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THE ANIMAL DIMENSION:

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE
SIGNIFICATION OF ANIMALS
IN
HOMER
AND
ARCHAIC ATTIC BLACK FIGURE VASE
PAINTING**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation, except where explicitly stated to the contrary in the text, is entirely my own original work

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the representation of specific types of animals as they occurred in Homer and archaic Attic black figure vase painting with a view to understanding how they were most likely perceived in antiquity. This involved determining the underlying concepts around which each animal was constructed by comparing and contrasting the imagery presented in the Homeric works and archaic Attic black figure vase painting. The primary objective was to suspend modern and westernized conceptions and to attempt to approach the animal as from an ancient perspective. The Homeric works were chosen as representative of the literary evidence since these poems offer the most complete, oldest extant literature and are the result of a dynamic and continuous oral tradition. Similarly, archaic Attic black figure vase painting was considered the most suitable corpus of artistic evidence since the 6th century BC was a time when the artists actively engaged with and manipulated their themes and subject matter within an established tradition; this artistic fabric presents a parallel with the Homeric evidence. As a result of this investigation, clear and discrete concepts and images were determined for each animal.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABV</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> (1956)
<i>ARV²</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters²</i> (1963)
<i>Add²</i>	T.H. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda²</i> (1989)
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>Para</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> (1971)
<i>Amyx</i>	D.A. Amyx, <i>Corinthian Vase-painting of the Archaic Period</i> (1988)
<i>ABL</i>	C.H.E. Haspels, <i>Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi</i> (1936).

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I

INTRODUCTION

Why animals?

Animals have always occupied a large role in all spheres of man's life. They have existed in every culture throughout the ages, they have been used as food, they have been considered both sacred and unclean, they have been revered and loathed, but above all, they stand as fundamental symbols and archetypes to which the human psyche relates.

The influence of the animal realm was strongly felt in the ancient Greek culture. Even though the ancient Greek world-view was fundamentally anthropocentric, it is striking how consistently animals existed as an integral part of the people's lives. Evidence of this lies in both their literature and their art. For decades, scholars have inferred meaning from the evocative similes within the Homeric works. Much time has been spent looking at how the animal imagery impacts and comments on the stature and standing of the person to whom the animal is being compared. More recently, symbologists have begun to interpret the potential significance of animals that are represented in the visual mediums. Here, the scholars study the interrelationship and the dynamics between the various components of the scene in an attempt to determine the potential symbolism of the context.

It has become clear that the scholars were generally working on the assumption that the character of the animal was already understood. On this assumed understanding,

meaning was then imported into the particular context, but from a modern perspective. As with all ancient cultures one has to mediate between cultures that are separated by time and circumstance. For instance, if the word "dog" was arbitrarily offered as an example, immediate associative images and connotations spring to mind; images that all depend on one's own personal and vicarious experiences. As a result, this led to my developing a curiosity as to how the ancient specifically perceived the various members of the animal kingdom. Hence, rather than looking at how the animal imagery affected the human characters, the task required that I go back to the conceptual stage where the animal itself needed looking at in terms of how it was represented and the contexts in which it occurred.

I have drawn my primary ancient evidence from the Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and archaic Attic black figure vase painting for the following reasons:

Firstly, besides the Hesiodic poems and other fragmentary works, the Homeric poems represent the oldest and most complete extant body of literature from the ancient world. Since the Homeric works are representative of a dynamic and continuous oral tradition, they offer evidence from the past generations and prevailing ancient modes of thought. As Mackay¹ asserts, "orality is not merely a feature peculiar to orally composed "texts", but is rather a way of thinking, a way of looking at the world that is most prominent at times in cultural development when writing is least in evidence."

In addition to this, the Homeric evidence provides the richest source material for animals that are predominantly found in the vivid similes in both of the works. In these similes, the character of the animal is evocatively portrayed and recreated,

¹ (1995:302).

where the animal almost lives and breathes for the audience. Besides the context of the similes, animals occur in the 'reality' of the main narrative action, as livestock, as sacrificial offerings to the gods and as a food source. Similarly, animals are used metaphorically, they are wrought as design motifs on metalwork, they occur in omens, they are included in epithets and they can both belong to and be manifestations of the gods. The hide of the animal is used as raw material for clothing, weaponry and other utilitarian purposes, animals are given as gifts and are used as a reference point for expressing monetary value.

On the artistic side, the most diverse source of imagery is found within the archaic Attic black figure vase painting. This period of art is a particularly rewarding area of study since it represents a time of great creativity and innovation. Although, the beginnings of experimentation can be found in the Proto-geometric narrative art from the end of the 7th century BC, this body of evidence is sparse and the technique very primitive, since it represents only the initial stages of development. It is only in the archaic Athenian painting of the 6th century BC that theme and subject matter is purposively exploited and where the artists gave thought to the potential in the imagery already rooted in literature and the arts.

The study and comparison of Homer in conjunction with archaic Attic black figure is chronologically important since the Homeric texts "represent the state of the oral tradition at a date more or less contemporary with the rise of narrative art at the beginning of the archaic period".² Hence the two genres, individually and together,

² Mackay (1995:283).

are singularly appropriate contexts in which to explore the concept of animals in antiquity.

Since early Corinthian vase painting is characterized by its animal bands, and because archaic Athenian art must be seen not as an isolated discipline but as located within a wider context, the image of the animal is also explored within the Corinthian fabric. For similar reasons, I include brief discussion of Attic geometric art, it being the necessary, albeit stylistically primitive, forerunner of Attic black figure vase painting.

Animal Types

For the purposes of this study, it was not considered feasible or constructive to include every type of animal species. In consequence, I restricted myself to the feline species, the ungulates, snakes and the canine family. However, the ungulate species do not include the horse,³ mule or donkey since these are a subject on their own. Similarly, insects, fish and rodents did not occur consistently enough, as a subject, in either genre for them to be considered significantly helpful to the study.

This is also true regarding my deliberate exclusion of the different bird types and species.⁴ Also, birds are often not clearly differentiated in Attic black figure vase painting, which would entail identification of the bird *before* determining how the avian contributed to its scene. Similarly, the identification of species, specifically the canine, is superfluous to the purposes of this study since the specific breed or type does not significantly enhance the overall meaning of the scenes. Lastly, I do not consider that the mythologized hybrids occupy a valid animal description since they

³ For instance Moore (1971) has already carried out a definitive study on this subject of the manner of representation of horses in Attic black figure.

⁴ Böhr (1997) has already embarked on the study of the bird as represented on Greek vases.

do not occur in reality and are the product of an extensive web of inter-cultural "breeding".

In brief, my aim is not so much to provide an absolute definition for the various animal types but rather to establish general trends which can then be tested out in other vase contexts.

Interpretative Methodology

In the artistic milieu, determining the intention of the artist is of primary importance in this study. This entails looking carefully at the details of the scenes and the context in which the animals occur, the order in which they appear, how they impact on the scene, their relationship with the scene, their positioning in the picture field that may imply a relationship with another aspect of the scene and an examination of the type of animal and the groupings of animals in an attempt to interpret the impetus lying behind the images within the scenes.

Within the vase painting context, except where it contributes to the overall understanding of the animal or where I have perceived it to be intrinsically of interest, I generally have avoided embarking on a comprehensive discussion of specific types of animals as common attributes of the various deities. For one, Simon⁵ has already provided a detailed study including this aspect, and secondly, this theme is a separate investigation in its own right. Additionally, except in special instances, I do not discuss animals appearing on shield blazons of warriors represented in archaic Attic

⁵ (1998).

black figure since this has already been sufficiently covered by other authors⁶ and does not offer significant insight for this study.

Within the Homeric works, the perception of the poet is the key. This required investigating in what way the animal was specifically utilized and looking in which contexts the animals occurred and how the particular animal impacted on the depiction of the person in the main narrative. At the same time, this is not so much an analysis of animals in Homer, which has already largely been done, as an attempt to determine the inherent meaning of the animals in archaic Attic black figure vase painting. For this study, the Homeric poems offer a generalized context which provide a point of reference from which the vase representations can be viewed.

As the basis for the artistic evidence, I have used the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (hereafter *LIMC*) as my primary source since the corpus offers a broad range of images, randomly selected from the point of view of this study, from the generic to the particularized. Thereafter, I sought out other vase scenes, not incorporated in the *LIMC*, which provided important comparative data onto which I could test my various theoretical hypotheses.

In terms of the literary evidence, I have relied on Lattimore's translations of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* since his translations best capture and retain the poetic quality of the original works. All translations of Homer will therefore be his; for other ancient quotations the translator will be indicated in the Bibliography. The spellings of ancient names follow the transliteration system, except where the anglicised form is firmly established in the scholarly tradition (Homer, not Homeros, for instance).

⁶ Chase (1902) distinguishes ten, possibly, twelve different classes of shield devices. Hölscher (1972:101) discusses the apotropaic effects of the themes on weapons.

This study involves a wide range of vases from an extensive reach of artistic workshops. However, some artists such as Exekias, Lydos, the Amasis Painter and the Leagros group were more inventive than other artists who merely produced vases as a means to an end in the world of thriving commerce. The works of the former artists clearly indicate that they gave thought to the concepts lying behind the images that they represented, that they saw the potential in animal imagery and that they used it with deliberation to enhance the meaning of their compositions. As a result, more examples are drawn from these artistic groupings.

When a particular scene has been singled out to be described in detail, I have used the letters of the alphabet, sequentially from left to right, to denote the relative position that each human figure occupies in the picture field. For reasons of clarity, I have restricted this labelling system to human figures and not extended it to incorporate the spatial positioning of the animals. That is, the positions of the animals are easily discerned relative to the designated human figures.

At the end of each chapter I have included a sub-heading titled "Specific Mythological Scenes", which comprise mainly the labours of Herakles. I have deliberately separated them from the main section of each chapter in an effort to attempt to gather an understanding of the animals as seen in a "real" world.⁷ Once this has been discussed, it is then useful to consider, in the specific myth section, how the artists used the essential character of the animal as a template to create new monster types and mythologized beasts. Since the labours of Herakles primarily involve various members of the animal kingdom, most examples have been drawn from this corpus of mythology.

⁷Also, I deliberately do not discuss the sacrificial contexts in which animals occur since this introduces the religious connotations which is a study in its own right.

II

DOGS

Homer

The general attitude towards dogs in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is problematic. That is, from the outset there is a fundamental difference in the presentation of the nature of dogs between the two works. In the *Iliad*, the dogs tend to be portrayed in an overtly negative manner while in the *Odyssey*, the animal is more favourably described by the poet. Although this irregularity could be used as evidence concerning the poets' underlying like or dislike of the animal, it must be recognized that the circumstances of the dog will be fundamentally different when, on the one hand, it is situated in the milieu of war, and on the other hand, its context is located in periods of peace.⁸ The more negative attitude towards dogs in the *Iliad* is a realistic portrayal within a war context. That is, in this context, food would be scarce,⁹ exposed corpses, to be mauled, would be a common phenomenon and little time and affection (if any) would be directed towards the dog. In consequence, the environment of the *Iliad* would, by its very nature, draw to itself those dogs of a more feral, opportunistic and companionless description. Besides the hunting dogs of Patroklos (*Il.* 23.173),¹⁰ the friendlier version of dog would probably remain behind with its family.¹¹

In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the predominant sentiment attached to the dog is of a more positive type. Here, the dogs are situated in a civilized context, where food

⁸ Scott (1947-8:227).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Merlen (1971:26) suggests that, in reality, some hunting dogs would be taken with the warriors for the capture of game as food.

