments related to it, whereas the chief monument of group B is the well-known Pompeian fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico,⁹⁵ to which the Etruscan urns⁹⁶ are related. In this second group Iphigenia is lifted up while being sacrificed, a version so completely different from that of group A that we can disregard it in our further discussion. However, most archaeologists include in group A a painting of a South Italian amphora in the British Museum which belongs to the 4th century B.C.⁹⁷ and therefore would point to an earlier date for the archetype of the ara and its related monuments than we have suggested. But does this vase really belong to our group A? Omitting the three figures of Apollo, Artemis, and a graceful woman at the left who are supplementary and do not belong to the sacrifice proper, we are left with three figures which indeed follow in the same order as on the ara and the ivory: at the left is Achilles with a plate and a pitcher (instead of the lustral bowl), in the center stands a bearded man with a knife corresponding to our Calchas, and from the right approaches Iphigenia. But here the similarities end. The three figures of the vase form a pyramidal composition with the bearded man at the apex, while in the ara Iphigenia is the undisputed center of a free figure group to which Achilles and Menelaus are symmetrically attached at either side. But aside from this compositional divergence the chief difference is iconographical. Séchan has clearly shown that the central figure is not Calchas but Agamemnon because of the scepter in his hand, and that this version is not even Euripidean. Furthermore, the vase does not represent the cutting of the lock but the attempted

⁹⁵ Helbig, no. 1304. P. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 15. G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der Pompej. Wandgemälde*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 198 f. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 50 and fig. 32. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and figs. 23-23b. Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 f. and pl. V.

⁹⁶ H. Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne Etrusche*, I, Rome, 1870, pp. 40 ff. and pls. XXXV-XLVII. Löwy, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. and figs. 14-22.

⁹⁷ Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. inéd.*, pp. 127 f. and pl. XXVI B. H. B. Walters, *Catal. of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, IV, 1896, p. 80, no. F 159. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and fig. 34. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 372 ff. and fig. 108. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 1 and elsewhere.

sacrifice itself at the moment where the hind already stands as substitute behind Iphigenia. And finally the whole character of the vase is not that of a part of a cycle, but of a monoscenic composition combined with elements of the even older simultaneous method. Achilles belongs to the preparation and not the execution of the sacrifice, and we have seen that the cyclic illustrator maintains a clear distinction between these two phases. For all these reasons we have to exclude the London vase from our group A. Of course, the first illustrator to invent a cycle of separate scenes may have used single types of an earlier tradition and this may account for the similarity of the Achilles type, but essentially the London vase does not belong to our recension in the strict sense of the word.

The second argument for an early date of the archetype is a stylistic one. Michaelis⁹⁸ has analysed the central group of the ara—Calchas, Iphigenia, and her guide—as a unit in itself, and related it to the well-known “three-figure reliefs” of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Naples museum and the Medea and the Peliades in the Lateran which go back to good classical models of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Buschor⁹⁹ and other scholars adopted Michaelis’ view, but Löwy has argued, as we believe rightly,¹⁰⁰ that the original composition surely had more than three figures and that there is no justification for isolating the central group out of its context. We must bear in mind that the ara as the product of a neo-attic workshop was made by one of those very versatile artists who adapted the styles of various periods of the past and fused them and that, wherever single motifs of drapery or even whole figures were imitated under the influence of good classical models, such an adaptation does not carry with it the necessity to derive a composition in its entirety from a model of that period to which some details point. Another feature which has led scholars to date the model of the ara so early is the alignment of figures in a frieze form which avoids any indication of spatial depth. But here we must take into consideration that the frieze-like composition and the reduction of accessories to a minimum are peculiarities of Hellenistic-Roman miniature painting even at a time when contemporary monumental art developed rich architectural and landscape settings, so that the simplicity and clarity of the figure arrangement in the ara cannot be used as an argument for an early date of its archetype.

The real focus of the archaeological discussion, however, has been the problem of the famous Iphigenia picture of Timanthes, the contemporary of Zeuxis around the turn of the 5th to the 4th century B.C. All arguments about the date of the archetype of our monuments have been subordinated to the question as to how far the various replicas reflect this picture, which must have had an enormous reputation in classical antiquity to judge from the frequent and highly appreciative mention of it

⁹⁸ *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 201 ff.

⁹⁹ In Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Ser. III, p. 166 and fig. 81.

¹⁰⁰ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9 note 22, 39 note 36.

in the sources.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately the description given by the ancient writers is very brief, and the chief features mentioned by them are the following: Iphigenia stood before the altar at the moment of her immolation, Calchas was sorrowful, Odysseus still more affected, Ajax cried, Menelaus lamented and finally Agamemnon was represented veiled because the artist felt unable to depict a further intensification in the gradation of grief. From the outset archaeologists connected with this description the fresco from the Casa del Poeta Tragico, chiefly because of its impressive figure of the veiled Agamemnon, but more recently Löwy and other scholars have repudiated this idea, and one of the counterarguments has been that Iphigenia is not—as in the Timanthes picture—standing before the altar but being lifted up, and for the same reason the whole group B, including the Etruscan urns, has to be excluded. Moreover Curtius has analyzed the Pompeian fresco¹⁰² as a pasticcio showing a mixture of different styles and for this reason it is to be disregarded as the reflection of a famous masterpiece.

Group A also possesses the veiled Agamemnon and in addition Iphigenia stands before the altar as described in the sources, and for this and other reasons Löwy was the chief protagonist in seeing in the monuments of this group reflections of the Timanthes picture. But is the relation between the description in the literary sources and the pictorial evidence from the ara and the related monuments really cogent enough to permit with their help a reconstruction of the lost Timanthes picture? Calchas is described as sad, but does the Calchas who is busy cutting the lock of Iphigenia express grief as the chief characteristic, particularly if we take into account the capability of a Greek artist to express emotion not only in facial features but in the posture of the whole body? Menelaus is described as overcome with grief. This would hardly be an appropriate characterization of the intently looking man in the ivory whom we have identified with Menelaus. And even if this identification were not accepted, would the expression of overwhelming grief fit any other figure in the ara or the ivory? Furthermore, Odysseus and Ajax who must have been prominent in the Timanthes picture are not found in any of the replicas. On the other hand, a very important figure in the ara and the ivory is Achilles, but the sources do not mention him in the Timanthes picture, and in any event a figure whose function was the carrying out of the libation would undoubtedly not have been suitable in a picture whose chief theme was apparently the representation of gradually increasing grief. For the same reason a figure leading Iphigenia quietly but surely to Calchas would have had no place in the Timanthes picture. So altogether the divergencies are much greater than the agreements and, in addition, it seems that not even the same action

¹⁰¹ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 73. Quintilian, *Inst. orat.*, II, 13, 12. Cicero, *Orat.*, XXII, 74. Valerius Maximus, VIII, 11, ext. 6. Eustathius *ad Il.*, p. 1343, 60. Cf. J. Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 328 f., no. 1734-39. A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet*, I, 1921, pp. 244 f., no. 305-309.

¹⁰² Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 f.

was depicted. While the ara and the ivory represent the preparation, the Timanthes picture seems to have shown the sacrifice itself as its subject, although it included the veiled Agamemnon who belongs to an earlier phase of the narration of the sacrifice. This leaves us with the figures of the veiled Agamemnon and the standing Iphigenia as the only two features in which the description of the Timanthes picture agrees with the ara and the ivory. But these very features are contained in the epilogue so that every artist who based his representation on the text of this tragedy would have to include them, and therefore they cannot be regarded as peculiar to Timanthes. The fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico on the one hand and the ara on the other show very clearly that the veiled Agamemnon could be represented in different ways. Thus we come to the conclusion, in contrast to Löwy, that neither ara nor ivory reflect the famous picture of Timanthes.

The shortcoming in all archaeological discussion so far has been, in our opinion, the failure to realize that following the Hellenistic period we have to reckon with two fundamentally different methods of representing literary themes. One is the older form of the monoscenic picture in which an artist focuses the climax of a drama in one comprehensive composition, and the other is the representation of a drama in cyclic form by concise and very literal scenes. All monuments of group A belong to the second type and for this reason should not be used for the reconstruction of any monumental monoscenic picture whether by Timanthes or any other panel painter. How the failure to observe this distinction leads to fallacies may be seen in the case of the Termessos frieze¹⁰³ where Löwy separated the sacrifice from the preceding scene and dealt only with the former thus ignoring the obvious cyclic implications of this frieze.

In basing their compositions on a miniature model, the artists of the ara, the ivory, and the Termessos frieze were able to retain their original figure arrangement and consequently had no need to carry out an extensive regrouping such as Löwy assumed, as the result of a transformation from a monumental composition, usually of greater height than width, into the present frieze form. Of course, both forms of representation have occasionally influenced each other, but any analysis of a monument should commence with that form in which it was originally conceived.

There is one more picture with the sacrifice of Iphigenia which we have not mentioned so far: a mosaic in Ampurias¹⁰⁴ which is the only monumental monoscenic composition besides the fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico. It shows Iphigenia led to the altar by Odysseus while other Achaeans including Menelaus and Calchas stand near by with a visible expression of grief. In all these details the mosaic is fairly well

¹⁰³ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Schulten, *Neue Jahrb. f. Altert.*, XIX, 1907, p. 343 and pl. II. Michela, *op. cit.*, tav. d'agg. A. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and fig. 31. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 5. Lozoya, *Hist. del Arte Hisp.*, I, 1931, p. 159 and pl. XV (in color).

in agreement with the description of the Timanthes picture and yet it lacks the most decisive feature: the figure of Agamemnon who hides his face under the veil because he is too deeply moved to show it. From all this evidence we can only conclude that none of the extant representations of the sacrifice of Iphigenia agrees sufficiently with the description of the Timanthes picture to justify the claim of being a derivative of this lost masterpiece.

THE HIPPOLYTUS CROWNED

The sacrifice of Iphigenia of the Veroli casket is the only complete scene from a Euripidean drama on a rosette casket. We have mentioned previously that it was the habit of the carvers to dissolve coherent scenes and to use single figures in new, merely decorative combinations. This makes the identification of most figures not only difficult but often impossible; only where gestures and postures are sufficiently outspoken can we hope to identify one or the other with the help of classical monuments which prefigure the type. Thus we cannot expect to add whole scenes to our repertory of lost Euripidean illustrations but only isolated figures out of a larger context.

A plaque in the museum at Liverpool (Plate 29¹⁵)¹⁰⁵ shows a nude hero with a chlamys thrown over his left shoulder who leans on his lance and thrusts forward his right arm in a vivid gesture of speech. He is associated with a seated lyre-player, with whom he has no iconographical connection. This type of speaking hero is so similar to that of Hippolytus on a number of Roman sarcophagi as, e. g., the one in the Lateran (Plate 29¹⁶)¹⁰⁶ where he addresses Phaedra and rejects her love proposal, that he can be identified as the same hero from the same scene. Robert has clearly demonstrated¹⁰⁷ that the literary source for the whole group of Hippolytus sarcophagi is none other than the *Ἴππόλυτος δεύτερος ἢ στεφανίας* of Euripides, and consequently our ivory too can be considered as an illustration of the passage in which Hippolytus, in a very excited state, vigorously repudiates Phaedra with the words (lines 601 f.):

O mother Earth, unveilings of the sun,
 What words unutterable have I heard!

 I have heard horrors—should I hold my peace?

