Originalveröffentlichung in: Clemente Marconi (Hrsg.), Greek Vases: Images and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by The Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23-24 March 2002 (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, Bd. 24), Leiden/Boston 2004, S. 85-96; Online-Veröffentlichung auf Propylaeum-DOK (2025), DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00006857

CHAPTER SEVEN

ODYSSEUS AND KIRKE. ICONOGRAPHY IN A PRE-LITERATE CULTURE

LUCA GIULIANI

My subtitle might require a few words of clarification. I shall be dealing with some images on Attic vases from the sixth and early fifth century B.C. Why do I consider the Athenian culture of this time to be a pre-literate culture? By this I obviously do *not* mean a culture in which nobody knows how to write. In Athens the contrary is the case. Even vase-painters (not necessarily among the most literate people) often make abundant and correct use of writing: the wealth of inscriptions on the Kleitias-krater is a particularly early and telling example.[1] Nevertheless in sixth and fifth century-Athens there is no such thing as literature—at least not in our understanding of the word.[2] Of course poets make use of writing for their compositions, but the final result is presented to the public as an oral performance, and not as a written text. This will only begin to change in the late fifth century;[3] by the fourth century we have several texts that have been written in order to be read. In the sixth and early fifth century this is not yet the case. Poetry has an audience—but it has no readers; or, to be more precise: there are only very, very few readers. Peisistratos as well as Polykrates seem to have been collecting literary book-scrolls.[4] If this is true, then readers in archaic and early classical times seem to have been a tiny elite, to which Athenian vase-painters certainly did not belong. When I speak of a

[1] Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209: *ABV* 76.1; Beazley 1986, 24–34; Simon 1976, 69–77, pls. 51–57. On the inscriptions a brief but illuminating comment is to be found in Havelock 1982, 26, n. 42: "such virtuosity I suggest springs not from literacy but the reverse; the word inscribed is a novelty to be exhibited."

[2] Havelock 1963 and 1982; Goody 1987, 60–77; Thomas 1992.

[3] Turner 1977; Pfeiffer 1968, 25–32; Woodbury 1976, 349–57; Burns 1981, 371–87; Detienne 1981, 61–72. For a skeptical account on the quantitative spread of literacy even in classical times: Harris 1989, 65–115.

[4] Ath. 1.3.

pre-literate culture I therefore mean a culture in which poetic writings are rare and far away from ordinary people. This rarity and remoteness of the written text is not without consequences for the production of images. Having no written text at hand, the artist can rely on nothing but his own memory of what he has heard. Now the remembrance of a text has its own laws.[5] The memory of the exact wording fades very quickly after hearing: what is stored in memory is a simplified version of the plot or of the argument; and this simplified version is not the result of passive mirroring but of active remodeling: to remember is an active, productive process. What vase-painters therefore translate into images is not the actual text: it is their own remodeling of this text.

But before we look at the vases let me briefly remodel the plot of the Kirke episode, as it is told in the Book X of the *Odyssey*. The boat of Odysseus and his companions is driven by a tempest to an unknown island. They land, exhausted and starving. Odysseus divides the men in two groups: he himself with one group remains at the ship; the other group, commanded by Eurylochos, leaves to explore the island. They come to a lonely house, which is guarded by tame lions and wolves: there lives the sorceress Kirke, daughter of Helios. The companions hear Kirke singing, and they call for her; "she straightway came forth and opened the bright doors, and bade them in; and all went with her in their folly. Only Eurylochos remained behind, for he suspected that there was a snare. She brought them in [. . .] and made for them a potion of cheese and barley meal and yellow honey with Pramnian wine, but in the food she mixed baneful drugs [. . .]. Now when she had given them the potion and they had drunk it off, then she presently smote them with her wand, and penned them in the sties. And they had the heads, and voice, and bristles and shape of swine, but their minds remained unchanged even as before" (230–40). Having witnessed the disappearance of his comrades, Eurylochos flees back to the ship in terror and implores Odysseus to leave the island at once. Odysseus refuses; as nobody wants to accompany him he sets forth to rescue the companions all alone. On his way he meets the god Hermes, who informs him about

[5] Bartlett 1932; see also Kintsch 1977, 33–62; Dijk and Kintsch 1978. For the ancient theory (and praxis) of remembering see Yates 1966; Sorabji 1972, 22–34; Small 1997.