¹¹ This type of dog is embodied in the form of Odysseus' faithful bound, Argos (*Od.* 17.292 ff.).

and companionship is more easily available and where men have time for sport and recreation, some of which would be spent with their hounds.¹²

There are various types of dogs within the poems that can be placed into several differing categories. Three main classes can be identified:¹³ there is the table dog (τραπεζεύς) (*Od.* 17.309, *Il.* 23.173) which has an essentially decorative function and is a dog that "like the servant, ornaments his master simply by being servile".¹⁴ In the passage below, Odysseus comments on the dog, Argos, to Eumaios:

"καλὸς μὲν δέμας ἐστίν, ἀτὰρ τόδε γ' οὐ σάφα οἶδα,
ἧ δὲ καὶ ταχὺς ἔσκε θέειν ἐπὶ εἶδει τῷδε,
ἧ αὐτῶς οἷοί τε τραπεζῆες κύνες ἀνδρῶν
γίνοντ', ἀγλαΐης δ' ἔνεκεν κομέουσιν ἄνακτες."

"The shape of him is splendid, and yet I cannot be certain
whether he had the running speed to go with this beauty,
or is just one of the kind of table dog that gentlemen
keep, and it is only for show that their masters care for them."
(*Od.* 17.307-310)

Based on Odysseus' comments, it seems that the table dog has no explicit purpose but that it is seen simply as a commodity of the household.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the θωός, the feral canine that embodies the concept of the opportunistic and ignoble scavenger.¹⁵

... ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὥς εἴ τε δαφουνοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν
ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνήρ
ἰὼ ἀπὸ νευρῆς τὸν μὲν τ' ἥλυξε πόδεσσι
φεύγων, ὄφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·

... and around him
the Trojans crowded, as bloody scavengers in the mountains

¹² Although the bulk of the hunting similes do occur in the *Odyssey*, it is often the wild beast that is their focus rather than the dog itself (*Il.* 3.23 ff., 17.725 ff.).

¹³ Redfield (1975:193 ff.).

¹⁴ Redfield (1975:259 n.66). Redfield also suggests that these dogs may have been used as watch-dogs.

¹⁵ It is not surprising that the Greek word, θωός, can also mean "jackal".

crowd on a horned stag who is stricken, one whom a hunter
 shot with an arrow from the string, and the stag has escaped him, running
 with his feet, while the blood stayed warm, and his knees were springing
 beneath him.

(*Il.* 11.474-477)

Here, no admirable quality of character is described. The scavengers prey on wounded and weak animals, suffering from injuries that hamper the victim's ability to properly defend itself. Here, the dog takes advantage of situations weighted in its favour and where the other animal is clearly handicapped.

The third class of dog is the intermediary that is located in between the wilderness and the domestic sphere, the dog proper.¹⁶ This type of dog is presented as either the hunting hound or sheep dog.

Hunting and Herding Dogs

The bulk of the dog references within the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* occur in hunting and herding scenes.¹⁷ Within the hunting category, dogs are portrayed in either a positive or negative light. With respect to the more positive outlook, dogs are closely allied with their masters and seem to be the natural extension of the human huntsmen (*Il.* 11.292 ff., 11.413 ff.).¹⁸ Together, man and dog form a dynamic partnership. An example of this can be found in the *Iliad* where Idomeneus is compared to the solitary but savage boar that is willing to stand up against a group of huntsmen and their dogs:

ἀλλ' ἔμεν' ὥς ὅτε τις σῦς οὔρεσιν ἀλκι πεποιθώς,
 ὅς τε μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν
 χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, φρίσσει δέ τε νῶτον ὑπερθεῖν·
 ὀφθαλμῷ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον· αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας
 θήγει, ἀλέξασθαι μεμαῶς κύνας ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας·

¹⁶ Redfield (1975:193), Lonsdale (1990:75 ff.).

¹⁷ As one might expect, the greater proportion of references are found within the *Iliad*. However, Scott (1947-8:227) points out that there is a surprising absence of dogs in the *Odyssey*, in passages where one would normally expect to find them. By way of example cf. *Odyssey*, Book 9 [The Kyklops with his livestock].

¹⁸ Within the *Iliad*, Lonsdale (1990:75) suggests that one of the dog's functions is to "mediate between the realm of the hunt, the natural world and the battlefield."

...

but he stood his ground like a mountain wild boar who in the confidence of his strength stands up to a great rabble of men advancing upon him in some deserted place, and bristles his back up, and both his eyes are shining with fire; he grinds his teeth in his fury to fight off the dogs and the men.

(*Il.* 13.471-475)

In this encounter, it is significant that dog and man are not differentiated into individual entities but instead present a united front. As a result, the boar is placed in a situation that is weighted heavily against it.

While it does seem that the sheer numbers of men and dogs, in relation to the single prey, would ensure the successful capture of the victim, there are instances where the boar is portrayed as the victor (*Il.* 17.281 ff., 17.725 ff.):

ἴθυσαν δὲ κύνεσσιν ἐοικότες, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ κάπρῳ
βλημένῳ αἵξωσι πρὸ κούρων θηρητήρων·
ἕως μὲν γάρ τε θεοῦσι διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες,
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐν τοῖσιν ἐλίζεται ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,
ἅψ τ' ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ τ' ἔτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος.

...

and made a rush against them like dogs, who sweep in rapidly on a wounded wild boar, ahead of the young men who hunt him, and for the moment race in raging to tear him to pieces until in the confidence of his strength he turns on them, at bay, and they give ground and scatter for fear one way and another.

(*Il.* 17.725-729)

In this case, even in a wounded state, the boar inspires panicked terror and is able to drive back the hunting dogs that are eager for the kill. In this light, there is a definite sense of the dog as a lesser animal within the animal kingdom and this is reflected in the self-preserving instincts of the dogs themselves (*Il.* 8.338 ff., 5.476):

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων συὸς ἀγρίου ἢ λέοντος
ἄπτηται κατόπισθε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκων
ἰσχία τε γλουτούς τε, ἐλίσσόμενόν τε δοκεύει, . . .

As when some hunting hound in the speed of his feet pursuing a wild boar or a lion snaps from behind at his quarters or flanks, but watches for the beast to turn upon him, . . .

(*Il.* 8.338-340)

There is a tendency for the poet of the *Iliad* to pair the Trojans with the huntsmen/shepherds and their dogs, while the Achaians are compared to the boar and the lion, beasts that are more vividly described, with attention paid to the essential spirit of the beast.¹⁹ Owing to the subordinated role of the dog within the similes, and its lack of individual character, the Trojans could be seen as an anonymous pack or group, with few distinct individuals. In the *Iliad*, for a number of reasons, it is reasonable to assume that the Achaians are the side that are favoured. For one, the story is based on and opens with the quarrel between the two Achaian leaders, Achilles and Agamemnon. Secondly, it is given that the poet must have been aware that the Achaians would eventually be the victors in the war and, thus, there would be a natural tendency to identify with the winning side. Since the Achaians are not commonly compared to the dog, and the losing side, the Trojans, are consistently paired with the hound, on a fundamental level, the character of the dog cannot be viewed in a wholly positive light.

Throughout the 'herding' similes within the Homeric poems, the closeness between man and dog is amply demonstrated. In this category of similes, the dogs watch over the livestock belonging to man. Here, the dog has a close association with its master where animal and man come together in order to guard against predators. As with the hunting scenes, the sheep dogs are not always successful in fending off the marauding beast (*Il.* 13.198 ff., 17.61 ff.):

ὥς τε δὺ' αἰῖγα λέοντε κυνῶν ὑπο καρχαροδόντων
 ἀρπάξαντε φέρητον ἀνὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνὰ
 ὑψοῦ ὑπὲρ γαίης μετὰ γαμφηλῆσιν ἔχοντε, . . .

. . .
 as two lions catch up a goat from the guard of rip-fanged

¹⁹ Lonsdale (1990:76).

hounds, and carry it into the density of the underbrush,
holding it high from the ground in the crook of their jaws, . . .
(*Il.* 13.198-200)

The hunting dogs are sometimes even killed by the marauder:

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἔτρεσε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαντι ἑοικώς,
ὅς τε κύνα κτείνας ἢ βουκόλον ἀμφὶ βόεσσι
φεύγει πρὶν περ ὄμιλον ἀολισθήμεναι ἀνδρῶν·

But he fled away like a wild beast who has done some bad thing,
one who has killed a hound or an ox-herd tending his cattle
and escapes, before a gang of men has assembled against him.
(*Il.* 15.586-588).

While the Iliadic sheep dogs are occupied with the defense of livestock, the Odyssean canines, specifically those belonging to Eumaios (*Od.* 14.21 ff.), are generally of inferior character. That is, Eumaios' dogs are portrayed as indiscriminately aggressive and savage, a mean pack of dogs, not fit for human company. In fact, the poet likens these dogs to wild beasts [θήρεσσιν ἑοικότες] (*Od.* 14.21) and later on in the narrative, Eumaios must take up a sharp javelin as protection against both man and dog when he goes out of doors to sleep in the company of his swine (*Od.* 14.532 ff.). Similarly, another person, this time Odysseus, is almost subjected to a vicious attack by these dogs had it not been for his swift and evasive action:

ἐξαπίνης δ' Ὀδυσῆα ἴδον κύνες ὑλακόμωροι.
οἱ μὲν κεκλήγοντες ἐπέδραμον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἔζετο κερδοσύνη, σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χεῖρός.
ἔνθα κεν ᾧ πὰρ σταθμῷ ἀεικέλιον πάθεν ἄλγος·

Suddenly the wild-baying dogs caught sight of Odysseus.
They ran at him with a great outcry, and Odysseus prudently
sat down on the ground, and the staff fell out of his hand. But there,
beside his own steading, he might have endured a shameful mauling, . . .
(*Od.* 14.29-32)²⁰

²⁰ Hainsworth (1961) discusses Odysseus' actions by comparing them to a behavioural technique used with wolves which is intended to reassure the animal.

One could argue that this scene demonstrates the protective loyalty of the guard dogs over their territory.²¹ That is, Odysseus is clearly perceived as an unknown intruder and therefore must be dealt with in the appropriate manner.²² This is supported later on in the narrative (*Od.* 16.4 ff.), when these same dogs fawn around Telemachos, a person they would be familiar with. Because of this, the dogs do not bark at him when he arrives at Eumaios' shelter. However, even taking this into account does not substantially alter the relatively low status of the dogs. That is, they are not described as having any brave or noble characteristics, and generally do not seem to have any restraint that indicates canine training.

Later on in the narrative, an incident occurs where the dogs are the only ones, besides Odysseus, who are able to sense the invisible presence of Athena:²³

... οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνην
 λῆθεν ἀπὸ σταθμοῖο κιῶν Εὐμαιος ὑφορβός,
 ἀλλ' ἣ γε σχεδὸν ἦλθε· δέμας δ' ἦϊκτο γυναικί
 καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυίη.
 στῇ δὲ κατ' ἀντίθυρον κλισίης Ὀδυσῆϊ φανεῖσα·
 οὐδ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἶδεν ἀντίον οὐδ' ἐνόησεν, -
 οὐ γάρ πως πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς, -
 ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεύς τε κύνες τε ἶδον, καὶ ῥ' οὐχ ὑλάοντο,
 κνυζηθμῶ δ' ἐτέρωσε διὰ σταθμοῖο φόβηθεν.