Knowing thus for sure that an illustrated *Hippolytus* was available to the ivory carvers, we may look for more figures from this drama in their repertory. A plaque in Dresden (Plate 30¹⁷)¹⁰⁸ represents once more a nude hero with the chlamys

¹⁰⁵ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, no. 30e.

¹⁰⁶ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. III, 2, 1904, pl. LII, no. 167.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁸ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 18. A replica of this type occurs on a plaque in the Martin Le-Roy collection in Paris. *Op. cit.*, pl. X, no. 24.

thrown over the shoulder and holding a spear. In the text of the ivory *corpus* this figure was compared with the Meleager statue of Scopas,¹⁰⁹ but at the time it was written the full implications of miniature models for this ivory group were not yet realized; in the writer's present opinion it is not very likely that 10th century ivory carvers used classical marble statues as models which could hardly have survived in great numbers in mediaeval Byzantium. Moreover, besides these general considerations two more reasons speak against the previous identification. First, the stance of the ivory figure is not at all that of a statue, but that of a person walking to the right and in doing so, turning his head around in a *contrappòsto* movement that is lacking in the Meleager statue. Secondly, the ivory shows at the left a rock on which stands a little statue or idol, and since we have no reason to doubt that both parts of the panel belong together, their association would be difficult to explain in connection with the Meleager story.

A figure of a very similar type with the same *contrappòsto* stance and holding the lance in a similar fashion occurs on another Hippolytus sarcophagus in the Musée des Antiquités at Istanbul (Plate 30¹⁸),¹¹⁰ and on the basis of this similarity the ivory figure may once more be called Hippolytus. On the sarcophagus he is moving to the right, leaving the stage for the hunt after having repudiated Phaedra for her vicious love and casting a last embittered glance at her. It is the scene which immediately follows the repudiation and now Hippolytus tells Phaedra that he is going to leave her (line 659):

Now from mine home, while Theseus yet is far,
I go, and I will keep my lips from speech.

The text of the play makes it quite clear that there were two statues of goddesses visible on the stage, one of Artemis, to whom Hippolytus offers a wreath (lines 73 f.) and the other of Aphrodite to which Hippolytus' old servant points (line 101):

Even Cyprus, there above thy portal set.

It is difficult to decide which one is represented in the ivory, since the carver apparently no longer understood the proper meaning of this statuette. The fact of its complete nudity would favour Aphrodite, were it not that we have always to reckon with the inclination of the ivory carvers gradually to eliminate all drapery in order to turn the figures into putti. None of the sarcophagi exhibits either statue in this particular scene. But that of Aphrodite, in the type of the *Anadyomene*, is depicted in a mosaic from Antioch,¹¹¹ which in many ways is a more literal illustration of the text and

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29, 32 and fig. 14.

¹¹⁰ H. Lechat, "Deux sarcophages du Musée de Constantinople," *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XIII, 1889, p. 319 and pl. IV. Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, no. 151.

¹¹¹ Weitzmann, in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, p. 233 and pl. 67, no. 140 B.

at the same time more directly influenced by a stage performance than the representations on the sarcophagi. Thus we see in the statuette of the goddess a detail in which the ivory is more faithful to the archetype than the sarcophagi.

The same statuette with the wreath in its hand is represented again in a plaque, likewise in Dresden (Plate 30¹⁹),¹¹² which undoubtedly belonged to the same casket, and so we are justified in assuming that in this case too we are dealing with a scene from the same Euripidean play. Hippolytus, as we might once more call the naked hero with the chlamys thrown over the shoulder and the inevitable lance, leans with his left hand upon the pedestal of the statuette. This gesture is meaningless and must be considered a mistake on the part of the ivory carver which in all probability resulted from a condensation of the model, necessitated by the narrow format of the plaque. An extended hand in front of a statue can only mean that the hero offers a sacrifice. It will be observed that the pedestal is much too wide for the statuette and so it seems to us that the massive structure may be the result of a fusion of an altar with the pillar on which the goddess stands. Moreover, the scene in the ivory must be a mirror reversal—not unusual in the process of copying—since an offering is naturally deposited with the right rather than the left hand. The left leg of Hippolytus is lifted so that the figure makes a curious jumpy impression, not quite proper in the present situation. Here we have once more to take into account the carver's inclination to give him a more putto-like appearance; in a replica, a silver relief made after an ivory, on a casket in Anagni (Plate 30²⁰)¹¹³ the posture is more natural with both feet touching the ground. Though better in this detail, the silver relief also shows the same fusion of altar and pedestal, which apparently was already made in the first transformation from a miniature model into an ivory.

A sacrifice is offered by Hippolytus to Artemis and the gift is a wreath according to lines 73 f.:

For thee this woven garland from a mead
Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.

So the statuette—and this applies also to the figure in the other plaque (Plate 30¹⁷)—can only be that of Artemis in spite of her nudity, with which, consequently, the ivory-carver must be accredited. The idol holds a wreath, and since this is the very object Hippolytus is supposed to offer, it may well be that this attribute was meant to represent the hero's gift. Yet it is doubtful whether the classical model represented a wreath in Artemis' hand, since according to the text we would expect it to be placed upon the altar, and so we must again reckon with the possibility of a mistake by the carver. On Roman sarcophagi the sacrifice of Hippolytus occurs twice,

¹¹² Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 17.

¹¹³ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LXXIX, no. 242g.

in each case on a lateral side. On a sarcophagus in the Lateran, the same which represents the speaking Hippolytus (Plate 29¹⁶), the hero approaches the goddess in the company of another hunter instead of a servant as the text of the drama suggests (Plate 30²¹).¹¹⁴ Moreover, Hippolytus is not offering a wreath, but holding a lustral bowl out of which he pours a libation upon an altar. This altar and the pedestal of the statue stand so closely side by side, that their fusion into one structure in the ivory becomes quite understandable. In the second example also, a sarcophagus in Florence (Plate 30²²),¹¹⁵ the libation is repeated, and this deviation from the text may well be explained, as Robert suggested, by the artist's desire to depict a more conventional and more generally understood form of sacrifice instead of the specific one described in the drama. Thus we nevertheless see in the ivory, though the subject-matter is no longer understood, a reminiscence of a more literal illustration of the sacrifice. In the Florence sarcophagus the statuette stands on a rock instead of a pedestal, but it is difficult to say which of the two is the more original form, because we have seen that in the first Dresden plaque (Plate 30¹⁷) the statuette likewise stands on a rock, so that within the ivories we find the same two different forms. Hippolytus holds a lance in the Florentine relief without leaning upon it as he does in the Lateran sarcophagus, and in this regard he agrees rather more with the ivory figure, though he points the lance in the other direction. However, the posture is not quite the same and it seems rather more likely that the sculptors of both sarcophagi copied a libation out of another context, and that only the ivory figure gives a true reflection of the archetype.

Altogether we have no less than three different types of Hippolytus among the ivories and each from a scene which can be identified on the basis of the sarcophagi. Once more it becomes clear that the ivory carvers did not have single scenes or statues before their eyes, but a cyclic illustration.

THE STHENEBOEA (?)

The same side of the Veroli casket which on the right plaque contains the sacrifice of Iphigenia, has on the left among heterogeneous elements a scene easily identified as Bellerophon with Pegasus (Plate 31²³).¹¹⁶ The winged horse is eagerly drinking from the fountain Peirene¹¹⁷ and the young hero, nude, save for a mantle which is

¹¹⁴ Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, no. 167a.

¹¹⁵ Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, no. 171a.

¹¹⁶ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, no. 21b. Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, col. 341-42 and fig. 1. A replica of this group on a casket formerly in Vienna (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, pl. XV, no. 28d) is rough in style, but more precise in the indication of the water of the fountain.

¹¹⁷ The woman in front of Pegasus has sometimes been identified as the nymph Peirene, but in the above-quoted replica, where she stands at the left of Bellerophon, she clearly shows in her hand a torch which excludes the interpretation of its bearer as a nymph.

thrown over the left shoulder, holds a lance in the left hand and in the right the golden reins which Athena had given him for the taming of the horse—an episode which is told in Strabo and other sources.¹¹⁸

A very similar group of Bellerophon with the drinking Pegasus occurs on a child's sarcophagus in Athens which comes from Lycia (Plate 31²⁴),¹¹⁹ and in spite of small differences in the posture of the legs and the attitude of the arm which holds the reins, the composition of these two monuments agrees to such an extent that the assumption of a common archetype seems well justified. Important for our problem of cyclic connections is the fact that the same front side of the sarcophagus contains at the left another scene which depicts a different episode of the Bellerophon story although the hero himself is not present. We see a noble woman seated on a chair and engaged in dispute with a bearded man standing in front of her, who holds in his left hand a tablet, the key to the explanation of the scene. The woman is Stheneboea who has fallen in love with Bellerophon, and who, after being repudiated by the chaste youth, calumniates him before her husband Proetus with whom the bearded man is to be identified. Thereupon Proetus decides to rid himself of the young hero and sends him to Iobates with a fateful letter, the very one which he holds in his hand.

Such a discourse between the vicious wife and her angered husband took place in the *Stheneboea* of Euripides,¹²⁰ and since its representation is a pendant to the Pegasus scene, one must at least reckon with the possibility that both come from the same literary source, and that therefore the latter may also be derived from the same Euripidean play. Wilamowitz has pointed out that the winged horse was actually brought on the stage in this play,¹²¹ although surely not in the scene which has to do with the capture of the horse at the fountain Peirene. Yet it seems quite probable that before the showing of the horse on the stage—probably in the second part of the drama when Bellerophon returns from his exploit of killing the Chimera—the spectator has been informed, perhaps by the chorus, about the capture of the famous horse. We have ample evidence that in the cyclic illustration of a drama scenes were illustrated which were not shown on the stage but only told by a messenger or the chorus—the sacrifice of Iphigenia is a typical example—so that an illustration of the capture of Pegasus would by no means be strange in the picture cycle of a drama which merely narrated this episode.

If the sarcophagus were of the normal frieze-type in which one mythological

¹¹⁸ Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Bellerophon, cols. 760 f. [Rapp].

¹¹⁹ Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. II, 1890, p. 146 and pl. L, no. 138. C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, Part I, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, 1924, p. 24 *passim* and fig. 72. Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, cols. 341-42, fig. 3.

¹²⁰ Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 f.

¹²¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Class. Phil.*, III, 1908, p. 229. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd ser., 1933, p. 135.

theme is developed in several phases, we might be quite sure about our supposed relationship between the two scenes. But unfortunately we are dealing with a sarcophagus which contains a mixture of very heterogeneous themes such as a fight between a centaur and a lapith, a drunken Heracles supported by Pan and a satyr, the capture of the palladium and the erection of a tropaeum. The front side is the only one which shows any semblance of a coherent program, since even the figure of Aphrodite writing on a shield can be related to the Bellerophon story, especially the scene of Pegasus at the fountain Peirene because of Aphrodite's importance as the protective goddess of Corinth. Yet, considering the lack of a program for the sarcophagus as a whole, the possibility must be left open that of the two scenes of the frontside, only the discourse of Stheneboea with Proetus goes back to the Euripidean *Stheneboea*, and that Bellerophon with Pegasus was taken over from another illustrated text, and we must admit that our proposal of a common origin remains in the realm of hypothesis.

This brings to an end our list of ivory types which can be related with a varying degree of accuracy to Euripidean plays. It is quite possible that among the considerable variety of types more figures from illustrations of dramas are hidden, some of which may be detected in the future.