Kirke being a witch, instructs him how to behave and finally gives him a magic herb as a protection against Kirke's spell. When Odysseus arrives at the palace he is welcomed by Kirke who offers him the same potion; thanks to the magic herb, the effect of the drink fails: now Odysseus draws his sword, menacing to kill her; at this Kirke immediately recognizes the hero, whose coming had been prophesied: "surely you can be not other than Odysseus, the man of ready device; so be it then; put up your sword in its sheath, and let us two then go up into my bed, that couched together in love we may put trust in each other" (330–35). Odysseus makes Kirke swear an oath, that she will not try to harm him anymore: then he makes love to her, takes a bath, and finally asks her to turn the companions back into human shape. After this, Odysseus and all the companions spend one whole year as Kirke's guests in perfect happiness: end of the episode.

And now let us turn to the vases.[6] I shall discuss three different iconographic types. The first type is represented by a famous cup in Boston, to be dated between 550 and 540 B.C. (Fig. 7.1).[7] In the middle of the exterior we see Kirke, naked and originally painted in white, in the act of giving her potion to one of the companions. This companion has a human body but a boar's head; all his fellows as well appear to be partially transformed into animals. Only two men show no sign of transformation: one is rushing into the scene from the left, with a drawn sword: it must be Odysseus; the other is fleeing to the right: it can be none else but Eurylochos.

The possibilities for the representation of the companions' metamorphosis are very different in a text and in a picture. The poet obviously has no problem whatsoever: he simply tells us how Kirke transforms the companions into swine and how these, even in their new animal shape, maintain their human minds and weep in their sty. But how can the painter succeed in showing this? He can depict the companions as swine: but in this case the beholder will simply see swine, and not men in the shape of swine. And if he depicts them as men, then how is the beholder supposed to understand that

[6] Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 81–131; Buitron et al. 1992, 78–94; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Kirke 48–59 (F. Canciani).

[7] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.518: *ABV* 198; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 86f. no. 171; *LIMC* VI (1992) pl. 25, Kirke no. 14 (F. Canciani).

there is a transformation going on? The only way to solve the problem is to show the beginning and end of the transformation, giving the companion a shape half-human and half-animal.[8]

In the *Odyssey* the poet lets Kirke transform all companions into swine. The choice of this species is abasing and has, on top of this, a most dangerous connotation: swine are kept for no other reason than to be slaughtered and eaten. The companions, having just escaped from the cave of the men-eating Cyclops, find themselves again in a very similar danger. The painter has renounced such narrative implications, putting his accent on zoological variety: we see a lion, two boars, an ovine and a dog, with fore-legs usually matching the heads; not without exceptions though: the companion in front of Kirke has a boar's head but human hands—he needs them to get hold of the cup from which he is about to drink.

We see Kirke in the act of mixing and offering the potion: at the same time the magic has already had its effect, giving all the other victims the head of animals. The painter has shown different moments, which—from the point of view of the chronology of action—are not compatible with each other. Similar, but even more conspicuous is the coincidence between Eurylochos running away to the right and Odysseus arriving from the left: according to the epic narration Odysseus intervenes *after* having heard Eurylochos' report. Obviously the painter is not interested in temporal coherence.[9] He simply wants to stress the boldness of the hero by contrast with Eurylochos; for the same reason he depicts a second companion fleeing to the left and gives him, symptomatically, the head of a lion, the bravest of all animals.