Nor was Athene unaware that Eumaios the swineherd
 had left the stading, but she came near, likened to a woman
 beautiful and tall, and skilled in glorious handiwork,
 and stood in the forecourt of the shelter, seen by Odysseus.
 But Telemachos did not look her way nor did he perceive her;
 for the gods do not show themselves in this way to everyone;
 but Odysseus saw her and the dogs did; they were not barking,
 but cowered away, whimpering, to the other side of the shelter.
 (*Od.* 16.155-163)

²¹ Beck (1991:161) sees these dogs as an adjunct to the loyal Eumaios.

²² Rose (1979:217 ff.) looks at this incident from the perspective of Odysseus' present status in his homeland. The master has become the unfamiliar visitor.

²³ For further discussion of this scene, cf. Merlen (1971:26), Lilja (1976:29).

Based on this episode, another aspect of the dog is introduced; their extrasensory perception. However, this 'talent' only heightens the ambivalence surrounding the dog. That is, within the Homeric poems, to them alone amongst the other animals are attributed these powers, which suggests that dogs were considered to be unique in this respect. Here the figure of the dog has been singled out as special and since the protagonist of the story is the only other able to see the goddess, this ability must be regarded as a positive attribute.

Outside of the hunting and herding categories:

- dogs are portrayed as carrion eaters (*Il.* 18.272, *Od.* 3.259 ff.);
- dogs are depicted as domesticated companions to men (*Od.* 20.145);
- they are used metaphorically as terms of abuse (*Il.* 13.623, *Od.* 19.92);
- they appear on works of art (*Od.* 7.91);
- they occur indirectly in the Kirke episode (*Od.* 10.210 ff.);
- they occur mythologically in the form of Kerberos, the dog that guards the entrance to Hades (*Il.* 8.368, *Od.* 11.623).

Each of these categories will be discussed in turn.

Carrion Eaters

A particularly distasteful sub-group of the canine family is the carrion eater that shamelessly mutilates the bodies of the dead.²⁴ These dogs are of the basest type and

²⁴ Vermeule (1979:108) takes a different view in that she maintains that the carnivorous animals and birds were involved in the purification process of the dead because the animals have joined in the cyclical character of the natural world.

are consistently paired with the ignoble scavenging birds (*Il.* 2.393, *Od.* 14.133). While there are significantly more references to these carrion eaters in the *Iliad*,²⁵ this abhorrent image does not lose its edge in the *Odyssey*. In both of the poems, the overwhelming negativity towards the carrion eaters can be seen in instances when a character threatens his antagonist with the potential feeding of the latter's bodily parts to the dogs (*Od.* 18.84 ff. [Antinoos threatens Iros], *Il.* 22.335 ff. [Achilleus intimidates Hektor]):²⁶

"πέμψω σ' ἡπειρόνδε, βαλὼν ἐν νηϊ μελαίνῃ,
εἰς Ἐχέτορ βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων,
ὅς κ' ἀπὸ ρίνα τάμῃσι καὶ οὔρατα νηλεῖ χαλκῷ
μήδεά τ' ἐξερύσας δώῃ κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι."

"I will throw you into a black ship, and send you across to the mainland,
to Echetos, who preys on all men, and who is king there,
and he with the pitiless bronze will cut off your nose and ears,
and tear off your privates and give them raw for the dogs to feed on."
(*Od.* 18.84-87)

Clearly, the carrion eater is considered to be a loathsome and sordid animal to which nothing is sacrosanct. However, even when the archetypal carrion eating type of dog is not being directly referred to in the Homeric poems, it is significant that this is a latent quality embodied in the other types of dog as well:

αὐτὸν δ' ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσιν
ὠμησται ἐρύουσιν, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ὀξεῖ χαλκῷ
τύψας ἡὲ βαλὼν ρεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλῃται,
οὓς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας θυραωρούς,
οἳ κ' ἐμὸν αἶμα πιόντες ἀλύσسونτες περὶ θυμῷ
κείσονται ἐν προθύροισι.

"And myself [Priam] last of all, my dogs in front of my doorway
will rip me raw, after some man with stroke of the sharp bronze
spear, or with spearcast, has torn the life out of my body;
those dogs I raised in my halls to be at my table, to guard my

²⁵ For reasons discussed above.

²⁶ Vermeule (1979:103) describes the dogs and birds as "spiritual extensions of the warrior making the taunt, a hunting image, in the realm of traditional rhetoric and exaggerated mockery".

gates, who will lap my blood in the savagery of their anger
and then lie down in my courts."

(*Il.* 22.66-71)²⁷

In this case, it is no ordinary carrion eater that is being referred to, but the domesticated dog raised within the sheltered community of a household. Based on this passage, there seems to be a delicate balance where that which is "tamed" can savagely revert and act out in a manner appropriate to wild beasts. A direct parallel can be drawn with Eumaios' dogs in terms of their inherent aggression and negative behaviour towards Odysseus. Eumaios' dogs also seem capable of the savage behaviour that is common to carrion eaters. Overall, it seems that the relationship between dog and man was a wary one.

Companions to Men

On the other hand, a dramatic counterfoil to the carrion eating image can be found in parts of the *Odyssey* where the dog occurs in scenes rooted in the real world, but where it is portrayed in a far more positive and sentimental manner.²⁸ Besides the "lightfooted" canine attendants of Telemachos (*Od.* 2.11, 17.62, 20.145), this sentimentalized attitude is largely encompassed within the Argos episode:

ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·
ἄν δὲ κύων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ οὐρ κείμενος ἔσχεν,
Ἄργος, Ὀδυσσεύος ταλασίφρονος, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς
θρέψε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο, πάρος δ' εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
ᾤχετο. τὸν δὲ πάροιθεν ἀγίνεσκον νέοι ἄνδρες
αἶγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέραις ἢ δὲ πρόκαις ἢ δὲ λαγωαῖς·
δὴ τότε κεῖτ' ἀπόθεστος ἀποικομένοιο ἄνακτος
ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἣ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων
ἡμιόνων τε βοῶν τε ἄλις κέχυτ', . . .

²⁷ In reference to this passage, Vermeule (1979:106), drawing on oriental correspondences, suggests that the mutilation of Priam's grey hair and private parts symbolizes destruction of his sovereignty and his descendants.

²⁸ In Preston Day's (1984:29) research involving grave sites preserving dog remains, there is a clear indication that the Greeks were sentimentally attached to their dogs. A 4th century BC grave has been found behind the Stoa of Attalos in the Agora in which a dog has been buried with a beef bone, for instance.

Now as these two were conversing thus with each other,
 a dog who was lying there raised his head and ears. This was
 Argos, patient-hearted Odysseus' dog, whom he himself
 raised, but got no joy of him, since before that he went to sacred
 Iliion. In the days before, the young men had taken him
 out to follow goats of the wild, and deer, and rabbits;
 but now he had been put aside, with his master absent,
 and lay on the deep pile of dung, from mules and oxen,
 which lay abundant before the gates, . . .

(*Od.* 17.290-297)

While this multifaceted passage may be approached from a number of different angles,²⁹ the main interest for this study concerns the insights the episode reveals into the concept of the dog. Although one must be careful not to take too much of this passage at face value,³⁰ it is evident that at the simplest level of interpretation, there was a very real emotional attachment between dog and man.³¹ It must also be remembered that Argos was originally a hunting dog, which speaks of a closeness within the working "hunt" relationship since the better a man's relationship with his hunting dogs, the more likely was the establishment of a successful and efficient hunting team.

On another level, it is within the dog, Argos, that all the most noble qualities of a dog are found.³² For one, his long wait for Odysseus even in the face of ill treatment demonstrates the hound's loyalty and endurance. Secondly, an essential ability looked for in a hunting dog would be its powers of speed and endurance. Not only is Argos praised for his former speed and strength (*Od.* 17.315), but one of the recurrent Homeric fixed epithets that is applied to dogs is in fact ἀργός.³³ According to

²⁹ For a selection of interpretations, cf. Lilja (1976:29 ff.), Rose (1979:218 ff.), Beck (1991:161 ff.).

³⁰ That is, it is recognized that this episode is a fictional and not a historical account.

³¹ For concurrence with this view, cf. Rose (1979:221 ff.).

³² Rose (1979:226) maintains that Argos should be seen as the corollary to the heroism found in Odysseus.

³³ Lilja (1976:26). See *Iliad* 18.283 [κύνες ἀργοί], 18.578 [κύνες πόδας ἀργοί], 1.50 [κύνας ἀργούς], *Odyssey* 2.11 [κύνες ἀργοί], 17.62 [κύνες ἀργοί], 20.145 [κύνες ἀργοί].

Liddell and Scott,³⁴ ἄργοι means "shining, bright, glistening" and the epithet used for dogs, πόδας ἄργοι, means "swift footed, because all swift motion causes a kind of glancing or flickering light." Since the adjective, ἄργός, is always used in relation to dogs in Homer, this means that the poet has named Argos after an attribute found in dogs in general.³⁵

Almost in defiance of his age and poor circumstance, Argos is portrayed as an aware and intelligent animal.³⁶ That is, he recognizes Odysseus even after a nineteen year separation (*Od.* 17.301 ff.) and is reported to have been a particularly clever tracker (*Od.* 17.317). The value of this passage lies in its indication to the modern scholar that the concept of the ideal dog, that is, "man's best friend", was evidently a familiar one to the ancient world. Because this passage was most likely meant to evoke a sympathetic reaction from the ancient audience, their concept of dog as valued companion does not seem much different from a modern perspective. At the same time, one can argue that some of the poet's concern for Argos lies mainly in the waste of good hunting dog material, but this argument would not explain the emotional response of Odysseus, which the poet takes time particularly to mention:

... αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ,
ρεῖα λαθὼν Εὐμαίων, ...

... his master, who, watching him from a distance, without Eumaios
noticing, secretly wiped a tear away, ...

(*Od.* 17.304-5)

Clearly, Odysseus is deeply affected by the state in which he finds his faithful hound.

³⁴ (1930: *ad verbum*).

³⁵ As Lonsdale (1979:149) notes, the Greeks did not give their dogs human names. For a list of canine names, cf. Xenophon (*Cyn.* 7.5 ff.). For discussion of the Homeric word, ἄργός, cf. Chaintraine (1968:104-5).

³⁶ Rose (1979:222).

Metaphorical Use

Dogs used metaphorically are also found in both Homeric works, as Graver³⁷ notes in her definitive article. Although the term, κύων (and derivatives thereof), is sometimes used in a pejorative sense, it is striking how consistently this animal appears within the two poems. Also, all of the dog metaphors (*Il.* 1.225, 22.345, *Od.* 22.35) are directly related to humans and their actions.³⁸ This is significant because the dog metaphor could as easily have been attached to more impersonal items.³⁹ In the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, for instance, both the abstract concepts of grief and an unsuccessful harvest season are called κύντερον (60) and κύντατον (306) respectively. However, because the metaphors are personalized in Homer, the anthropocentrism of the dog within the early Greek poetic context is suggested.