III. THE MINIATURE OF DAVID'S WELCOME BY THE WOMEN OF ISRAEL IN THE PARIS PSALTER

It is not likely that the copying of classical miniatures, including those from various Euripidean plays, took place in special scriptoria which confined themselves to this branch of illumination. It is not only a more reasonable assumption but there is good evidence that mythological and other classical miniatures were produced in the same scriptoria, chiefly that in the palace, which primarily manufactured Christian books, and that the revival of pagan illumination, patronized by the learned humanists, was only a secondary branch, though a very important one. Most probably the same artists illuminated Christian and pagan texts side by side, and this resulted in a mutual relationship between the two branches of book illumination. With this in mind we may better understand the infiltration of classical figure types in the best Christian manuscripts of the 10th century such as the well-known Psalter manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 139¹²² and the Joshua rotulus in the Vatican, cod. Pal. gr. 431,¹²³ for there is evidence that the painters of both these manuscripts even used in part the same classical models. Since, as we have tried to show in the earlier part of this study,

¹²² K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 178 ff.

¹²³ Weitzmann, *The Joshua Rotulus, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance, Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, III, 1948, pp. 73 ff.

illustrated Euripides dramas were among the classical models whose miniatures were quite frequently copied, even in other media such as ivory carving, it can hardly be surprising to find reflections and borrowings from them in Christian miniatures. In the following lines we shall try to prove Euripidean influence in a miniature of the Paris Psalter (Plate 32²⁶)¹²⁴ which has often puzzled scholars because of its unusual and in many ways strange and seemingly illogical elements.¹²⁵

This miniature represents David's return to Jerusalem after the killing of Goliath and his welcome by the women of Israel (I. Reg. XVII, 54 and XVIII, 6-7). There are certain odd features in it which do not very convincingly convey the idea of this text passage. First of all the text speaks of many women while the picture represents only one who, in addition, is very badly drawn. The body of this dancer is depicted from the back, but the head is thrust around at such an angle that it would better fit a frontal figure, and this impression of a double view is strengthened by the fact that the left arm—as seen by the spectator—is in reality a right arm which makes sense only for a frontal figure, whereas the right arm—once more from the spectator's viewpoint—is rendered correctly. Apparently the figure is a combination of a rear and a frontal type, resulting from a fusion of a model which, in correspondence with the text, contained more than one dancer. There are other odd features: the dancer is confronted by Saul whereas David, seen from the back, stands aside, being relegated to a second place. Such an arrangement is quite contrary to the meaning of the text, according to which David is the celebrated hero, who, therefore, should be the one greeted by the woman. Moreover, David should hold the head of the slain Goliath in his hand, but in the miniature he simply holds a lance. Furthermore, there is a woman standing in the center of the background in a very quiet attitude who is surely not dancing and who cannot be explained by the text. Finally the dancer should come out of the city of Jerusalem, but the column with the foreshortened architrave at the left does not suggest a city and neither does the building with the portico at the right.

In endeavoring to trace the iconographical history of this scene, it must be made clear from the outset that the biographical cycle from the life of David, which in the manuscripts of the so-called aristocratic Psalter recension precedes the text of the psalms, was not invented for the Psalter.¹²⁶ The basic text from which the miniatures were composed is the Book of Kings, and thus we should expect to find there the most original rendering of our scene. Fortunately the one illustrated copy of the Book of Kings which has come down to us, the codex Vat. gr. 333, a manuscript of the 11th century, does possess a miniature of our scene (Plate 31²⁵),¹²⁷ but it is conceived

¹²⁴ H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du V^e au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. V.

¹²⁵ H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London, 1938, p. 23 and pl. V.

¹²⁶ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 107, 132.

¹²⁷ J. Lassus, "Les miniatures Byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XLV, 1928, pp. 38 ff.

in a very different way. David marches in front of the Israelite soldiers, carrying the head of the slain Goliath high up on the giant's spear,¹²⁸ and is greeted by a whole chorus of women dancing and merrily making music. They have come out of the city of Jerusalem which is represented in the conventional fashion as a walled city with a huge gate in the front. This picture is a perfect illustration of the biblical passage, but all that has survived of this coherent composition in the miniature of the Paris Psalter is just one single dancer. Moreover, we have evidence that this far-reaching alteration did not take place in the first aristocratic Psalter, because we still have other Psalter manuscripts of the same recension which follow more closely the tradition of the Book of Kings. A manuscript in the Vatican, cod. gr. 752 of the 11th century, which has as an illustration of the 151st psalm the same cycle from the life of David which usually precedes the first psalm, shows in this scene David with the head of Goliath on the spear, being greeted by a dancer,¹²⁹ a composition which is an abbreviation of that in Vat. gr. 333. So only at an advanced stage of the Psalter illustration can the compositional change, as we see it in the Paris miniature, have taken place.

This change is too fundamental to be explained as a mere deterioration or by a process of a gradual transition with intermittent stages. We rather have the impression that a compositional scheme was adapted which was originally invented for a different context where the distribution of the figures and their attitudes made better sense. We hesitate to ascribe this innovation to the mediocre illustrator of this miniature of the Paris Psalter and should prefer to give credit for so important an alteration to the painter of its immediate model, which may not have been much older, and to make the Paris copyist responsible only for the crude mistakes in the designing of the figures. The picture for which the compositional scheme was invented can, in our opinion, still be determined: it represented Iphigenia among the Taurians as she meets Orestes and Pylades at the steps of the temple of Artemis, a famous picture which is preserved in several Pompeian frescoes and, somewhat simplified, in a considerable number of sarcophagi.

One of the copies which shows a close similarity to our miniature is the fragmentary fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, today in the Naples museum (Plate 33²⁷).¹³⁰ Iphigenia, accompanied by her attendants—the chorus of captive Greek maidens according to Euripides—has just come out of the interior of the temple and is suddenly confronted by Orestes and Pylades of whom only a few traces are left but who formed a group well known from other copies (Plates 34-35²⁸⁻²⁹). In

¹²⁸ For this motif which is not quite in agreement with the text, cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 175 ff. and fig. 174.

¹²⁹ E. T. Dewald, *The illustrations of the MSS. of the Septuagint*, Vol. III, Part 2, *Vaticanus Graecus 752*, Princeton, N. J., 1942, p. 40 and pl. LIII.

¹³⁰ C. Robert, "Iphigeneia in Tauris," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXIII, 1875, pp. 133 ff. and pl. 13. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 96, 167 and fig. 16. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff. and pl. 118. E. Löwy, "Iphigenie in Taurien," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, pp. 86 ff. and fig. 10.

the figure of Iphigenia we recognize the prototype of the woman who in the Psalter miniature stands in the center of the background. Only minor changes were made by the Byzantine illustrator: in the fresco Iphigenia gathers up her garment and shows part of the free leg, but, as archaeologists have repeatedly pointed out, this gesture is not entirely proper for a priestess and is unique among the classical monuments, which normally show her garment falling down to the feet just as in the miniature. The left arm is held over the thigh very similarly in both fresco and miniature, whereas the right arm is not raised in the latter, partly because it would not in any case have been fully visible behind the dancing woman of the foreground, and partly because the miniaturist omitted the himation, which Iphigenia holds in the fresco, and confined himself to the long, sleeveless chiton. In her hair the woman in the miniature wears a band which apparently is a simplification of the classical wreath and the serious look in her eyes—so little suited to the joyous occasion of David's triumph—seems to be a reflection of Iphigenia's melancholy mood.

Now the strange architecture in the miniature also becomes understandable: it is a reflection of the temple of Artemis. The building takes exactly the same place in the composition of the miniature and is seen from the same angle, as can be observed in the foreshortened ceiling whose perspective lines are a remnant of the design of the coffers. Iphigenia, however, no longer stands between the columns but outside of the temple. Her displacement was probably made so that she might be totally visible, since in her original position she would have been partly overlapped by David and Saul.

Even the strange type of David can be explained by the classical Iphigenia picture: it is an adaptation, though admittedly not a very successful one, of the figure of Orestes who is lost in the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, but is preserved in several other copies, the most beautiful being that of the fresco of the Casa del Citarista, now in Naples (Plate 34²⁸).¹⁸¹ Here Orestes, forming a close-knit group with Pylades, stands at the left, while a more recently discovered fresco in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale at the Via dell' Abbondanza (Plate 35²⁹)¹⁸² shows the two friends in mirror-reversal at the right as in our miniature. Like David, Orestes is seen from the back and turns his head, which is slightly inclined, to the left. Of course, some adjustments by the Byzantine copyist were necessary, since David had to be clothed and the fettering of the arms behind his back to be abandoned. In making these alterations the weakness of the copyist and his dependence on the classical model become particularly clear: the right arm is clumsily drawn in order to hold the lance in front of him, but the shoulder and upper arm are left in a position more appropriate to a

¹⁸¹ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 158 and pls. 115-116. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 167 and fig. 27. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 822; III, fig. 663. Löwy, *J. d. I.*, 44, 1929, p. 86 and fig. 1. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 244 and figs. 142-143 and elsewhere.

¹⁸² V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei*, 1928, pl. 119. G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura Ellenistico-Romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. XXV. Löwy, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, p. 102 and pl. I.

fettered arm behind the back. With the left arm the miniaturist did not quite know what to do: beside the chlamys, thrust over the left shoulder, there is about level with the hip a feature which looks like an elbow, but the raised forearm is not made clear. It also is in agreement with the group in the fresco that Saul should be seen in frontal view like Pylades, but in this case the miniaturist does not adhere to the classical model so closely as in the figure of David. Saul is seen advancing towards the left, facing one of the dancing women of Israel and extending his right hand in a gesture that may be interpreted as approval or astonishment. Probably the miniaturist was able to make use of the figure of Saul in the same Psalter picture from which he took the dancer. Thus, as far as the figure of Pylades is concerned, the influence of the classical fresco is confined merely to the particular place of Saul in the composition, i. e., at the left of David, just as in the Pompeian fresco Pylades stands closer to the center than Orestes. It is in this very point that the iconography of the miniature, as we mentioned before, is in disagreement with the biblical text according to which David should be confronted with the dancing women.

Within the classical monuments the same group of the two friends occurs in two different scenic connections. In the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus (Plate 33 ²⁷) Orestes and Pylades are faced by an Iphigenia who has just come out of the temple for her first meeting with the two prisoners in order to prepare their sacrifice and who is accompanied by attendants one of whom carries a sword for the cutting of the lock, whereas in the fresco of the Casa del Citarista (Plate 34 ²⁸), the Casa di Pinario Ceriale (Plate 35 ²⁹), and several other replicas, Iphigenia holds the idol of Artemis with which, towards the end of the Euripidean play, she goes to the seashore pretending to purify it though her real intention is to escape from the land of the Taurians. It is self-evident that the group of the two friends can only have been invented for one of the two scenes and that in the other it must be an infiltration. Archaeologists are divided on this issue. Robert, Rodenwaldt, and Löwy defended the composition of the house of Caecilius Jucundus as the original one, arguing that the group of the fettered friends is iconographically better suited to the situation which immediately precedes Orestes' recognition, while Herrmann and Diepolder ¹³³ decided for that of the Casa del Citarista, chiefly because of its greater artistic quality and unity. The fresco in the house of Caecilius Jucundus was the only one known so far that represents the first meeting, leaving aside a small fresco in frieze form from Herculaneum ¹³⁴ which is only loosely connected with it since it represents another type of Iphigenia. To this may now be added the model of the Psalter miniature as a proof that this first meeting of Iphigenia with the two friends was not quite as unique as it might appear from the extant frescoes.