The painters' aim therefore was to give a general view of the whole plot, and first of all to emphasize the peculiar qualities of the two main characters: Kirke's supernatural power and erotic appeal as well as Odysseus' bravery. But one thing this picture does not show: the direct confrontation between the two. Being occupied with her magic, Kirke takes no notice of Odysseus who is approaching from behind. Wanting to tell most of the story, the painter renounced the showing of its climax, its dramatic turning point. Understandably enough, later painters have made a very different kind of choice. This leads us to the second iconographic type.

---

[8] Davies 1986, 182–83.
[9] Himmelmann 1967, 74.

Let us consider two lekythoi from the early fifth century B.C.: one in Athens (black-figure, around 480: Fig. 7.2)[10] and one in Erlangen (red figure, perhaps 10 or 20 years younger than the former: Figs. 7.3–4).[11] Both vases concentrate on the opposition between hero and witch. On the lekythos in Athens we see Kirke in the same attitude as on the Boston cup. She is not naked anymore, but correctly dressed in normal female clothing. She is standing besides a *diphros*, from which apparently she has just risen. In front of her Odysseus is sitting on a rock. Even though close to each other, they belong to different spheres: Kirke to the inside of the house, Odysseus to the outside of wilderness. We shall meet a similar dichotomy again in our third iconographic type. Behind Kirke a boar-man is moving off to the left, unable or unwilling to help: apparently at some previous occasion he has drunk a potion of the kind Kirke is now offering to Odysseus. The scene concentrates on the turning point of the whole episode. Let's hear Odysseus' own report: "When she had given me the potion and I had drunk it off, yet was not bewitched, she smote me with her wand, and addressed me: Begone now to the sty, and lie with the rest of your comrades. So she spoke, but I, drawing my sharp sword from beside my thigh, rushed upon Kirke, as though I would kill her. But she, with a loud cry, ran beneath and clasped my knees" (319ff.).

Two different kinds of magic are involved here, spell and counter-spell: Kirke's potion and the magic herb, given to Odysseus by Hermes. Both kinds of magic are based on something apparently harmless (a drink, an herb) having an unforeseen effect: this discrepancy between appearance and effectiveness poses no problem in a narration, for it can easily be described in words: but how is it to be depicted? The painter of the Athenian lekythos has used several means to solve this problem. Normally one would expect the skyphos in Kirke's left hand to contain nothing but wine; but in this case it cannot be something that harmless; Kirke holds a little stick in her right hand, with which she obviously has been stirring the potion; now wine is never to be stirred; the stirring in itself is sufficient to

[10] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1133: Haspels 1936, 256.49; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 89f. no. 176; *LIMC* VI (1992) pl. 26, Kirke no. 17 (F. Canciani).

[11] Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander Universität 261: *ARV*^{2} 651.21; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 94 no. 183; *LIMC* VI (1992) pl. 26, Kirke no. 22 (F. Canciani).

promote the idea of a dangerous mixture. This idea is additionally supported by the presence of the boar-man. But what about the counter-magic? It would have been pointless to provide Odysseus with some perfectly harmless looking plant. Instead of doing this, the painter has relied upon the significance of gestures and attitude. Odysseus is sitting on his rock in a perfectly relaxed position, his legs crossed, the right hand holding his spears, the left resting on his thigh; the hero is looking straight at Kirke, but without reacting to her offer: as a matter of fact he is leaning backwards, moving away from the skyphos in her hand: his whole attitude is clearly one of refusal.

The lekythos in Erlangen shows the situation after the turning point. The painter has employed the common iconographic scheme of an armed man pursuing a woman.[12] We would not be able to give the man and the woman proper names, were it not for Kirke's traditional attributes: she holds her wand in the left hand; turning round to her pursuer she has opened her right hand, dropping the skyphos and the little stick—a most effective way of stressing the abruptness of the action.