While the dog metaphor is invoked as a term of abuse, the precise meaning of the metaphor depends on the context in which it occurs. When Achilles accuses Agamemnon of having "dog's eyes, with a deer's heart" (*Il.* 1.225), he is accusing Agamemnon of having his eyes greedily on the lookout for any opportunity to increase his share. This concept of greediness is often found in the figure of the dog in the Aesopic fables⁴⁰ where it is portrayed as the character whose proverbial greediness is the cause of its own downfall. On another level, dog metaphors are used to denote sexual licentiousness (*Il.* 6.344 [Helen chastizes herself], *Od.* 19.372 [Penelope describes the serving women]). In these cases, the context makes it clear that the poet's intention is derogatory.

³⁷ (1995). I am reliant on Graver both for categories and for certain examples in the following section.

³⁸ See Graver (1995:44) for discussion of a possible exception.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Aesop, 499:415, 472:254.

In other passages of both books, the dog is also used as a term of abuse which is directed at the enemy (*Il.* 8.527, *Od.* 22.35), and can be used as a comparative adjective (καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης : *Od.* 20.18) revealing a potentially cannibalistic impulse.⁴¹ Hence, the dog metaphor offers a wide range of possibilities to choose from when one wished to insult one's opponent, which reveals a multifaceted perception of the character of the dog.

Artworks

Dogs occur in works of art in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. On the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.478 ff.), herdsmen and their nine dogs drive their cattle along:

χρῦσειοι δὲ νομῆες ἅμ' ἐστιχόωντο βόεσσι
 τέσσαρες, ἐννέα δὲ σφι κύνες πόδας ἄργοι ἔποντο.
 σμερδαλέω δὲ λέοντε δὺ' ἐν πρώτῃσι βόεσσι
 ταῦρον ἐρύγμηλον ἐχέτην· ὃ δὲ μακρὰ μεμυκῶς
 ἔλκετο· τὸν δὲ κύνες μετεκίαθον ἢ δ' αἰζηοί.
 τῷ μὲν ἀναρρήξαντε βοὸς μεγάλοιο βοείην
 ἔγκατα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα λαφύσσετον· οἱ δὲ νομῆες
 αὖτως ἐνδίσσαν ταχέας κύνας ὀτρύνοντες.
 οἱ δ' ἦτοι δακέειν μὲν ἀπετρωπῶντο λεόντων,
 ἰστάμενοι δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ' ἀλέοντο.

The herdsmen were of gold who went along with the cattle,
 four of them, and nine dogs shifting their feet followed them.
 But amongst the foremost of the cattle two formidable lions
 had caught hold of a bellowing bull, and he with loud lowings
 was dragged away, as the dogs and the young men went in pursuit of him.
 But the two lions, breaking open the hide of the great ox,
 gulped the black blood and the inward guts, as meanwhile the herdsmen
 were in the act of setting and urging the quick dogs on them.
 But they, before they could get their teeth in, turned back from the lions,
 but would come and take their stand very close, and bayed, and kept clear.
 (*Il.* 18.577-586)

However, despite the dogs' valiant attempts at defending the livestock, two lions have the upper hand and, as a result, a bull is lost to the herd. It is here significant that the dogs demonstrate a healthy respect for an animal very much their superior, both in

⁴¹ Graver (1995:48). For additional comments on the metaphorical use of "dog" cf. Graver (1995),

size and predatory skill (585-6). That is, in this context, the dog has a very limited usefulness; it will defend its flock only up to the point where the personal risk becomes too high.

A different type of dog is mentioned in the *Odyssey* where gold and silver watchdogs decorate the palace of Alkinoös in Scheria:

χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ, περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο·
 χρύσειαι δὲ θύραι πυκινὸν δόμον ἐντὸς ἔεργον·
 ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοὶ ἐν χαλκῷ ἕστασαν οὐδῶ,
 ἀργύρεον δ' ἐφ' ὑπερθύριον, χρυσῇ δὲ κορώνῃ.
 χρύσειοι δ' ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρεοι κύνες ἦσαν,
 οὗς Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίῃσι πρᾶπίδεσσι
 δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
 ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρωσ ἥματα πάντα.

Brazen were the walls run about it in either direction
 from the inner room to the door, with a cobalt frieze encircling,
 and golden were the doors that guarded the close of the palace,
 and silver were the pillars set in the brazen threshold,
 and there was a silver lintel above, and a golden handle,
 and dogs made out of gold and silver were on each side of it,
 fashioned by Hephaistos in his craftsmanship and cunning,
 to watch over the palace of great-hearted Alkinoös,
 being themselves immortal, and all their days they are ageless.
 (*Od.* 7.86-94)

Because of the unusualness of the subject matter within this passage, it is evident that the decorative function should be subordinated to a more symbolic interpretation. Faroane,⁴² drawing on correspondences with Near Eastern parallels, suggests the dogs primarily perform an apotropaic function. Rose,⁴³ on the other hand, believes that the dogs represent the "luxuriating, overcivilized Phaeacians" and form a strong contrast to Eumaios' dogs that resonate with and reflect a simpler style of living. However, it

Lonsdale (1990:75), Redfield (1975:194).

⁴² (1987:257).

⁴³ (1979:218).

is clear that these are no ordinary dogs. Because they are made of precious metal, they have been immortalized; this evokes a magical timelessness to the description of the palace and adds an enigmatic overtone to the overall concept of the dog.

The third object of art on which a dog occurs is the brooch of Odysseus where a hound grapples a fawn, strangling it as it struggles to escape:

ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἑλλόν,
 ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
 ὥς οἱ χρύσειοι ἑόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαῶς ἥσπαιρε πόδεσσι.

... a hound held in his forepaws a dappled
 fawn, preying on it as it struggled; and all admired it,
 how, though they were golden, it preyed on the fawn and strangled it
 and the fawn struggled with his feet as he tried to escape him.
 (Od. 19.228-231)

Here, the fawn is very much the weaker animal, being the natural prey for hunting dogs. Because the brooch belongs to Odysseus, Rose⁴⁴ has suggested that the dog stands as a symbol for the protagonist and the fawn for the suitors. The fawn is clearly the weaker animal and in all likelihood will be killed by the dog. Based on the unequal struggle between the two animals, the brooch "functions like an ominous simile foreshadowing the hero's victory"⁴⁵ over the cowardly suitors. While the ferocity of the dog is plainly being displayed here, in contrast to the shield of Achilles, this scene reflects a situation in which the animal is more positively regarded. That is, the audience has already been given an example of the ideal dog, in Argos, and in this passage, two books later, the brooch almost functions as an epitaph which represents the *arete* of Argos. Here, the dog is portrayed as the victor where it

⁴⁴ (1979:224).

⁴⁵ (1979:225).

preys on another animal as opposed to defending livestock against another predator.

Overall, it is significant that the dog is so frequently described as being depicted in a variety of works of art. This indicates that the dog, as an artistic subject, must have been easily observable which means that it shared much of the communal space with man. At the same time, the dog's recurrent appearance in art suggests that the potential symbolism of the canine was and is multifaceted.

Kirke Episode

In the Kirke episode in the *Odyssey*, fierce predators are described as being dog-like in their demeanour:⁴⁶

εὔρον δ' ἐν βήσσησι τετυγμένα δώματα Κίρκης
 ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσι, περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.
 ἄμφι δέ μιν λύκοι ἦσαν ὀρέστεροι ἢ δὲ λέοντες,
 τοὺς αὐτὴ κατέθελξεν, ἐπεὶ κακὰ φάρμακ' ἔδωκεν.
 οὐδ' οἱ γ' ὥρμήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε
 οὐρῇσιν μακρῇσι περισσάινοντες ἀνέστησαν.
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄμφι ἄνακτα κύνες δαίτηθεν ἰόντα
 σαίνωσ'· αἰεὶ γάρ τε φέρει μειλίγματα θυμοῦ·

In the forest glen they came on the house of Circe. It was
 in an open place, and put together from stones, well polished,
 and all about it there were lions, and wolves of the mountains,
 whom the goddess had given evil drugs and enchanted,
 and these made no attack on the men, but came up thronging
 about them, waving their long tails and fawning in the way
 that dogs go fawning about their masters, when he comes home
 from dining out, for he always brings back something to please them.

(*Od.* 10.210-217)

This passage both presents the powerful nature of Kirke and comments on the more benign character of dogs. That is, the quality of dog that the wild animals are compared to has been tamed and is largely dependent on its master to provide for it. As a result, the picture that emerges from this scene suggests an emasculation of the

hound as an archetype which is compounded by the fact that the beasts were viewed as previously fierce and savage creatures.

An Additional Insight into the Dog

Out of a series of parent-child references, an unusual simile is found in the *Odyssey* where a she-dog angrily defends her puppies from a stranger:

ὥς δὲ κύων ἀμαλῆσι περὶ σκυλάκεσσι βεβῶσα
ἄνδρ' ἀγνοιήσας ὕλαει μέμονέν τε μάχεσθαι, . . .

And as a bitch, facing an unknown man, stands over
her callow puppies, and growls and rages to fight, . . .
(*Od.* 20.14-15)

While this type of behaviour accurately portrays a vignette from real life, it also gives insight into the perceptions concerning the dog. Here, the mother is fiercely protective of her brood and shows no fear, only instinctive rage at the intruder. This very maternal impulse is transferred onto Odysseus in terms of his outrage at the invasion of the suitors into his domain and it is only by physically hitting himself on the chest and talking to himself that he is able to re-establish a more rational grip on his emotions (*Od.* 20.17 ff.). The mother-child comparison with the accompanying strong emotions makes for a disturbing portrayal of Odysseus' barely contained anger and highlights the injustice committed against him. This simile presents a very 'family' orientated picture that stands in stark contrast to Odysseus' return; he is not welcome in his family home. The simile also describes a positive attribute of the dog; that is, the dog was capable of and engaged in familial behaviour.

⁴⁶ See lion section below for further discussion, page 43 ff.

Within Homer, dogs occur in vast cross-section of contexts, with both positive and negative connotations. This indicates a complex conception of the animal and presents the dog in a somewhat ambiguous light. Although the Greeks in antiquity shared their living space with the dog and were thus, very familiar with the creature, there seems to have been a fundamental underlying distrust of the animal. It seems that the central perception surrounding the character of the dog was that it was an inherently aggressive beast and that it conducted itself in a less than decorous manner. This, to a large degree, is displaced by the strong ties of loyalty and companionship between dog and man, as is evident in Argos, fostered through the domestication process. However, it is made clear that even a dog that had undergone the domestication process was considered capable of reverting back to its instinctually baser nature, as echoed by Priam's fears and revealed in the form of Eumaios' herd dogs. On the other hand, the dog seemed to be regarded as something of an enigma, as suggested within the Homeric poems. That is, the animal was evidently considered to have an uncanny ability for accessing the non-material realms, and, as a result, a special connection with various deities, an aspect which runs through archaic Attic black figure vase painting.