¹³³ H. Diepolder, "Untersuchungen zur Komposition der römisch-campanischen Wandgemälde," *Röm. Mitt.*, XLI, 1926, pp. 71, 75 ff.

¹³⁴ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and pl. 117 A.

Yet in other respects the model of the miniature is closer to the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale. It will be observed that the building behind Saul and David not only limits the number of columns to two as against the three in the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, but that the entablature above the two columns breaks off at the right and does not continue over an adjoining column which, perhaps for lack of space, may not have found a place in the miniature. Moreover, the two columns rest on pedestals and not directly on a stylobate as, in conformity with the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, one would expect from a representation of a classical temple. These, then, are clear indications that we are not dealing with a temple but the central door, the *porta regia*, of a Greco-Roman *scenae frons* as seen in the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale. Here, too, the central door is framed by a pair of columns on pedestals, and it is merely due to the simplifications of the miniaturist that he omitted the steps between the pedestals which in any case would have been hidden behind the figure of Saul.

There are still other details which can now be explained in relation to stage architecture. Each of the two columns shows an ornamented metal band around the shaft. Similar metal bands occur on columns in other miniatures where apparently an influence of a representation of the *porta regia* is discernible, as, e. g., in the picture of St. Mark in the Rossano Gospels.¹³⁵ Their function is to hold back the curtains, the *cortinae*, as becomes clear by looking at the miniatures of certain Byzantine evangelists, like those of the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. E. V. 11,¹³⁶ who sit in a niche of the hyposcenum above which two columns of the *porta regia* are visible with curtains fastened to such metal bands.¹³⁷

Yet, in spite of this connection between the architecture of the Psalter miniature and that of the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale, we have no reason to assume that the model of the miniaturist was a fresco in the fourth Pompeian style with its elegant and slender architectural forms. In contradistinction to this fanciful decoration the columns of the miniature are much more solid and surely closer to representations of real stage architecture. We may envisage a model where the actors were set before a stage background more like that in a mosaic from Antioch which represents a scene from the Euripidean *Iphigenia at Aulis* (Plate 36³⁰)¹³⁸ in front

¹³⁵ A. Muñoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907, pl. XV.

¹³⁶ K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. XXII, nos. 119-120.

¹³⁷ The connection between the background of certain Byzantine evangelist miniatures and the Greco-Roman *scenae frons* has been firmly established by A. M. Friend in his two basic articles on the portraits of the evangelists, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 143 ff. and *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 8 ff. We can expect from his pen a new and thorough study on the evangelists in the theater background in the near future. While writing the paragraph on the theater background in the present study, I discussed the problems repeatedly with Professor Friend and I wish to express my thanks to him for many helpful suggestions.

¹³⁸ Cf. note 4.

of a *scenae frons* of much greater reality. Moreover, this Antioch mosaic helps to explain another detail of our miniature, namely, the column with the high entablature behind the dancing woman. This obviously fragmentary architecture can, of course, not be explained as an abbreviation of a city picture of Jerusalem which we would expect to see in this place by analogy with the miniature of the Vatican Books of Kings (Plate 31²⁵). The column does, however, become understandable as part of the colonnade of the *scenae frons* and as such it may be compared with the short column on a high pedestal in the upper left corner of the Antioch mosaic where likewise only a small section of a richer stage scenery is made visible. The rocky ground in the miniature on which the column stands, as well as the landscape elements behind the quietly standing woman, are most likely copied from the biblical model showing David's return to Jerusalem.

Out of these various evidences we can fairly well reconstruct the working process of the Psalter painter. Obviously he used and conflated two models. One was a biblical miniature of the same subject from which he copied, as is now clear, nothing more than the dancing woman, some landscape elements and perhaps certain features of the figure of Saul. The other model, which he used more extensively, was a miniature representing the first meeting of Orestes and Pylades; this contained a type of Iphigenia similar to that in the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, since the priestess' lowered left arm does not suggest that it might have held an idol as in representations of the second meeting. At the same time this figure composition must have been set in a *scenae frons* as in the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale though the architectural structure had greater solidity and may therefore have had a greater resemblance to the setting in the Antioch mosaic. Such an Iphigenia scene must have been quite elaborate and more sumptuous than the terse illustrations of narrative cycles which we have seen in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature and the ivory caskets and whose ancestry leads back into the beginning of Hellenism. Like the psalter miniature itself, it was in all probability a full-page miniature in a codex containing a series of Euripidean tragedies. This type of illustration, however, was not possible in book illumination before the invention of the codex at the end of the first century A.D. and before the introduction of parchment that alone permitted richer coloristic effects similar to those in fresco painting.¹³⁹

In Figure 1 we reproduce a reconstruction of the classical miniature which, in our opinion, served as the model of the Psalter painter;¹⁴⁰ from this drawing we may understand some details of the Psalter-miniature more clearly and also learn the reasons for its various compositional alterations. The perspective in the ceiling of the *porta regia* makes it quite clear that this central part of the stage did not occupy the center of the picture but the right half, as does the temple in the fresco of the

¹³⁹ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴⁰ This drawing was executed by W. F. Shellman to whom I am much indebted for his kindness.

house of Caecilius Jucundus. In this respect the Psalter-miniature and its model differ from the fresco of the Casa di Pinario Ceriale where the *porta regia* is centered and where Iphigenia is placed between the friends on the one side and Thoas on the other. Consequently there is no place in our reconstruction for the figure of Thoas, and in this respect also it agrees with the former fresco. Whether the model showed a gable over the *porta regia* we cannot tell. If the model had the same format as the Psalter-miniature (as assumed in our reconstruction) there may not have been space enough for this architectural detail which would be required in a total view of the *porta regia*. Moreover, the architrave is depicted as resting directly upon the columns since its slightly raised position in the Psalter-miniature looks rather like an alteration by the Byzantine illustrator.

In the center of the *porta regia* stood Iphigenia, no doubt at the top of a flight of steps which led up to the stylobate of the temple as well as the door of the *porta regia*. According to the text (lines 469 ff.) she should be accompanied by maid-servants, but since their number and types vary considerably in the frescoes from the house of Caecilius Jucundus and the casa di Pinario Ceriale, and since, furthermore, no maidservant is depicted in the fresco from the casa del Citarista, we cannot even be sure that the model contained these figures. For this reason we have preferred to omit them altogether.

But with Iphigenia standing between the columns of the *porta regia* there was no place on the same side of the picture for the group of the two friends; we have therefore transferred Orestes and Pylades to the left side which is the position they occupy in the frescoes from the house of Caecilius Jucundus and the Casa del Citarista. Thus it seems merely a coincidence that David and Saul take the same place at the right side of the composition as Orestes and Pylades in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale, and we should rather regard both as independent instances of the kind of mirror-reversal which occurs so frequently in classical and mediaeval art.

Having moved Iphigenia out of the *porta*, the Psalter painter filled the space between the columns, which was only partly taken up by the upper parts of the bodies of Saul and David, with an additional feature. Between the left column and the back wall there is visible a huge cube which can hardly have existed in this spot in the model since it has no function in stage architecture. Similar cubes occur very frequently in the sister manuscript of the Paris Psalter, the Vatican Joshua rotulus where they are used as insertion motifs between two adjacent scenes.¹⁴¹ Several of these cubes in the rotulus have volutes on the top whereby they are characterized as altars. This suggests that the cubes themselves are derived from altars. The Psalter painter also makes use of this insertion motif more than once: In the miniature of the prayer of Hannah¹⁴² a cube fills the space between the building with the door and the left border; similarly,

¹⁴¹ K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua-Roll*, pp. 57 ff., 76.

¹⁴² Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XI. Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.

in the picture with the Penitence of David¹⁴⁸ a cube with a volute, i. e., an altar, is used as a prayer desk for the personification of Metanoia. There is an additional reason to assume that the cube in our Saul and David miniature has something to do with an altar. In the fresco of the Casa del Citarista there actually is an altar in the foreground which is required on textual grounds as the one towards which Iphigenia proceeds, and there is even a second one on the stylobate behind Thoas' bodyguard. We may thus believe that the mysterious cube in the Psalter picture is nothing but an altar which has been transferred from the foreground to its present position, because in the Old Testament scene it would have been an obstacle between Saul and David on the one side and the dancing woman on the other.

By assuming such a transposition of the altar in the Psalter miniature, several odd features in it will become understandable. It will be observed that the left pedestal is drawn in wrong perspective compared with the other pedestal, the ceiling and the cube. Moreover, it can be shown that the left pedestal was drawn in later after the figure which in the model represents Iphigenia had already been executed. The foreshortened side of the pedestal conflicts with the left foot of the woman's garment. These errors are most easily explained by the assumption that the whole left pedestal was invisible in the model and therefore had to be made up by the Psalter painter after the transposition of the altar to its present location. For this reason the altar, which is copied from the fresco of the Casa del Citarista, is designed in our drawing in such a way that it conceals all the faulty details of the Psalter-miniature.

Finally, the column which in the Psalter-miniature is visible behind the dancing woman provides the evidence for the existence of a colonnade as part of the *scenae frons*. In a real stage background such a colonnade had, of course, to be linked with the *porta regia* as indicated in the drawing. Whether there were two columns in the model, as indicated in the drawing, or perhaps only one or even three, is conjectural. We can only be certain that the entablature was seen from underneath in perspective as can be gathered from the Psalter miniature where a strip covered with a rinceaux beside the capital suggests such a soffit.

The general impression of the reconstruction drawing, as regards the figure scale in relation to the fairly abbreviated but solidly built theater architecture, is somewhat similar to the mosaic of Antioch. This panel is to be dated in the second or third century A.D., which would also be a reasonable date for the model of our miniature. At that time the codex which, as we know from the earliest extant copies, had a square format was firmly established. This format, then, was also used for the full-page miniatures in it, but soon it changed into one that was higher than wide. The fact that the Psalter miniature shows a rather square format is in itself a sign of a classical revival, and it is therefore appropriate that our reconstruction drawing should likewise be of this ancient miniature format.

¹⁴⁸ Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII.

From the monuments involved in our analysis we may gain a clear picture of the various phases of the development of a monoscenic panel picture with a Euripidean theme like that of Iphigenia's meeting with Orestes and Pylades from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*.

(1) The first phase must have been a panel painting by a Greek master probably of the fourth century B.C. It represented the theme of the drama in strictly mythological form without any indication of the theater.

(2) Such a panel was copied, directly or indirectly, by the fresco painter of the house of Caecilius Jucundus (Plate 33²⁷), probably with few changes, though the exact relation of the Pompeian fresco to the Greek archetype can no longer be determined.

(3) In the course of the Roman period the setting of the scene was changed and the temple in a landscape transformed into the *scenae frons* with the *porta regia* (Plates 35-36²⁹⁻³⁰).

(4) After the invention of the codex such a picture, either in fresco or mosaic, was copied by a miniaturist in a full-page miniature (Fig. 1), probably as a frontispiece to the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, in a manuscript which may have had similar full-page pictures for other dramas as well.