If we compare the two lekythoi with the Boston cup, then a general problem begins to emerge. On the cup we had a strong characterization of Odysseus and Kirke but no direct confrontation, no temporal coherence, no climax of action. The two lekythoi-painters seem to have made exactly the opposite choice: both concentrate on the interaction between Odysseus and Kirke and try to bring the action to a climax. But is the moment depicted really a climax? On the Boston cup Odysseus appeared as a daredevil; not much of this heroic temper is still to be seen on the Athenian lekythos, where Odysseus merely seems to refuse the drink he is offered: a very moderate way to express heroism. The Erlangen lekythos insists on action and reaction: but the iconography has lost much of its specific character. Kirke has turned into a fleeing woman: the mighty sorceress, oscillating between cruelty and erotic appeal, is hardly to be recognized. Kirke has retained her essential attributes such as wand and drinking bowl—but mainly in order to drop them. The emphasis on the direct interaction seems to involve a considerable loss of complexity on the level of characterization. Is there no possible way to

[12] Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, 3–7, 29–47.

show direct interaction without giving up the plenitude of characters, to combine suspense and thick description?

This leads us to the third and last type of the iconography. By far the richest representation of the Kirke episode is to be found on a cup from the Athenian Akropolis attributed to the Brygos Painter and dated between 490 and 480 B.C. (Figs. 7.5–7).[13] The cup is in fragments, and only about half of the whole is preserved: still it seems possible to reconstruct the original composition.[14] The interior as well as the obverse and reverse of the outside are devoted to the Kirke-subject: we are therefore dealing with three, closely connected images on one and the same vase. Let's begin with the interior (Fig. 7.5). The scene is inside the palace, designated by columns. We see Kirke moving to the right, the skyphos with the little stirring stick in her left hand. Just in front of her right shoulder we see the tip of Odysseus' sword, but this does not seem to impress her very much. Kirke has not cast down her eyes, as on the Erlangen lekythos: she and Odysseus are looking to each other at very close distance. This tête-à-tète and exchange of close looks is rather surprising in the context of armed aggression; it gives the whole scene a note of ambivalent intimacy that seems to anticipate the erotic continuation of the story.

[13] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis Collection 293: *ARV*[2] 369.5; Graef and Langlotz 1933, 25 no. 293, pls. 17–18; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 91 no. 178; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Kirke nos. 6 and 20 (F. Canciani); Shapiro 1994, 37.

[14] Starting point for any attempt at reconstruction are the two fragments showing the front and the rear part of a *klismos*: as the two are not compatible with each other (pace Langlotz), there must have been *two klismoi* (or, as we shall see, two depictions of one and the same *klismos*). The fragment with the rear part of the *klismos* on the outside shows, on the inside, the shaft of a column: this leaves only two possibilities; if the fragment cannot belong to the bottom of the column on the right of the inside-tondo (as Langlotz supposed), it can only belong to the upper end of a second column on the left. This means that the corresponding *diphros* finds its position in the right half of the obverse (side A). This gives us a clear structure: the right half of the picture shows the interior of a house, the left an open-air-scene; between the two there is a threshold with a column, the latter being exactly perpendicular to the axis of the handles. All the fragments that cannot be set in position on the obverse must belong to the reverse (side B). Here we shall find a very similar composition: an out-of-door scene on the left (where Odysseus has just stuck his two spears into the ground) and an interior (with the other *klismos*) on the right; again there might have been a column marking the division between in- and outdoors, even though on the preserved fragments no trace of it is to be found.

On the obverse of the outside (side A: Fig. 7.6) we see on the left an exhausted looking, bearded man, sitting beside a pile of luggage; high boots, a hat and a knotted stick characterize him as a traveler. In front of him there used to be two similar figures: only the feet are preserved, wearing the same kind of boots; all three must belong to a group of companions. In the foreground we see a boar and a panther, both moving to the right in a peculiar attitude with their heads down. Behind their forelegs we see the rest of a woman running to the right as well as a doorstep and the rest of a column. If the companions as well as the two wild animals belong to the outside, one would expect the threshold and the column to mark the limit between outside and inside: what follows to the right belongs to the inside of a house. Of this part of the vase there is only one fragment preserved: it shows the rear part of a *klismos*, covered by a wrap with a long fringe; behind the seat there is a woman in chiton and himation walking towards the left; to the right of the seat there is another woman, standing frontally, an oinochoe in her hand: probably a servant.