Vase Painting

Geometric and Corinthian

The figure of the dog was not as popular as the other wild animals that commonly occur in the Corinthian animal bands. In both Geometric and Corinthian art, the standard mode of representation for this animal is the "running dog" motif [Plate 1a, b & c]. Here, the dog is portrayed with the wide spread stance that is typical of an animal being represented as running, usually described as the "flying gallop". As part of the "running dog" motif, the animal is usually in the pursuit of a hare;⁴⁷ usually more than one dog is represented as involved in the chase. In these scenes, the dog is relegated to the predetermined context of the hunt and little or no meaning can be imported into these representations since the function of the dog is clearly apparent.

In Corinthian art, dogs also occur beneath the eating couches of men [Plate 2a].⁴⁸ Here, the dog either sits or lies under the couch and is sometimes represented as attached to a leash. Initially, this type of scene was most likely rooted in reality where the household dog would have settled under the couches in the hope of scraps of food being offered to it. However, although the presence of the dog under the kline was probably a regularly observed phenomenon in reality, the dog also fulfils an artistic function on the vases in that it fills the awkward rectangular space below the couch. That is, the "dog-under-kline" clearly became a standard template for other scenes that may not have necessarily been associated with food and eating.

⁴⁷ Corinthian: on olpai, Vatican 76 (NC 162), Amyx, Pl. 31.4; Munich Inv. 8764, Amyx, Pl. 16.1 [Plate 1a]. There are instances where the dog is paired with other animals, cf. on olpai, Frankfurt MFV 3335, Amyx, Pl. 16.2 a-b [Plate 1b] [with goat]; Syracuse 13580, Amyx, Pl. 15 [with boars and doe]. Geometric: an amphora, Athens 17519, Coldstream Pl. 14e [Plate 1c].

⁴⁸ For instance, on an amphora, Louvre E640, (*LIMC* 5: Ismene I 3), on a column krater, Louvre E635, (*LIMC* 6: Klytios I 1).

Attic Black Figure

In contrast to the Geometric and Corinthian representations of the dog, there is a significant spread of differing contexts in Attic black figure vase painting. As a result, a list of various general categories can be compiled where dogs occur consistently in specific types of scenes or in settings with identifiable figures.⁴⁹

Dogs Featuring with Warriors and or in Warlike Contexts

There are instances in the *LIMC* where the dog occurs in scenes in which it accompanies the warrior, Aineias [Plate 2b].⁵⁰ These scenes represent Aineias carrying his father, Anchises on his back, both fleeing from their besieged homeland, Troy. Two possible suggestions can be proposed for the inclusion of the dog. Firstly, Aineias is a soldier foremost and it is not uncommon for this type of person to be attended by his dog in other vase painting scenes.⁵¹ The second possibility is that the association of the dog adds to the atmosphere of the scene. That is, in these "Aineias" scenes, the hero is nobly carrying his father from danger, and he is usually being accompanied by a member of his immediate family.⁵² It is highly probable that the family unit, in reality, shared their home with a dog or dogs. By adding the presence

⁴⁹ I do not propose to deal with types/species of dogs due to the complexity of the subject and considering that it does not seriously affect the general conclusions of their study. However, for more information on this topic, cf. Merlen (1971). Coupled with the problem in distinguishing between different species is the fact that pictorial representations of dogs cannot be relied upon as accurate representations of reality because often the correct relative size of the dog is sacrificed for the sake of compositional effect, since the space within the picture field is limited.

⁵⁰ For instance, on an amphora, Würzburg L212, (*ABV* 371; *LIMC* 6: Kreousa III 10), an amphora, San Simeon 529-9-5437, (*LIMC* 6: Kreousa III 29).

⁵¹ For other types of scenes where a warrior is accompanied by his dog, cf. an amphora by the Leagros Group, Munich 1507, (*ABV* 375.207; *Add*² 100; *LIMC* 6: Memnon 7), an amphora by the Painter of London B272, Würzburg H89 (202), (*ABV* 341; *Para* 153, 166; *Add*² 93; *LIMC* 3: Eriboia 4). They also occur on the shield blazons of some warriors, cf. Würzburg H89 (202), (*ABV* 341; *Para* 153, 166; *Add*² 93; *LIMC* 3: Eriboia 4), on an amphora, Nicosia 1934.iv-4.4, (*ABV* 279.48; *Add*² 73; *LIMC* 5: Hermes 861).

⁵² See on amphorae, San Simeon 529-9-5437, (*LIMC* 6: Kreousa III 29) and Würzburg L212, (*ABV* 371; *LIMC* 6: Kreousa III 10) [Aineias with Kreousa]; Würzburg 218, (*ABV* 316.2; *Add*² 85; *LIMC* 1: Aineias 69) [Aineias with Askanios].

of the dog, a sentimental picture of close-knit domesticity is created within a mythological context.⁵³ The dog creates a tension in a scene where a family has been uprooted and flee in fear of their lives. The possibility of return is remote because even the family dog must escape the previously secure domain of the homestead.

Scenes of Hunting

One of the scenes in which the dog explicitly takes part in the hunt in black figure vase painting is in depictions of the Kalydonian boar hunt [Plate 28b & c]. Because Oineus, the father of Meleagros, had not made a sacrifice to Artemis during one of the festivals held in his city in Kalydon, the goddess retaliated in anger and sent an enormous boar to lay waste to the surrounding countryside. Meleagros, with the aid of the Argonauts, hunted this boar and killed it. The context of the Kalydonian hunt representations is firmly rooted in the reality of the Homeric hunt where the dog fulfils its role by either attacking the beast or running in pursuit of it.⁵⁴ However, sometimes a dog cannot withstand the might of its opponent and is disembowelled by the fearsome tusks of the boar [Plate 28b].

In other 'hunt' contexts, the dog is usually represented as paired or juxtaposed with one or many youths who hold a spear or carry their catch over their shoulders.⁵⁵ Here,

⁵³ For another "domestically-orientated" scene, cf. an amphora, Naples H3359, (*LIMC* 4: Herakles 1674). In this scene Herakles is being greeted or greeting (Oineus). Behind the older man stands Deianeira who holds onto a child. At her feet, a dog stands with one paw raised and with its head turned back looking up towards her. Even without the dog, the scene conveys the affectionate reunion of a family. However, this sentimentalism is increased by the attentive posture and presence of the dog.

⁵⁴ For instance, on an amphora, Munich 1386, (*ABV* 306.39; *Add*¹ 81; *LIMC* 8: Canes 9 and 10).

⁵⁵ For instance, on a cup, London 1867.5-8.946 (B421), (*ABV* 181.1; *Para* 75; *Add*² 50). On an Exekian amphora, Vatican 344, (*ABV* 145.13, 686; *Para* 60; *Add*² 40) depicting the Dioskouroi with their family, the artist once again displays his thoughtfulness. Here, instead of simply juxtaposing Kastor with his dog as a point of association, Exekias has relied on the knowledge of the audience, that Kastor is a huntsman, and has chosen to represent the dog enthusiastically leaping up in presumed greeting of Polydeukes. It is left to the viewer to mentally make sense of the presence of the hound which is, in fact, a realistic depiction of the behaviour of a dog on return to its "family".

the concept of the hunt is only inferred once the representation has been actively decoded by the viewer. That is, a naked youth with a spear, with a dog, and with or without the catch implies a hunting theme.

(i) A particularly interesting "hunt" circumstance is the scene in which the dog is portrayed with the figure of Cheiron [Plate 3a]. In most scenes of the archaic period, Cheiron is typically portrayed as a man with a horse's rear attached to his torso. He is usually clothed,⁵⁶ his hair is generally unbound⁵⁷ and he wears a large and shaggy beard that indicates his "wildness". He holds a leafy branch/tree over his shoulder, commonly bearing his victims that have been captured from the hunt. The centaur also generally has a dog standing alongside him or is positioned a little ahead.⁵⁸ The type scenes in which Cheiron occurs with his dog are either with Peleus presenting the baby Achilleus⁵⁹ or Peleus struggling with Thetis.⁶⁰ However, apart from the context in which Cheiron occurs, and his consistent use of clothing,⁶¹ there is no obvious indicator that distinguishes him as the cultured, and thus atypical, centaur to which mythology refers (cf. *Il.* 4.219, 11.831). As a result, the dog can be regarded as an important facet of the overall scene.

⁵⁶ There is only one instance in black-figure in the *LIMC* where he is not clothed, cf. a cup, Würzburg L452, (*ABV* 63.6; *Add²* 17; *LIMC* 1: Achilleus 35).

⁵⁷ He is, however, depicted in some scenes with his hair bound.

⁵⁸ Cheiron does occur in scenes where there is no dog alongside him. However, within most of these scenes he usually has his branch but with no catch slung on it. In these cases the concept of the hunt is remote or does not feature at all. Branches are generally the established weapons for other, more warlike, centaurs, cf. an amphora, New York 41.162.103, (*LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 166), a hydria, London 1846.5-18.35 (B51), (*ABV* 123.4; *Add²* 34; *LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 248).

⁵⁹ For instance, on an amphora, Naples SA 160, (*ABV* 271.68; *Add²* 71; *LIMC* 7: Peleus 220).

⁶⁰ For instance, on an amphora, Syracuse 21962, (*LIMC* 7: Peleus 158). There is also an instance where baby Herakles is being received by Cheiron but this is pictorially very rare; cf. on an amphora, Munich 1615A, (*ABV* 484.6; *Para* 221; *Add²* 122; *LIMC* 3: Cheiron 100).

⁶¹ The other standard centaurs represented on Attic vases are mostly nude but do sometimes wear clothing.

It is highly probable that the presence of the dog, connected with Cheiron, is directly related to a longstanding tradition:

Τὸ μὲν εὖρημα θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες·
ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν τούτῳ Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ὁ δὲ λαβῶν
ἐχάρη τῷ ὥρῳ καὶ ἐχρῆτο.

Game and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness.
(Xenophon, *The Art of Hunting*, 1)⁶²

However, although Cheiron was probably already associated with dogs and the hunt, as this later literature helps to suggest, it is here proposed that the inclusion of the dog, specifically, is a means of evoking an important milieu.

Dogs are generally the companions of men and because they are often found around man, dogs are a consistent feature of human society. Similarly, rather than Cheiron being displayed as a monster-type,⁶³ which he evidently is not, with the important symbol of the dog he is now represented as a "man" of the wilderness, doing what civilized men do with their dogs in the woods, that is, hunting. Instead of Cheiron being depicted as a daimonic creature living in the woods, he is here accompanied by his dog with his catch neatly strung up on the branch he carries, on his way back from a successful hunt.⁶⁴ He is now someone who can be equated with man through the device of the dog.⁶⁵ It is significant that, by way of contrast, Cheiron is not

⁶² Although Xenophon wrote in the 4th century BC, he is the product of a long literary tradition which means that his writing still is of value in terms of indicating previous modes of thought.

⁶³ The other centaurs are of a monster type and are most frequently depicted as engaged in fighting scenes. Their weapons are primarily rocks and roughly hewn branches; for instance, on an amphora, New York 41.162.103, (*LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 166), on a hydria, London 1846.5-18.35 (B51), (*ABV* 123.4; *Add*² 34; *LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 248). Other scenes in which they occur are with Herakles; for instance, an amphora, Naples 2537, (*ABV* 477; *Para* 217; *LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 139), an amphora, Louvre F266, (*LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 244) and being involved in the production of wine; for instance, on a lekythos, Malibu 86.AE.132, (*LIMC* 8: Kentauroi et Kentaurides 359).