(5) Such a codex was apparently preserved in the imperial library at Constantinople and available to the illustrator of a tenth-century Psalter who used the Iphigenia picture as a model for a scene of David's return to Jerusalem.

As in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, archaeologists have tried to relate the various frescoes representing Iphigenia's meeting with Orestes and Pylades to one masterpiece, namely, that of Timomachos, who according to Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 136) painted a famous Iphigenia. But Robert,¹⁴⁴ years ago, pointed out that Pliny's brief remark "Timomachi aequae laudantur Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris" is too vague and does not give the slightest clue for an identification of any of the frescoes with the famous masterpiece. Moreover, it is interesting to notice that Löwy, who in his article on the *Iphigenia in Aulis* defended so strongly the idea of the Timanthes picture being reflected in a certain group of monuments which we interpreted as scenes of a narrative cycle, took a different position with regard to the scenes from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Here he tried to break away from the notion of a derivation from a single, monoscenic archetype, and assumes as the original "a picture-cycle which had various scenes of the drama lined up side by side."¹⁴⁵ Yet it must be made clear that, if Löwy's thesis of a picture cycle is to be accepted, this can only mean a series of rather independent monoscenic fresco panels, and not a narrative cycle with a dense sequence of scenes from the same drama as is typical for illustrated papyrus rolls. Löwy, thus, introduced the cyclic concept where, in our opinion, it does not

¹⁴⁴ *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXIII, 1875, p. 147.

¹⁴⁵ *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, p. 93.

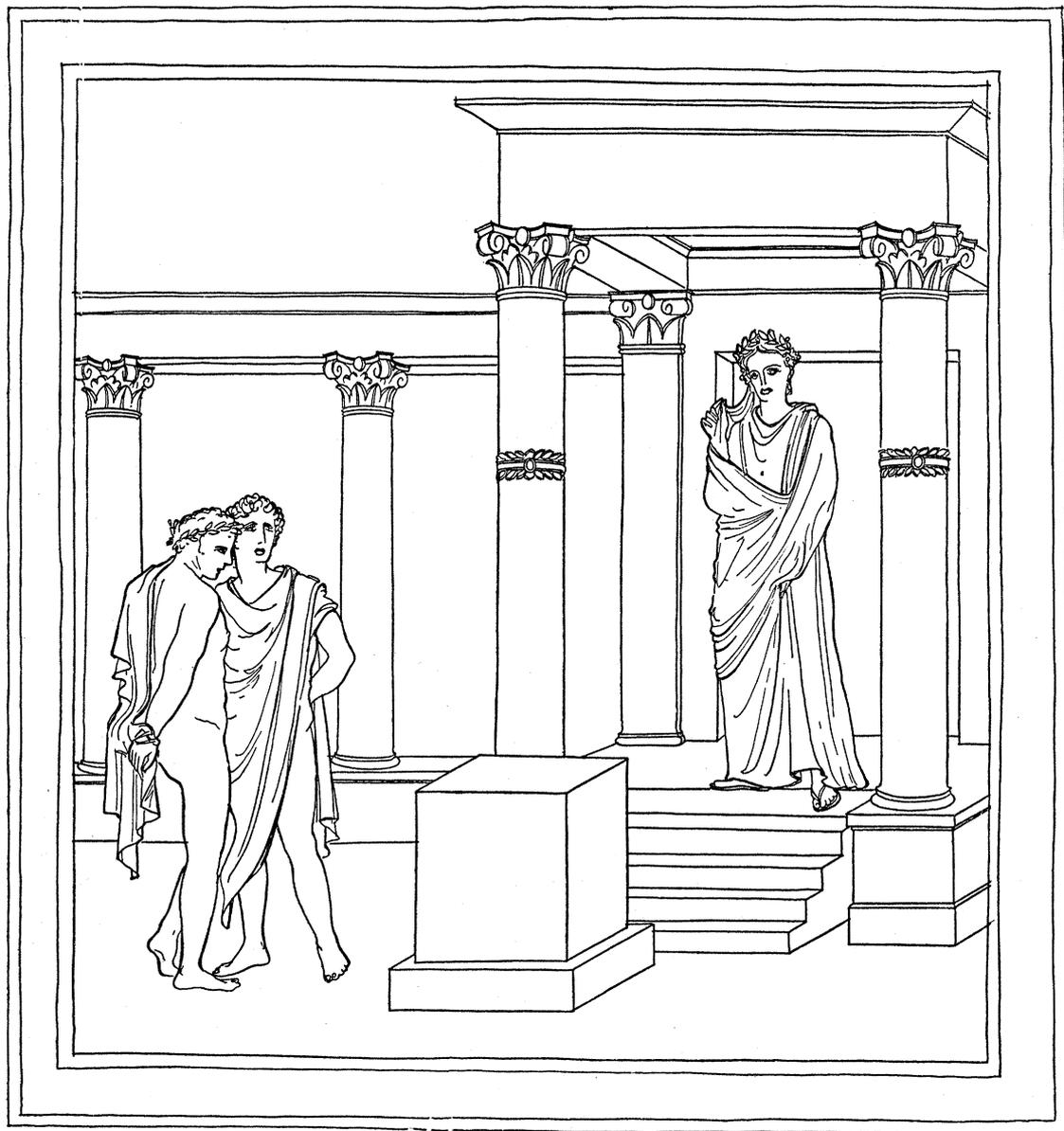


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Model of the Paris Psalter Miniature

meet the case at all well while denying its application to those scenes from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* in the ivories and related monuments which, it seems to us, show the cyclic method in particularly clear form.

As for the adaptation of a new compositional scheme which necessitated a complete reorganization of a traditional one, the miniature of David's welcome in the Paris Psalter is by no means unique.¹⁴⁶ There is in the 10th century, to quote one other example, a decisive change in the iconography of the Anastasis representation which can likewise be attributed to the influence of a classical composition. Whereas in the Anastasis before that period Christ is depicted either advancing towards Adam and offering him his hand for aid, or standing in a hieratic frontal position between Adam and Eve, in the new picture He grasps Adams' wrist firmly and drags him out of Hades, just as Herakles had dragged Cerberus out of the lower world. It was the well-known and established scheme of this Herakles deed which formed the basis for the new concept of the all important feast picture of Easter-Sunday.¹⁴⁷ In this case the adaptation of the new scheme was undoubtedly more successful than in our miniature of the Paris Psalter, and the iconographical history of the Anastasis reveals that this new type based on a classical model became the prevailing one.

Surely the first artist who adapted the scheme of Herakles and Cerberus did so not only for formal reasons but with a clear understanding of the meaning of his model. Christ is the conqueror of Hell as Herakles is of Hades, and Christ holds the triumphant cross as the ancient hero holds the club with which he achieved victory. This raises the question whether the Psalter painter likewise chose an Orestes type for David not only for formal reasons but with the full awareness of the similar fate of the two youthful heroes. Both were at that moment in which they are depicted in mortal danger of being killed, Orestes on the altar of Artemis and David as the victim of Saul's envy and hatred. Both escaped from this danger and their lives were saved, that of Orestes with the help of Pylades by escaping to the ship, that of David by escaping into the desert with the help of his friend Jonathan. Some such idea may well have determined the decision of the Psalter painter to use the Iphigenia picture as model.

The appearance of scenes from Euripidean tragedies in works of the Macedonian renaissance must, of course, be seen in the proper perspective. Euripides was only one of many illustrated classical texts, though apparently one of the essential ones, which were still available to miniaturists of that period. The number and variety of mythological scenes making their appearance in the manuscripts and ivories is quite considerable, but not for all of them is the basic text extant from which they were

¹⁴⁶ For more cases of this sort cf. the author's *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 173 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, p. 83 ff. and pls. II, no. 1 and IV, no. 3.

composed, since many of the classical texts that must still have existed in the 10th century afterwards perished. The Euripidean dramas themselves are a case in point. The *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and the *Hippolytus* we still possess, so that the survival of illustrations from these plays finds a simple and natural explanation, but it is much more surprising to find scenes from the *Aegeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades* and the *Stheneboea*. The question must therefore be raised whether there is any evidence that the imperial library in the 10th century still possessed the texts of these lost plays.

We are well aware of the implications of such a hypothesis. It has generally been agreed upon that about the 2nd century A.D.¹⁴⁸ a selection of Euripidean dramas was made for the use of instruction in schools, that for this purpose they were enriched by scholia, furthermore that an alphabetical collection of some of the Euripidean dramas was made about the same time of which a codex in the Laurentian Library is the sole survivor, and that after the establishment of these collections the other dramas fell gradually into oblivion. Yet it must be remembered that, with the exception of a very fragmentary codex in Jerusalem that is attributed to the 10th century, our knowledge is based on texts not earlier than the 12th-13th centuries. It is quite conceivable that before the plundering of Constantinople in 1204 the imperial library was still richer than in the period to which most of the extant manuscripts belong.

It has never been denied by philologists that in the libraries there still may have existed individual Euripidean dramas which were not incorporated in the popular collections, and there is evidence for the survival of at least a few of the lost plays.¹⁴⁹ Of course one cannot support the claim of such survivals by occasional quotations from Euripidean plays in the lexica of Photios or Suidas since these were most probably taken from Florilegia and therefore do not presuppose a knowledge of the dramas themselves. Nevertheless in the case of a few plays the assumption of a first-hand knowledge of them in the Middle Ages is justified, and it can hardly be considered accidental that among these are two of which we possess Byzantine illustrations. One is the *Stheneboea*, of which Johannes Diaconus in a commentary on Hermogenes quotes the Hypothesis and a large portion of the prologue.¹⁵⁰ Johannes Diaconus lived in the 11th or 12th century,¹⁵¹ at which time the play must still have existed, as well as another Euripidean play, the *Melanippe the Wise*, of which the same writer has likewise transmitted the Hypothesis and part of the prologue. The second play is the *Peliades* of which Moses of Chorene, a writer of the end of the 7th or the 8th century, likewise quotes the hypothesis.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 174, 195 f.

¹⁴⁹ U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁰ H. Rabe, *Rhein. Museum*, LXIII, 1908, pp. 147 ff.

¹⁵¹ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in Powell's *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd ser., 1933, p. 68 and 131 ff.

¹⁵² Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

It must not, however, be concluded from the existence of Euripides illustrations in the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian and the ivory caskets that in each case the texts of the Euripidean dramas from which the pictures were taken were also copied in the 10th century. It is entirely possible that Byzantine illustrators, in some cases at least, excerpted only the pictures from actual late classical manuscripts for insertion in other texts, instead of copying the dramas with their complete picture cycle. At the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to give preference to either alternative for it may be that both processes of copying took place, depending on the circumstances. But whatever the transmission of the text may have been, our miniatures provide, as we believe, evidence that at the time of the Macedonian renaissance a considerable number of Euripidean dramas with illustrations was known, either in classical manuscripts or later Byzantine copies, and that among them were the *Aegeus* and the *Ino*, the survival of which in the Middle Ages has not hitherto been recognized.