The strangest element in this picture are the boar and panther approaching the threshold, lowering their heads and politely lifting their left fore legs, like well behaved dogs. This is certainly not the behavior of wild animals! We find an exact parallel in the epic narrative. The companions approaching the palace of Kirke find "mountain wolves and lions, whom Kirke herself had bewitched: for she gave them evil drugs. Yet these beasts did not rush upon the men, but pranced about them fawningly, wagging their long tails. [. . .] but the men were terribly frightened" (210–19). On the cup too we see wild animals behaving in a most unnatural and surprising way. This behavior is a signal, in the epic text and on the cup as well, for some kind of dangerous enchantment. The text adds a narrative explanation, telling us that wolves and lions have been bewitched. The picture can offer no such explanation, for it is mute: it leaves it to the competent beholder to recognize panther and boar as victims of Kirke's witchcraft. The painter achieves a remarkable feat, suggesting a metamorphosis from man to animal without using a hybrid shape. The shape of boar and the panther is perfectly coherent and inconspicuous; the incoherence lies—much more cunningly—between shape and behavior. This is a highly sophisticated device; the painter obviously counts upon an attentive beholder who is able to enjoy such subtleties.

The attitude of panther and boar is one of greeting: they evidently react to somebody who is approaching from inside the house. This allows us to understand what is going on, even though so little of the figures is preserved. The woman running to the right cannot be the mistress, because she does not call for the attention of the two animals: she must be a servant who is hastening to inform Kirke about the arrival of the companions. Kirke is therefore to be recognized in the woman behind the stool, who is walking swiftly towards the door. One does not need much imagination to restore in her left hand (the sharply bent elbow is clearly to be seen under the himation) the skyphos with the potion: the same skyphos to be seen also in the interior of the cup. One more moment, and Kirke will step out of the door and greet the visitors, the magic drink in her hand.

In contrast to the painter of the Boston cup, the Brygos Painter does not show the actual metamorphosis, but the situation immediately before it. Odysseus' companions are shown as travelers, tired from a long journey but otherwise perfectly relaxed: they simply wait for the mistress of the house to welcome them. They obviously do not recognize panther and boar as men, who have been bewitched; and they have not the faintest idea of being in deadly danger. They do not know what the beholder knows. This contrast between the unawareness of the acting figures and the awareness of the beholder is a most successful means to create suspense (something that in painting is usually very difficult to achieve).

Of the reverse (side B: Fig. 7.7) even less is preserved. But the structure of the whole picture seems to have been very similar. On the right we have again the interior of Kirke's house; the scene on the left seems to have been outside, in front of the door; there might once again have been a column (even though nothing of it is preserved) to designate the limit between inside and outside. From the right half of the scene we have one single sherd with the part of a *klismos*. This seat is a perfect replica of the one we have already seen on side A (and the elaborate decoration has exactly this function: to make clear that both pictures show one and the same seat). The painter has taken great pains to repeat the same scenery on both sides of the cup: the point being that, in the same scenery, two very different actions are going on. On our sherd we do not see very much of the action: besides the stool we just see the rest of a female figure, her foot pointing to the right: there is no sign of movement or dramatic action here. At the very left end of the picture

we see two onlookers: one is sitting, one is standing in relaxed position, the right hand on his hip, two spears in his (missing) left. The similarity with the waiting companions on side A is evident: these two must again be some of Odysseus' companions. But next comes something completely new. We see Odysseus (the name is inscribed) in violent movement to the right, the scabbard on his left. He must have been holding the sword in his right hand (on the preserved fragment we still see the tip of the blade), and to gain freedom of motion he has stuck his spears into the ground. In front of the hero a woman is fleeing to the right, stretching her arms in an imploring gesture of fear; her chiton is in disorder, and one bare breast is appearing between the folds. Who is this woman? It cannot be Kirke herself: from her (remember the way she behaves in the inside tondo!) we would not expect such a lack of self-control; it must be a servant, fleeing in panic. The mistress is to be presumed in the right part of the image, inside the house, where there is yet (as far as we can see) no sign of action: Odysseus' attack seems to come unexpectedly.