⁶⁴ No dogs occur with the unspecific centaurs on Attic vases within the *LIMC*.

⁶⁵ In Apollodoros, *Bibl.* III.IV.4, Cheiron is again paired with dogs. Here he is portrayed as being able

represented with a dog when he features in scenes involving the marriage of Peleus and Thetis;⁶⁶ this is a human context, and the dog is not therefore needed to reinforce Cheiron's "humanness". That is, within this context, Cheiron has no need of the "civilizing" influence of the dog because the very context itself is humanized. Only "civilized" humans perform marriage ceremonies. The very fact that Cheiron takes part in this milieu is by extension a comment on his persona. However, if he is taken out of this necessary circumstance and set within his natural surroundings, the dog is needed to mark the distinction between civilized man and the elemental natural world.

Dogs as Carrion Eaters

As in the graphic descriptions of Homer, the most disturbing aspect in the representation of the dog in art is in its carrion-eating role. This image is most strongly evoked on an Exekian amphora in Philadelphia⁶⁷ in the scene where, on the right, Aias lifts the dead body of Achilleus, and on the left of the scene, Menelaos attacks an Aithiop [Plate 3b]. Depicted on the shield blazon of Menelaos, which occupies a comparatively large and central part of the picture field, is a dog that chews on some kind of substance that lies at its feet. This "substance" is most likely carrion since its size and shape does not suggest anything vegetarian. This scene is particularly evocative since to the right of this image is the dead body of Achilleus and to the immediate left of the shield blazon, the Aithiop whom Menelaos attacks seems to be in the process of dying.⁶⁸ The theme of death on either side is

to pacify the distraught dogs of Aktaion. It is also interesting to note that these dogs, in their wanderings, ended their quest by arriving at Cheiron's cave in particular.

⁶⁶ For instance, on a dinos, London 1971.11-1.1, (*Para* 19.16 *bis*; *Add*² 10; *LIMC* 3: Cheiron 41), on the François Vase, Florence 4209, (*ABV* 76.1; *Para* 29-30; *LIMC* 3: Cheiron 42).

⁶⁷ Philadelphia 3442, (*ABV* 145.14; *Para* 60; *Add*² 40).

⁶⁸ Both the weakened posture of the figure and the blood flowing from his chest point to his subsequent death. Beazley (1951:68) also interprets this as Menelaos' deathblow.

encapsulated in the carrion eating dog image on the shield, an image which evokes the Homeric references to the reviled scavenger who shamelessly gluts itself on raw flesh.

A rather curious scene with the same carrion eater theme is found on a later lekythos⁶⁹ that depicts three women in a presumed underworld scene [Plate 4a].⁷⁰ One of the women, identified as Hekate, is attached to a thick snake-like tail out of which two dogs also emerge; the dogs gnaw at a small human figure which is clearly defenseless against the onslaught.⁷¹ There is no clear mythology surrounding the chthonian goddess, Hekate. That is, she is a somewhat ambiguous figure since her domain extends from childbirth to guarding the crossroads and the gates to Hades. Together with Hekate and the mutilation of the eidolon, this scene explicitly presents the abomination of the carrion-eating dog to which nothing is sacrosanct. This negativity is compounded by the unnatural representation of the main figure with its hybrid body parts.

Occasionally in other vase painting scenes,⁷² the dog is represented with an object in its mouth. At first glance to a casual observer, the object looks like a stick. However, on closer examination, this "stick" looks remarkably like the hoof and lower leg of an ungulate. An example of this can be seen on an amphora, representing Memnon with two Aithiops [Plate 4b].⁷³ On the left stands one Aithiop holding a club in one hand, and his other is gesturing towards Memnon. He looks towards Memnon, to the right.

⁶⁹ Athens 19765, (*LIMC* 3: Erinyes 7).

⁷⁰ As is suggested in the entry for this vase: *LIMC* 3, Vol 6, p1013.

⁷¹ Both Karouzou (1972:65) and Sarian (*LIMC* 3:p 1013) identify the main figure as Hekate and the small human body as an eidolon. For further discussion of this scene, cf. Karouzou (1972).

⁷² For instance, on an amphora, Munich 1727, (*ABV* 397.33), on a neck amphora, Tarquinia RC 2801, (*ABV* 392.11; *LIMC* 6: Memnon 10).

⁷³ Tarquinia RC 2801, (*ABV* 392.11; *LIMC* 6: Memnon 10).

In the centre of the scene, facing left, stands Memnon, wearing a helmet, greaves, holding two spears, and a shield with a bird represented on the blazon. Juxtaposed behind Memnon's legs is a dog that looks up towards the Aithiop. The dog holds an animal's leg in its mouth. On the extreme right is another Aithiop, facing to the left. He is also gesturing. The overall atmosphere of the scene is overtly ominous. That is, the Aithiops are reacting to Memnon, which is inferred from their gesturing, an animal has died to feed the dog, and Memnon is fully armed and ready to engage in battle. Additionally, the bird on the shield could be interpreted as the depiction of a carrion-eating bird, similar to the vultures referred to in Homer (*Il.* 2.393). That is, in view of the overall tone of the scene, it seems unlikely that the bird image is meant to be benign. In view of the above discussion, the dog image clearly contributes to the overarching, negative tone of the scene.

Dogs Beneath Eating Couches

Occasionally, dogs are represented on vases where they are lying or crouched under a dining chair in interior scenes.⁷⁴ It seems likely that these scenes were inspired by Corinthian examples⁷⁵ as well as being a direct transference from scenes based in reality. This is significant in terms of indicating the ubiquity of dogs and the evidently close relationship between dog and master. Homer reinforces this relationship when he describes how two of Patroklos' dogs "of the table" were sacrificed on his funeral pyre.⁷⁶ It must also be noted that all of the dogs in this type

⁷⁴ For instance, on an amphora, Florence 70995, (*ABV* 110.32; *Para* 44; *Add'* 30; *LIMC* 3: Dionysos 756).

⁷⁵ For instance, on an amphora, Louvre E640, (*LIMC* 5: Ismene I 3), on a column krater, Louvre E635, (*LIMC* 6: Klytios I 1).

⁷⁶ *Iliad* 23.173. Also see Priam's reference to his household dogs in *Il.* 22.66 ff.

of scene are represented with collars around their necks, details that clearly signify their domesticity.

Hermes and Dogs

Many depictions of Hermes represent him as accompanied by a dog, often with a collar around its neck, which indicates that it is tamed [Plate 5a].⁷⁷ The dog is usually superimposed behind or in front of the god, making the intended association clear.

In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* we are told how Apollo, with the sanction of Zeus, bestows upon Hermes the domain that primarily incorporates the world of animals:⁷⁸

[ὥς ἔφατ'· οὐρανόθεν δὲ πατήρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἔπεσσι
θῆκε τέλος· πᾶσιν δ' ἄρ' ὃ γ' οἰωνοῖσι κέλευσεν]
καὶ χαροποῖσι λέουσι καὶ ἄργιόδοις σύεσσι
καὶ κυσὶ καὶ μήλοισιν, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών,
πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν, . . .
(IV.568a-571)

So he spake. And from heaven father Zeus himself gave confirmation to his words, and commanded that glorious Hermes should be lord over all birds of omen and grim-eyed lions, and boars with gleaming tusks, and over dogs and all flocks that the wide earth nourishes, and over all sheep.

Through the artists' inclusion of dogs in so many scenes with Hermes, it is evident that they understood the canine to be one of the attributes of Hermes. However, the artists involved the dog not only because Hermes was associated with the hound, but it would also seem natural to an artist that the god, as patron to herdsmen, should himself be accompanied by a dog, as are other herdsmen. Another possibility is rather more interesting and, again, leans heavily on evidence found in the *Hymn*.⁷⁹ In line

⁷⁷ For instance, an amphora, Boston 60.790, ((288.12 bis); Para 126; Add¹ 75; LIMC 4: Hera 427).

⁷⁸ However, Simon (1998:259) maintains that Hermes is not the male counterpart of Artemis and, therefore, should not be seen as the "Lord of the Animals."

⁷⁹ It must be noted that this poem is particularly valid for this study because it has been dated to the earlier part of the sixth century, Evelyn-White (1977:xxxviii).

194, we are told that although four "fierce-eyed" dogs guard Apollo's cattle, Hermes is still able to steal the bovines away. Based on this evidence, Lilja⁸⁰ proposes that the emphatic word (θέαυμα) which the poet uses to indicate Apollo's incredulity should be related to Hermes' extrasensory communications with dogs. If there is, indeed, this "telepathic" connection between Hermes and dogs, it is pertinent to consider the dogs of Eumaios in Homer, which responded to Athene, who, was not seen by any human other than Odysseus.⁸¹ This example offers a helpful insight that could be put forward as evidence of ancient perceptions surrounding the dog. That is, perhaps it was believed that the "sixth sense" was a faculty that dogs were capable of accessing, a quality which sets them apart from the other animals. Certainly, this would account for the dog's association with the eerie and supernatural, in the forms of Hekate, Hermes and the dog's predisposition for eating the carrion of previous life forms.

Miscellaneous Scenes

Kirke

One of the most well-known scenes in the *Odyssey* is the Kirke episode.⁸² This scene is variously represented in archaic Attic vase painting, in particular on the famous Boston cup [Plate 5b]:⁸³ At the left of this scene, in position *A* is a human figure with a lion's head, in position *B*, a man (Odysseus, cf. *Od.* 10.321 ff.) with his sword drawn, and, in position *C*, a figure with a human lower torso topped by a boar's head and hooves instead of hands. To the right of centre, in position *D*, stands Kirke, in the

⁸⁰ Lilja (1976:41).

⁸¹ As discussed above.

⁸² 10.135-574. See discussion above.

⁸³ Boston 99.518, (*ABV* 198; *Para* 80; *Add*² 53). For other representations, cf. a lekythos which represents Odysseus' companions as swine, Taranto 9125, (*ABL* 197.7; *Para* 213), a cup, Boston 99.519, (*ABV* 69.1; *Add*² 18).

process of handing over a cup, the contents of which she is stirring with her wand. Immediately below her outstretched hand which holds the cup, is a seated dog that looks up in her direction. The next three successive figures, in positions *E*, *F* and *G*, have a boar's head, a ram's head and a wolf's head respectively. The figure with the boar's head still retains its human hands while the other two have hooves and paws *per capita*. At the extreme right, in position *H*, a human figure steps towards the right but looks backwards over his shoulder, one hand gesturing in an upwards motion.⁸⁴ While Snodgrass uses this vase as an example of what he terms the "synoptic" method of conveying narrative visually,⁸⁵ nowhere does he account for the presence of the dog. Although the dog has been interpreted as another of the transformed *hetairoi*,⁸⁶ the pictorial and literary evidence seems to suggest otherwise. That is, the smallness of the scale of the dog and the central position it occupies in the picture field deliberately draws our attention to the animal. On the one hand, Davies⁸⁷ suggests that this was a depiction of a real dog functioning as the link between the human Kirke and the half-animal companions, while Schefold,⁸⁸ on the other hand, maintains that the dog draw our attention to the supernatural element of Kirke which is intrinsically connected to her knowledge of the Underworld. However, aside from the presence of the ram, the other animals that are portrayed in the scene all correspond faithfully to the list of enchanted beasts described in Homer. In view of this, it is proposed that the dog functions as a pictorial metaphor referring to the obsequious "dog-like" behaviour of these normally vicious beasts (*Od.* 10.214 ff.).