KURT WEITZMANN

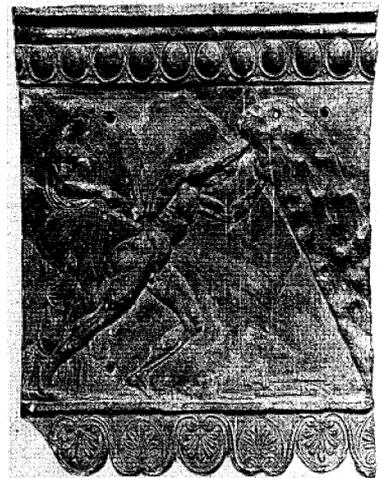
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INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY



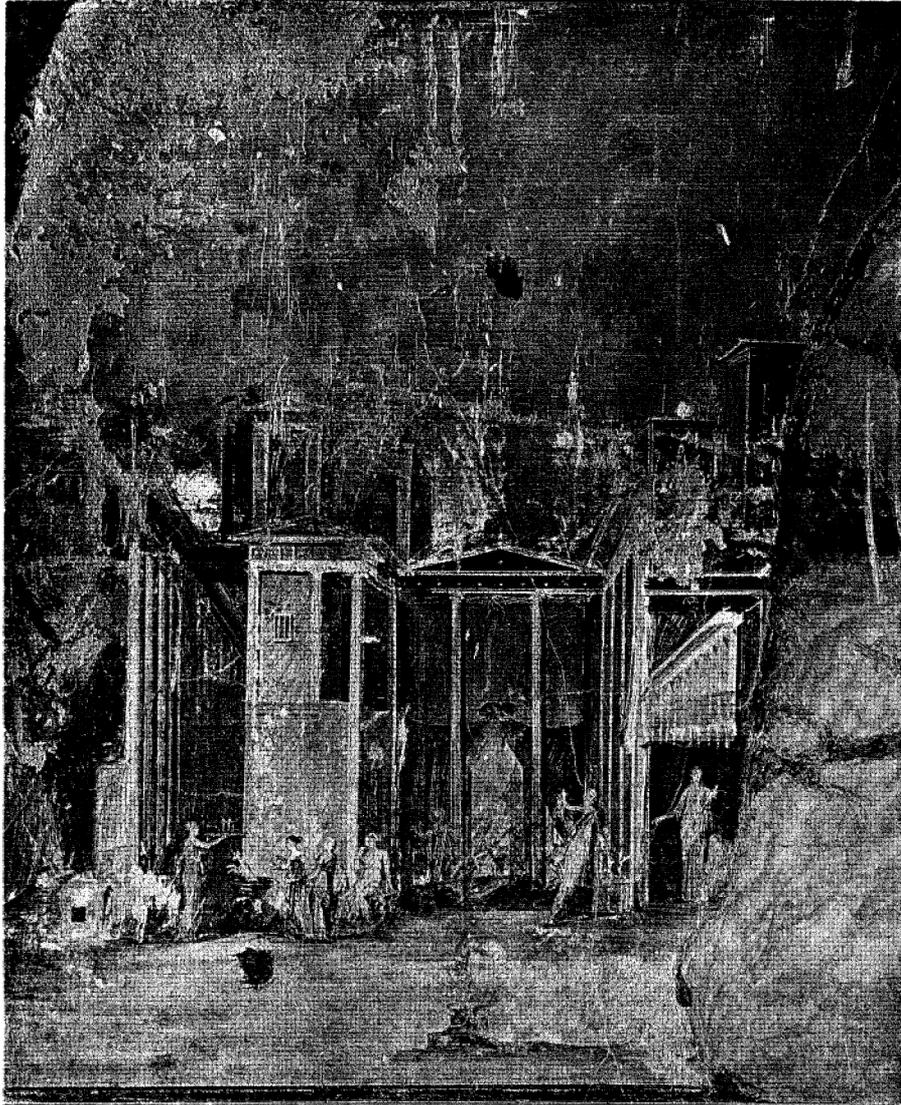
1. Venice, Marciana, Cod. gr. 479, Fol. 47r: Jealousy



2. Rome, Villa Albani. Relief: Theseus at Troezen



3. London, Brit. Mus. Campana-relief: Theseus at Troezen



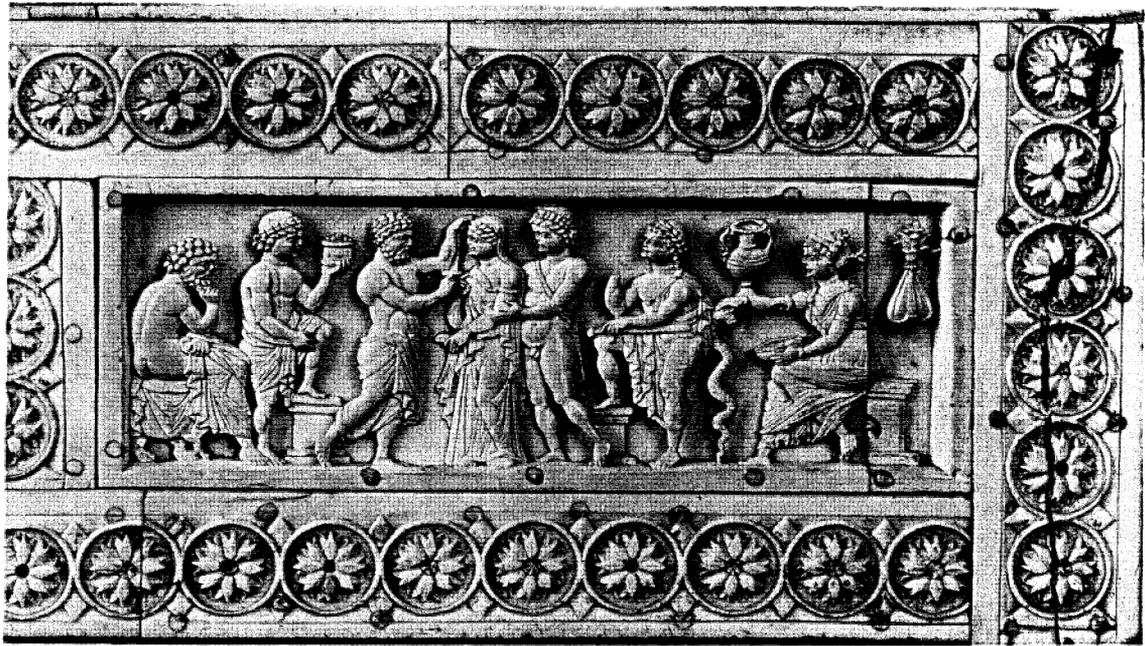
4. Pompeii Fresco: Medea and the Peliads



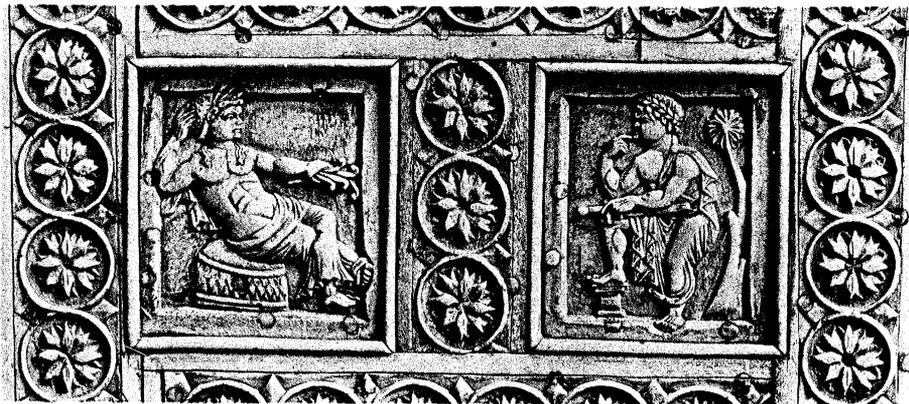
5. Paris, Cab. des Med. Amphora from Nola:
Medea's infanticide



6. London, Brit. Mus. Gem.:
Medea's infanticide



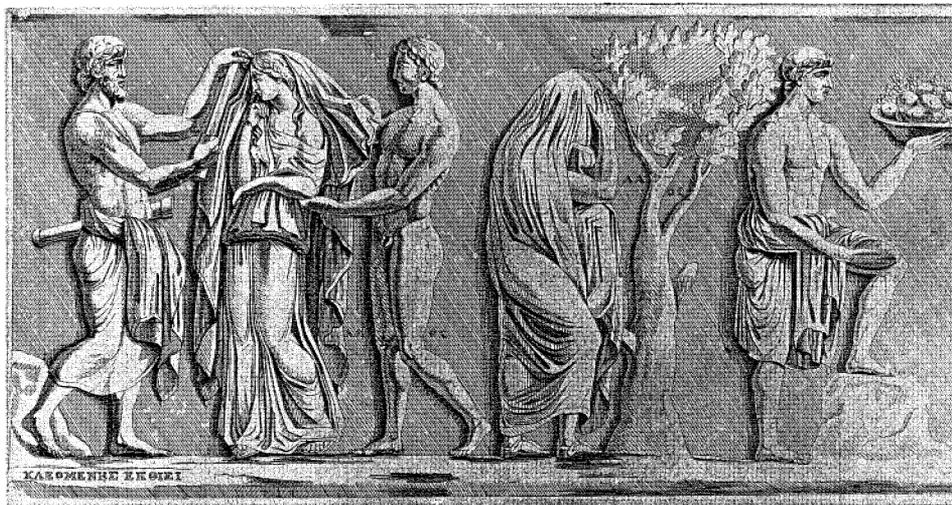
7. London, Victoria & Albert Mus. Veroli Casket: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



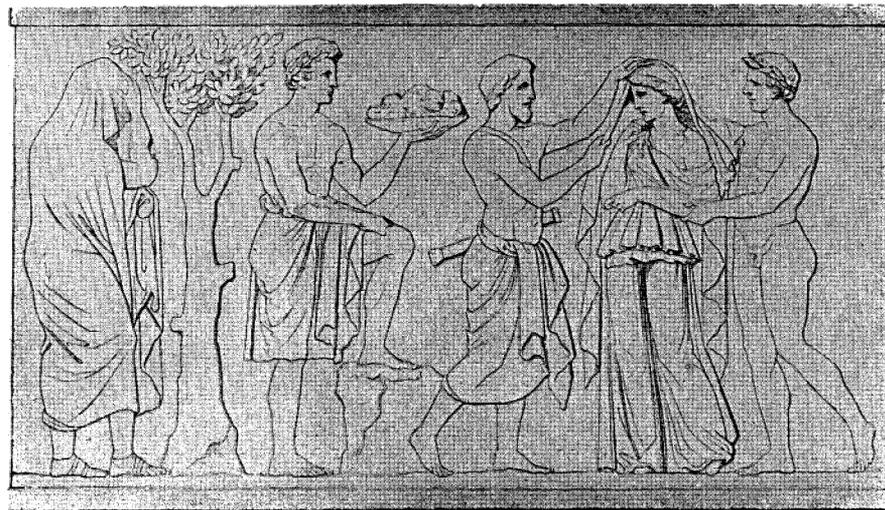
8. Paris, Louvre. Casket: Zeus and Menelaus