For anybody who has read Book X of the *Odyssey* the whole scene is rather surprising. In the *Odyssey* the hero comes to Kirke as an apparently harmless traveler, and Kirke follows her usual procedure: she lets him sit on a richly adorned chair and offers him drink in a golden beaker. Only after having drunk, without the magic working, does Odysseus jump up: he draws his sword and turns into attack. All this makes a wonderful story for a narrator, but is extremely difficult to depict as dramatic action. The offering of a drink is not an event particularly suited to show a violent outburst of action and reaction. The Brygos Painter chose a completely different configuration. It is not by mere chance that he gave Odysseus quite the same attitude as on the archaic cup in Boston: Odysseus appears again as a heroic individual, drawing his sword and gaining entrance to Kirke's house. Kirke is overwhelmed not by the failure of her magic, but simply by the bravery of Odysseus' attack. The painter has modified the story, renouncing some elements of the epic narration, to the benefit of the pictures temper and vividness.

Not only Odysseus' attack is surprising; also surprising is the presence of his companions. In the epic narration Odysseus, having learned what has happened, asks Eurylochos to show him the way to Kirke's house. Eurylochos, still under shock, refuses. Odysseus accepts this refusal without getting upset: "do stay here in this place, eating and drinking by the hollow, black ship; but I will go, for

strong necessity is laid upon me" (270f.). These are the words of an authentic hero, who is not less trustworthy than he is brave; and he sets out all alone, ready to risk his life in order to rescue his companions, leaving all the others behind at the ship. From a functional point of view, the timidity of Eurylochos & Co works as a necessary contrast, laying stress on the courage of the lonely hero. The Brygos Painter pursues a very similar strategy, using the companions in a very similar function, and precisely for this reason he cannot renounce their presence in the picture: were they not in the picture, they would not be somewhere else, they would simply be non-existing. The painter needs them as passive, helpless onlookers, as a contrasting background for the action of the hero. To introduce the companions as onlookers is an excellent solution which perfectly fulfills the requirements of the pictorial medium; of course, choosing this option the painter deviated from the wording of the epic narration; but this does not seem to have worried him—even if he noticed it.

The archaic painter of the Boston cup had concentrated the whole story into one picture. Two generations later, this archaic way of storytelling was not considered satisfactory anymore: looking at the Brygos cup, one can easily understand why. The Brygos Painter divides the narrative plot into three pictures, each of them showing but one single moment. One side of the exterior shows the impending catastrophe, the other the beginning of rescue; both together prepare the climax of the final showdown in the interior tondo, where the two main characters finally meet and measure their forces face to face. The painter has succeeded in distinguishing three crucial moments; showing one after the other, he has gained a completely new possibility of putting the beholder in a situation of surprise and suspense. To produce surprise and suspense: this is what every storyteller wishes to do; for a painter this aim is extremely difficult to achieve—the Brygos Painter succeeded in doing so.