⁸⁴ Snodgrass (1982:8), Buitron and Cohen (1992:78) and Schefold (1992:298) all identify this figure as the frightened Eurylochos, cf. *Od.* 10.244 ff.

⁸⁵ (1982:7).

⁸⁶ Buitron and Cohen (1992:78).

⁸⁷ (1986:183).

⁸⁸ (1992:298). See Kirke's instructions to Odysseus in *Od.* 10.508 ff.

Additionally, just as the dog obediently sits and looks up to his mistress so too has Kirke successfully tamed Odysseus' men.

Love Tokens

Occasionally, the dog occurs in scenes that depict the exchange of love gifts.⁸⁹ Koch-Harnack,⁹⁰ who has completed an in depth study involving the love gifts and animal presents, cannot positively classify the dog as intended as a gift. However, she does suggest that the dog is part of a dual gift, complementing the presentation of the hare that was caught in the hunt. The dog, says Koch-Harnack, is the necessary accessory in the capture of the hare. Hence, the dog-hare combination can be seen as encoding a complex set of relationships: the dog and hare in the hunt, the dog and hare in the gift-exchange context, and the possible parallel with the erastes/eromenos couple.

Gigantomachy

Dogs also occur in Gigantomachy scenes, together with other felines and the snake [Plate 14b].⁹¹ As Carpenter⁹² points out, while dogs do seem to aid Dionysos in his battle against the giants, "there is no hint in literature that the dog was one of his manifestations."

Artistic Function

Another aspect of the dog lies purely in its artistic representation on vases. That is, the hound occupies a space for no other reason than to enhance the aesthetic

⁸⁹ For instance, on a fragment, Louvre F85, (*CVA* Louvre (3), Pl. 79.6), on an amphora, Louvre F26, (*ABV* 150.5; *Para* 63; *Add*² 42).

⁹⁰ (1983:79 ff.).

⁹¹ For instance, a cup fragment, Athens, Akr. 1632, (*LIMC* 4: Ge 4).

⁹² (1986:68).

composition of the picture field. A pertinent example can be found on a hydria in Bochum [Plate 6a].⁹³ The overall composition consists of two riders (the Dioskouroi), each seated on a horse, both frontally facing, and a dog is on the left of the field behind the legs of the horse on the left. The figure on the left looks towards the centre, facing the figure on the right. His horse, however, turns its head to the left, facing the outer edge of the picture field. The left figure appears to be a warrior since he is greaved, helmeted and holds two spears and a shield. The dog, on the ground level, is shown in profile to the right and his neck and head are lowered ground-ward. To the right of the picture space, the other figure faces to the left, towards the centre, apparently engaged in some sort of communication with the figure opposite him. He holds a short staff in his right hand. His horse faces to the right, looking towards the edge of the scene. Kunisch⁹⁴ comments on this scene and draws attention to the significant function that the dog serves in differentiating between the two riders, "indem er als bildgrundparallele Silhouette vorgeführt wird...hebt er die Frontalsicht der Reiter in die Dimension des Gegensätzlichen, Andersartigen." Here, not only has the dog served to strengthen the composition as a whole, but it is also thematically relevant.

Specific Mythological Scenes

Dogs also occur as monster-types in mythology, the most well-known being the dog of the Underworld, Kerberos [Plate 6b]. This dog embodies the most fearsome qualities of the watchdog, both in physique and in function. That is, in Attic black figure the canine usually is represented as a large species with two heads and a snake-

⁹³ Bochum inv. S 1165.

⁹⁴ (1986:31).

head terminating at the tip of its tail.⁹⁵ Kerberos stood guard over the entrance to the Underworld, a place where no mortal would dare to venture. It takes a great hero like Herakles to retrieve the dog, and this labour is his most difficult to complete.⁹⁶ It is in another of Herakles' labours that the second type of monster dog is found. In this case, it is Orthos, the dog that watched over the cattle of Geryoneus. Like Kerberos, this dog is represented with two heads in Attic black figure.⁹⁷ While Kerberos is the archetypal watchdog, Orthos is the model herd dog; both have heightened attributes which single them out as "other" to the more normal dog represented on the Attic vases. Aside from these mythological contexts, in Attic black figure, dogs are not obviously represented in the guise of watch dogs or herding dogs, as perceived from their context. Firstly, it would be difficult to portray a dog as either a guardian or a herder without amply representing the context in which it occurred. Secondly, there would be no reason to evoke such mundane contexts when more dynamic scenes were already a part of the artistic repertoire.

* * *

The sentimentalism and apparent meaning with which the dog is portrayed in archaic Attic black figure is not found in the earlier Geometric and Corinthian art. Within these earlier periods, the dog is highly idealized which strongly evokes the Homeric context of the hunt. In these hunt contexts, the dogs are not individuated entities and there is no suggestion that they are the companions of men.⁹⁸ Although Geometric and Corinthian art does not invite interpretation, since the pictorial motifs are

⁹⁵ For instance, on an amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, Vatican 372, (*ABV* 368.107; *Para* 162; *Add²* 98).

⁹⁶ For an example, see Boston 28.46, (*ABV* 261.38; *Add²* 68).

⁹⁷ For instance, on a lekythos, Delos 547, (*ABV* 379.274; *Para* 168; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2470), on a cup, London B442, (*LIMC* 5: Herakles 2471).

⁹⁸ Even in the "dining-couch" scenes, there is no sense of individualization or interaction between man

repetitive and primarily decorative, it does seem that the dog assumed greater importance in later art. That is, in Attic black figure the dog occurs primarily in the main scenes, in which mortals and immortals are depicted. Additionally, dogs as a general rule do not occur in the subsidiary animal bands, in the way that the lions and the other animals do. This suggests that the dog is placed in a different category to the other animals, all of which are found in the animal bands. It would seem that the dog was not seen as an "animal" *per se*, but rather a constant and familiar companion and thus occupied space in scenes rooted in reality. In these scenes, there seems to be a close identification with the dog and recognition that this animal shared most of man's living area. Despite this, the distasteful aspect of the dog is not ignored. That is, there is a sharp distinction between the portrayal of dogs that are domesticated and those that respond to a more feral description. The figure of the dog is either portrayed with a marked sentimentalism or placed in contexts with an overtly negative overtone. Although it is true that some artists preferred to represent dogs,⁹⁹ it is significant that the character of the animal is still strongly conveyed. That is, even in the work of the Amasis Painter there is a cup which, under each handle, represents a small dog in the act of defecating;¹⁰⁰ since the main scene on this cup involves satyrs sexually stimulating themselves, the actions of the dogs are charged with meaning. The less agreeable habits of the dog are revealed which indicates, to some extent, that the dog was not considered an entirely clean animal. It is just as revealing, by the omission, that other animals such as the lion are never represented in a compromising position. This indicates that each animal had specific connotations in antiquity.

and animals.

⁹⁹ Vases attributed to the Amasis Painter are especially noticeable for their enthusiastic depiction of dogs.

¹⁰⁰ Boston 10.651, (*ABV* 157.86, *Para* 65; *Add*² 46).

The representation of the dog in the different artistic fabrics, especially Attic black figure, strongly coincides with the dog as portrayed in the Homeric works. That is, the dog can be represented as a scavenger, as a companion, as an intermediary between the human and non-human realms and as an animal that was not entirely trusted to maintain a consistent mode of behaviour. In both Homer and archaic Attic black figure, the dog can be best expressed as a dichotomy, as an animal capable of polar extremes. Archetypally-speaking, the dog embodied both the light and the shadow side of the psyche; both the positive and the negative; it could be super aware (powers of telepathy) yet it could act in an unconscious and instinctual manner. However, the prevalence of the dog and its different manifestations in both literature and art, reveals that the creature impacted on a significant part of man's life in antiquity.

III

LIONS

Homer

In terms of the literary evidence, the figure of the lion in both Homeric epics is suggestive of potential violence and savagery. The lion is presented as an animal to be feared, a flesh-eating beast with no capacity for mercy. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, lions are generally endowed with the attributes of physical strength such as is appropriate to compare with the might of Aias (*Il.* 16.823 ff., 17.133 ff., *Od.* 6.130 ff.):

βῆ δ' ἵμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ἀλκὴ πεποιθώς,
ὅς τ' εἰς ὕόμενος καὶ ἀήμενος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
δαίεται· αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦσι μετέρχεται ἢ οἴεσσιν
ἢ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους· κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστήρ
μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·

...

and went in the confidence of his strength, like some hill-kept lion,
who advances, though he is rained on and blown by the wind, and both
eyes
kindle; he goes out after cattle or sheep, or it may be
deer in the wilderness, and his belly is urgent upon him
to get inside of a close steading and go for the sheepflocks.
(*Od.* 6.130-134)

They are represented as courageous, like Hektor (*Il.* 12.42 ff., 16.756 ff.):

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐμάρνατο ἴσος ἀέλλῃ·
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἐν τε κύνεσσι καὶ ἀνδράσι θηρευτῆσι
κάπριος ἢ λέων στρέφεται σθένει βλεμεαίνων·
οἱ δέ τε πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες
ἀντίον ἵστανται καὶ ἀκοντίζουσι θαμειᾶς
αἰχμὰς ἐκ χειρῶν· τοῦ δ' οὐ ποτε κυδάλιμον κῆρ
ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἀγνηορὴ δέ μιν ἔκτα·

But Hektor, as he had before, fought on like a whirlwind.
As when among a pack of hounds and huntsmen assembled
a wild boar or lion turns at bay in the strength of his fury,
and the men, closing themselves into a wall about him,
stand up to face him, and cast at him with the volleying spears thrown

from their hands, and in spite of this the proud heart feels not
terror, nor turns to run, and it is his own courage that kills him.
(*Il.* 12.40-46)

And they embody the concept of danger and brutality (*Il.* 11.113 ff., 15.592 ff., *Od.* 22.402 ff., 4.335 ff.), like Agamemnon slaughtering two helpless young Trojans:

ὥς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα
ρήϊδίως συνέαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὀδοῦσιν
ἐλθὼν εἰς εὐνήν, ἀπαλὸν τέ σφ' ἦτορ ἀπηύρα·
ἦ δ' εἴ περ τε τύχησι μάλα σχεδόν, οὐ δύναται σφι
χραιομεῖν· αὐτὴν γάρ μιν ὑπὸ τρόμος αἰνὸς ἰκάνει·
καρπαλίμως δ' ἥϊξε διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην
σπεύδουσ' ἰδρώουσα κραταιοῦ θηρὸς ὕφ' ὀρμῆς·

And as a lion seizes the innocent young of the running
deer, and easily crunches and breaks them caught in the strong teeth
when he has invaded their lair, and rips out the soft heart from them,
and even if the doe be very near, still she has no strength
to help, for the ghastly shivers of fear are upon her also
and suddenly she dashes away through the glades and the timber
sweating in her speed away from the pounce of the strong beast.
(*Il.* 11.113-119).

The sheer power of the lion is distinctly portrayed here since the deer does not even attempt to defend herself or her young. That is, she should instinctually seek to protect her offspring, as is the natural behaviour of a creature born of the wild. However, she is so overwhelmed by fear that she, instead, flees in terror.