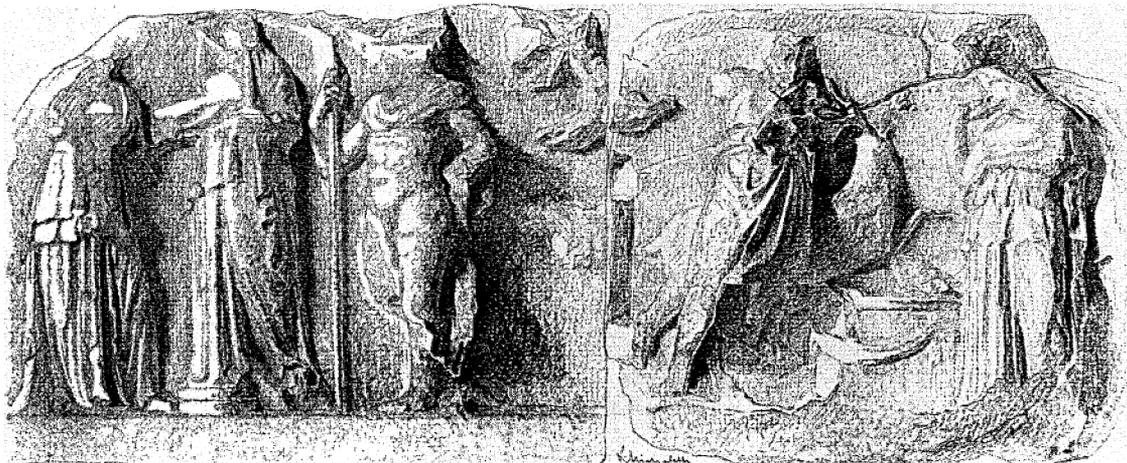
9. Florence, Uffizi, Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Michaelis)



10. Florence, Uffizi. Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Uhden)



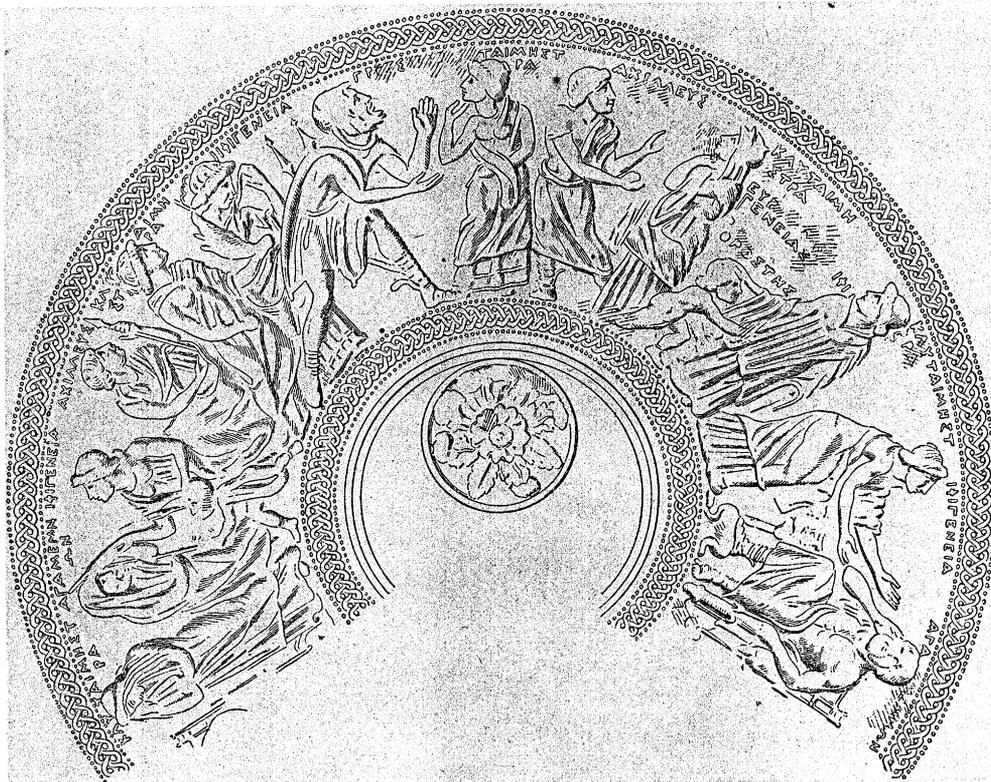
11. Florence, Uffizi. Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Raoul-Rochette)



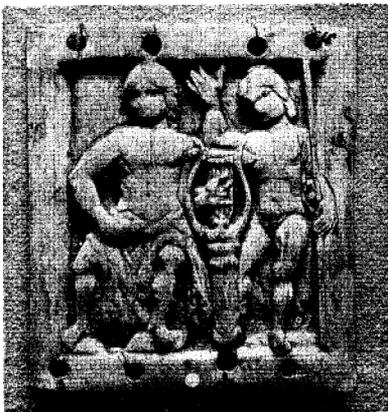
12. Termessos. Relief: Scenes from *Iphigenia at Aulis*



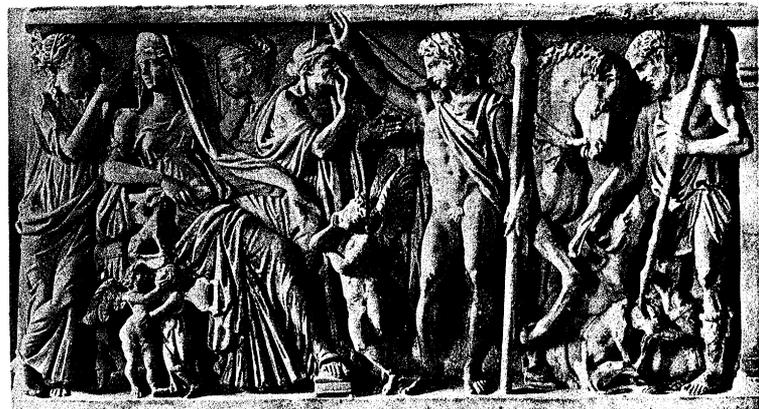
13. Paris, Louvre. Casket: Artemis



14. Berlin, Mus. Megarian bowl: Scenes from *Iphigenia at Aulis*



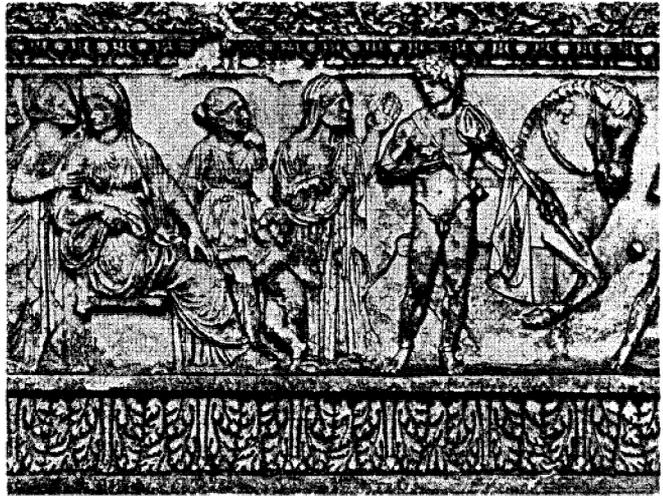
15. Liverpool, Mus. Ivory plaque: Hippolytus



16. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus (detail): Hippolytus



17. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. Ivory-plaque: Hippolytus



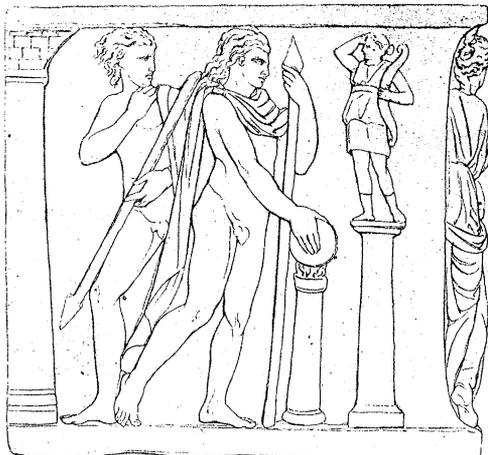
18. Istanbul, Mus. des Ant. Sarcophagus (detail): Hippolytus



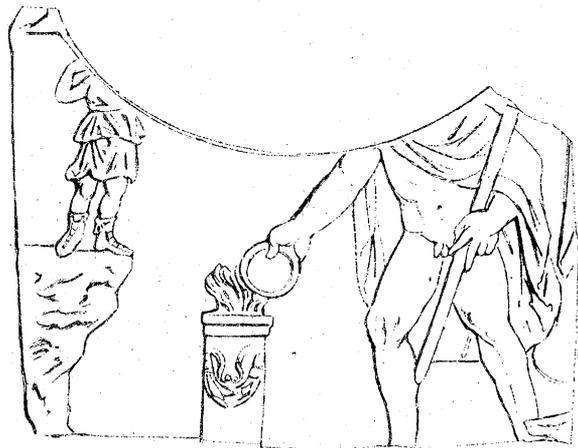
19. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. Ivory-plaque: Hippolytus



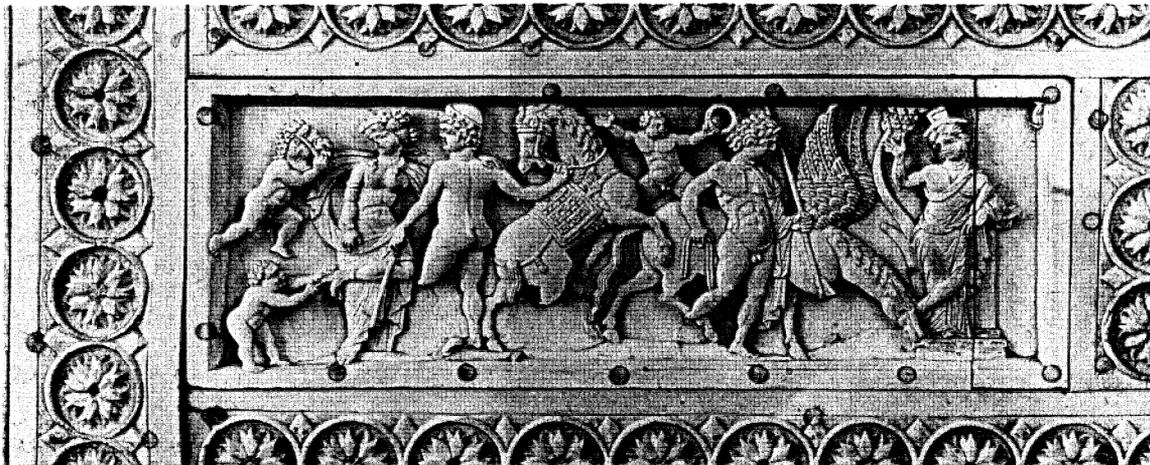
20. Anagni, Cathedral. Metal-casket: Hippolytus



21. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



22. Florence, Uffizi. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



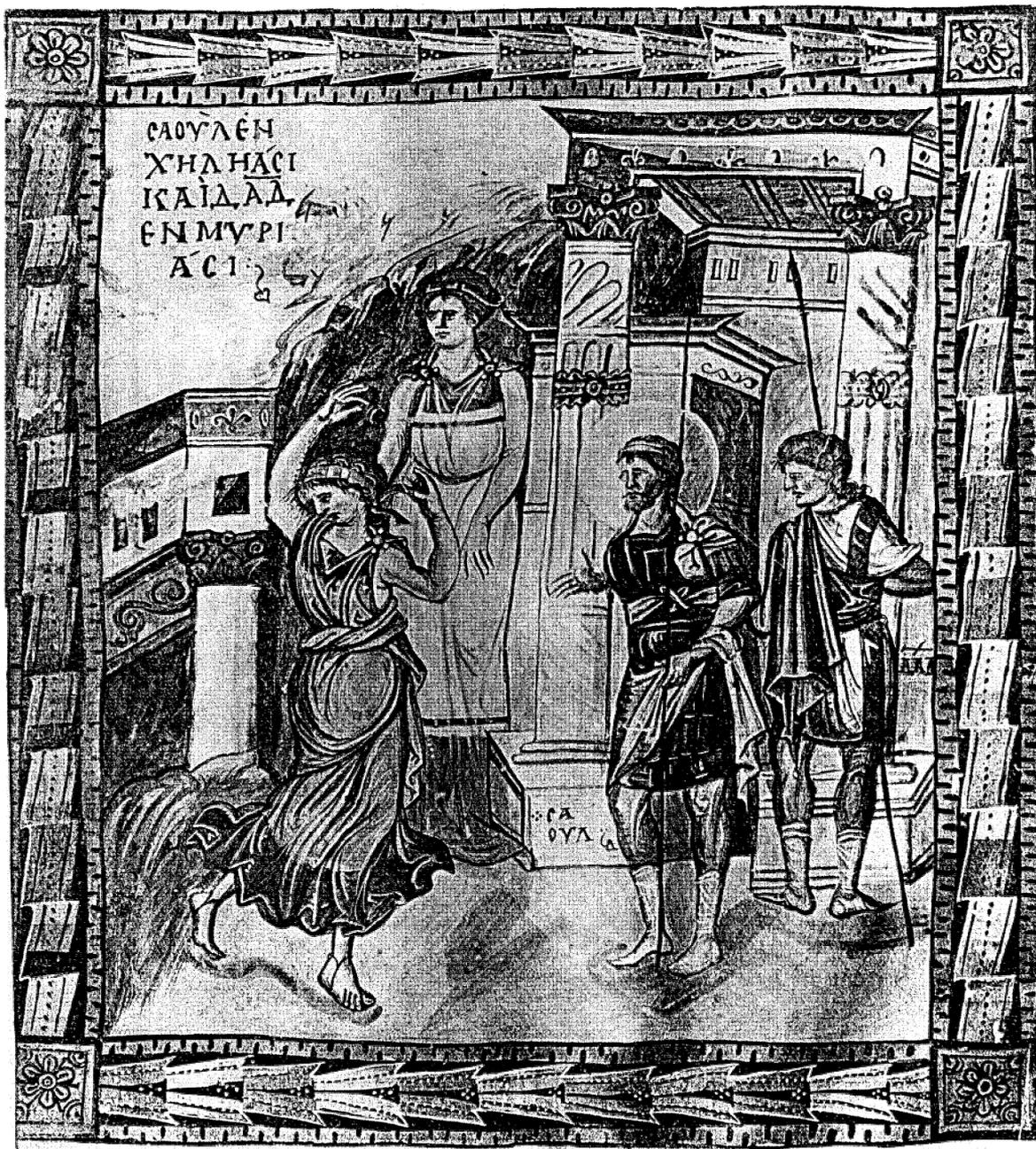
23. London, Victoria & Albert Mus. Veroli Casket: Bellerophon



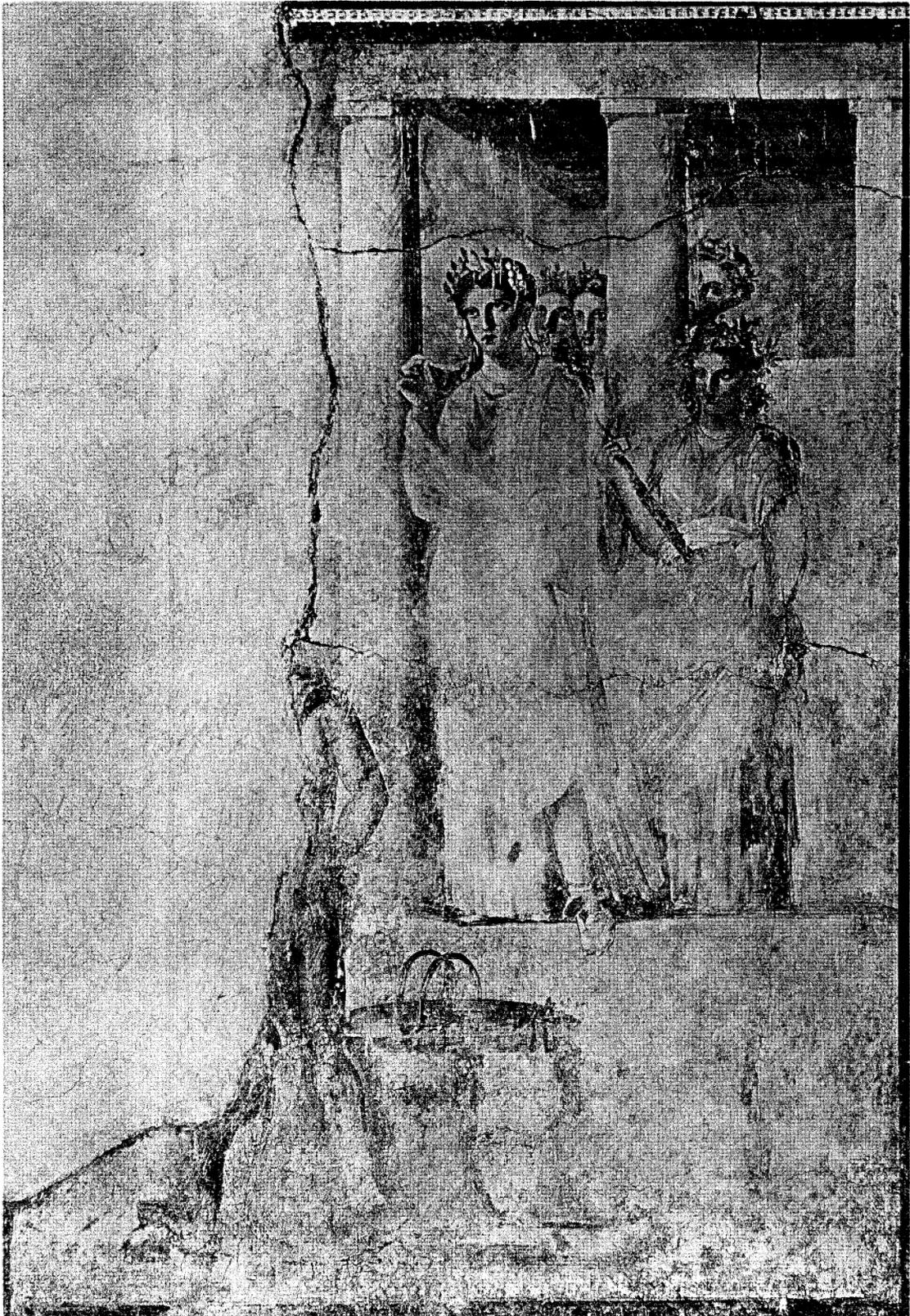
24. Athens, Nat. Mus. Sarcophagus: Bellerophon



25. Vatican Cod. gr. 333, Fol. 24r.:
David's welcome in Jerusalem



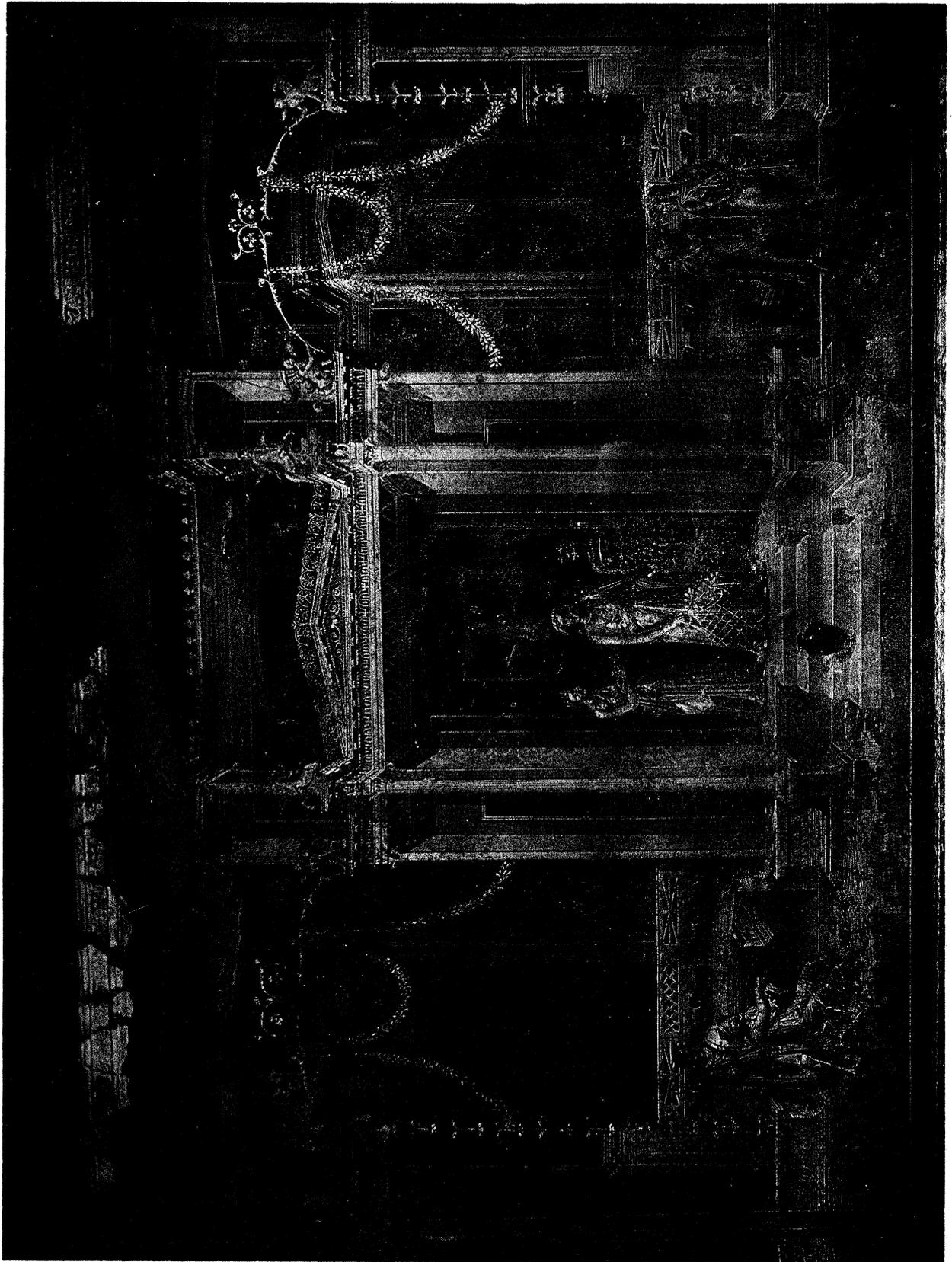
26. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 139, Fol. 5v. David's welcome in Jerusalem



27. Naples, Nat. Mus. Pompeian fresco from the house of Caccilius Jucundus:
Iphigenia among the Taurians



28. Naples, Nat. Mus. Pompeian fresco from the Casa del Citarista:
Iphigenia among the Taurians



29. Pompeii, Fresco in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale: Iphigenia among the Taurians



30. Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Mosaic: Iphigenia at Aulis