Let me end by returning to my starting point. I would claim that the rarity and remoteness of written narrative texts creates a favorable prerequisite for the success of narrative iconography. The text being far away, its wording is not binding for those who attempt to translate the narration into pictures. They can easily deviate from it, if any such deviation makes sense in their own medium: a painter may transform the companions into a variety of different animals (and not into swine) or he may use the companions of Odysseus as onlookers in a situation in which, in the *Odyssey*, they are altogether

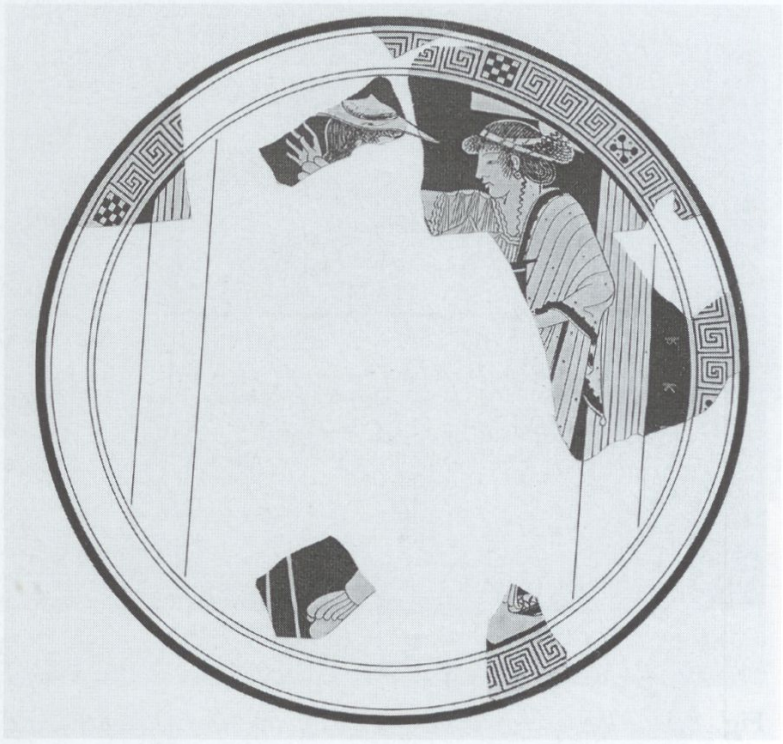
absent. The painters appear to have a certain degree of autonomy: their main aim is to construct vivid and forceful images, and not to avoid contradictions between the image and a text. In the horizon of a literate culture, where written texts are frequent and have a strong power of attraction, this autonomy of images can easily get impaired. My last example is a relief-tablet to be dated in the early first century A.D., the tabula Rondanini in Warsaw.[15] Its literary character is evident already from the subtitle: Ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως τῆς πρὸς Ἀλκίνουν τοῦ κάππα—one of the stories told at the court of Alkinoos in Book X (of the *Odyssey*). The tablet shows the rear part of the ship at the bottom left and the palace of Kirke on the rest of the surface; on his way from the ship to the palace Odysseus meets Hermes, who gives him the magic herb (inscribed: τὸ μῶλυ); next, inside the palace, we see Kirke on her knees in front of Odysseus; and finally we meet the two again: Odysseus in a pensive attitude and Kirke now rising her wand in order to turn the bewitched companions—Ἑταῖροι τεθηριωμέ(νοι)—back into human shape. There is no mistake in this image, no contradiction with the text: but also no surprise and no suspense. The picture, depending strictly on the text, has become what we might call an illustration.

[15] Sadurska 1964, 61ff. no. 11; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 104f. no. 205.

Fig. 7.1. *Odysseus and Kirke.* Attic black-figure cup, attributed to the Painter of the Boston Polyphemos (name vase), ca. 550-540 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.518, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Photo: © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 7.2. *Odysseus and Kirke.* Attic black-figure lekythos, attributed to the Athena Painter, ca. 480 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1133. From *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 13, 1892, pl. 2.

Figs. 7.3-4. *Odysseus and Kirke.* Attic black-figure lekythos, attributed to the Nikon Painter, ca. 470-460 B.C. Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander Universität 261. Photo: Georg Pöhlein, Erlangen.



Figs. 7.5-7. *Odysseus and Kirke.* Attic red-figure cup, attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 490-480 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis Collection 293. Photo: Hirmer. Reconstruction-drawings: B. Bergmann, Institute for Classical Archaeology, University of Munich.