The above Homeric passages provide keen insight into the character traits of the lion and it is evident that it is an animal around which strong connotations are aroused. However, while it is described primarily as a ferocious beast, the above passages reveal an element of respect and awe for the prowess of so powerful a beast.

Marauder of Livestock

The lions within the Homeric narratives perform in a variety of roles, the principal of which is that of the marauder of domestic livestock (*Il.* 5.136 ff.).¹⁰¹ Within this type

¹⁰¹ Lonsdale (1990:2).

of role, the lion is clearly seen as the wild intruder who comes down from the uncivilised wilderness and mountainous regions into the cultivated land inhabited by man (*Il.* 5.554 ff., 12.299 ff., *Od.* 6.130 ff.):

οἷω τώ γε λέοντε δῶω ὄρεος κορυφῇσιν
 ἐτραφέτην ὑπὸ μητρὶ βαθείης τάρφεσιν ὕλης·
 τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἀρπάζοντε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα
 σταθμοὺς ἀνθρώπων κεραΐζετον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτῶ
 ἀνδρῶν ἐν παλάμῃσι κατέκταθεν ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ·

. . . as two young lions in the high places of the mountains,
 had been raised by their mother in the dark of the deep forest,
 lions which as they prey upon the cattle and the fat sheep
 lay waste the steadings where there are men, until they also
 fall and are killed under the cutting bronze in the men's hands.
 (*Il.* 5.554-558)

Here, the lions are perceived as opportunistic parasites, eating food that does not require any effort on their behalf. For the herdsmen, only extreme measures, in this case death, are sufficient in order to solve the problem that they pose. However, this passage also reveals, by extension of the lion invader, the fate of the human invader in general. That is, the Achaians, with aggressive intention, have stepped into the territory of the Trojans, an action that most likely would result in many fatalities on both sides. Hence, the two Achaians, Orsilochos and Krethon, to whom the young lions are compared, are mercilessly attacked by the strong Trojan warrior, Aineias, in his defense of his homeland.

In direct opposition to this intruder-type, there is man (in the role of the shepherd/herdsman) who has set up his steadings and animal enclosures, human boundaries that the wild animal violates. In order to gain access to the livestock, many of the lions must actively jump over the physical barriers of the fences which man has constructed (*Il.* 5.136 ff., 5.554 ff.). While it might be argued that it is man who is the transgressor since he is the one who has entered the wilderness regions, in

these contexts, however, it is clearly the lion that disturbs the *status quo* and the one that is seen as the aggressor:¹⁰²

...
βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ὅς τ' ἐπιδευῆς
δηρὸν ἔη κρειῶν, κέλεται δέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·
εἴ περ γάρ χ' εὖρησι παρ' αὐτόφι βώτορας ἄνδρας
σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δούρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα,
οὐ ῥά τ' ἀπείρητος μέμονε σταθμοῖο δῖεσθαι,
ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἄρ' ἦ ἥρπαξε μετάλμενος, ἥ ἐ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἔβλητ' ἐν πρώτοισι θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι·

...
he went onward like some hill-kept lion, who for a long time
has gone lacking meat, and the proud heart is urgent upon him
to get inside of a close steading and go for the sheepflocks.
And even though he finds herdsmen in that place, who are watching
about their sheepflocks, armed with spears, and with dogs, even so
he has no thought of being driven from the steading without some attack
made,
And either makes his spring and seizes a sheep, or else
himself is hit in the first attack by a spear from a swift hand
thrown.

(*Il.* 12.299-306)

The other roles that the lion features in, of a less common occurrence, are those where:

- the lion is the opportunistic scavenger (*Il.* 3.23 ff., 11.474 ff.);
- the lion is the object of the hunt or the quarry (*Il.* 8.338 ff., 12.41 ff.);
- the feline is the hunter of other animals (*Il.* 11.113 ff.);
- the beast pits his strength against an equal adversary (*Il.* 16.756 ff. [lion versus lion], 16.823 ff. [lion versus boar]).

¹⁰² For discussions on how the lion similes impact on and highlight the stature of the particular heroes, cf. Lonsdale (1990), Moulton (1977).

Scavenger

In the scavenger role, the lion is reminiscent of the dogs that gorge themselves on fallen warriors. However, in the context of the *Iliad*, the circumstance of the lion itself is threatened, in comparison with Menelaos, chancing on Paris in the midst of battle:

ὥς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας
 εὐρών ἢ ἔλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα
 πεινάων· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει, εἴ περ ἄν αὐτὸν
 σεύωνται ταχέες τε κύνες θαλεροί τ' αἰζηοί·

He was glad, like a lion who comes upon a mighty carcass,
 in his hunger chancing upon the body of a horned stag
 or wild goat; who eats it eagerly, although against him
 are hastening the hounds in their speed and the stalwart young men.

(*Il.* 3.23-26)

Here, the lion risks the danger represented by the huntsmen and their dogs in order to assuage its very real and desperate hunger.¹⁰³ Because it is motivated by a survival mechanism and not by greed, for instance, the lion is not portrayed as base and abhorrent, as the scavenging dog is tended to be perceived: it is this hunger impulse, however, that determines the beast's behaviour and that drives the lion to vicious extremes.¹⁰⁴ The poet is very aware of this potentially malign influence when he points out that it is raw meat that the beast feeds on (*Il.* 5.782 ff., 7.256 ff.). As structuralist analysis has shown us, this clearly demarcates man from the creature he is being compared to, since the mark of a civilized man is one who cooks his meat before consumption. However, the lion is still portrayed as one of the superior creatures found in the animal kingdom and, in the *Iliad*, the feline is placed in sharp

¹⁰³ For other instances where hunger is the motivator, cf. *Il.* 12.299 ff., 16.756 ff., 18.161 ff. For the connected theme of hunger in relation to the protagonist, Odysseus, cf. Magrath (1982:207 ff.).

¹⁰⁴ Lonsdale (1990:65) suggests that the warrior's "hunger" for glory is as compelling as the lion's voracious appetite for meat.

juxtaposition with the more common scavenging animals, who flee in terror at the sight of the beast:

... ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
 Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὥς εἴ τε δαφουνοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν
 ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ
 ἰὼ ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μὲν τ' ἤλυξε πόδεσσι
 φεύγων, ὄφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε δαμάσσεται ὥκὺς οἰστός,
 ὠμοφάγοι μιν θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι δαρδάπτουσιν
 ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῷ· ἐπὶ τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων
 σίντην· θῶες μὲν τε διέτρεσαν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δάπτει·

... and around him
 the Trojans crowded, as bloody scavengers in the mountains
 crowd on a horned stag who is stricken, one whom a hunter
 shot with an arrow from the string, and the stag has escaped him, running
 with his feet, while the blood stayed warm, and his knees were springing
 beneath him.

But when the pain of the flying arrow has beaten him, then
 the rending scavengers begin to feast on him in the mountains
 and the shaded glen. But some spirit leads that way a dangerous
 lion, and the scavengers run in terror, and the lion eats it.

(*Il.* 11.473-481)

This simile presents a complex image which compares Odysseus, beset by Trojans, to the stag; the lion seems to signify Aias, who eventually comes to his rescue. Although all of the animals here are essentially opportunists that prefer to prey on an already weakened animal, the lion is still set apart from the common predator. That is, it is some daimon that leads the lion to the carcass, an image that evokes a quasi-divine context for one cannot imagine, for instance, a dog being drawn to a corpse through the agency of a daimon. This immediately elevates the lion to a more noble stature than the other lesser animals. In addition to this, even the ignoble scavengers recognize the lion as a superior beast since, at its arrival, they run away from it in fear, instinctively understanding their place in Nature's hierarchy.

The Hunted Versus the Hunter

Even when the lion occurs in the 'hunted' role, its power and the strength is in no way diminished:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων σὺς ἀγρίου ἢ λέοντος
ἄπτηται κατόπισθε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκων
ἰσχία τε γλουτούς τε, ἐλίσσόμενόν τε δοκεύει, . . .

As when some hunting hound in the speed of his feet pursuing
a wild boar or a lion snaps from behind at his quarters
or flanks, but watches for the beast to turn upon him, . . .
(*Il.* 8.338-340)

In some of the similes, the poet will compare a warrior to both the boar and the lion, but presenting them as alternatives to the other. In the above passage, Hektor is pursuing the Achaians but it is not clear whom the boar or the lion represents. However, perhaps the animal must necessarily be indefinite since no specific hero on the Achaian side is being referred to. In this regard, the lion and the boar are invoked as equally weighted alternatives; both are the prey. Although the lion is portrayed in a weaker role than normal, the lion does not usually appear as a victim unless it has been parenthetically placed with the boar, as the quarry.¹⁰⁵ However, even if the lion is presented as an alternate to the boar, the wild pig is a formidable adversary and a dangerous object of the hunt.¹⁰⁶ As a result, one cannot validly compare the lion with the more common and timid objects of the hunt, like the deer and the wild goat; in the hunt context, the lion is still portrayed as a glorious beast. This is recognized by the reactions of the hunting hounds, as it was by the scavengers in the previous passage. That is, the hunting dogs, that are accustomed to and skilled in the hunt, are on their guard for any reprisals from this dangerous beast. On the other hand, it is more common for the lion to be represented in the role of the hunter. Here, it is portrayed

¹⁰⁵ Lonsdale (1990:22).

¹⁰⁶ See section on boars below, page 97 ff.

as a merciless opponent that cold-heartedly kills its victims and devours their lifeless forms.

Equal Adversary

With regard to the last role, that of an equal adversary,¹⁰⁷ Lonsdale¹⁰⁸ draws some pertinent correspondences in terms of the implied equality between the boar and the lion. He offers various occurrences of emotive words and phrases attributed to animals within the Homeric works, which convey their fearless and bold nature; two animals which are repeatedly associated with such qualities are the boar and the lion. As already mentioned, they are two animals that are often presented as a substitute for one another (*Il.* 5.782 ff., 7.256 ff., 12.42). As a result, the boar also takes on a new significance; it is a creature that is regarded as worthy of challenging the lion, and, as will be discussed later, this is an image that is carried through into the artistic realm on archaic vases.

In the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, we can again see the evidence of this ancient perception. In one instance, in the description of Herakles' shield, we are told that the two ranks of animals (boar versus lion) pair off and glower at one another with rivaling animosity:

Ἐν δὲ συῶν ἀγέλαι χλούνων ἔσαν ἡδὲ λεόντων
 ἔς σφέας δερκομένων, κοτεόντων θ' ἱεμένων τε.
 τῶν καὶ ὀμιληδὸν στίχες ἦισαν, οὐδέ νυ τῷ γε
 οὐδέτεροι τρεέτην, φρίσσόν γε μὲν αὐχένας ἄμφω.
 ἦδη γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγας λῆς, ἄμφι δὲ κάπροι
 δοιοί, ἀπουράμενοι ψυχάς· κατὰ δέ σφι κελαινὸν
 αἶμ' ἀπελείβετ' ἔραζ'· οἱ δ' αὐχένας ἐξεριπόντες
 κείατο τεθνηῶτες ὑπὸ βλοσυροῖσι λέουσιν·

¹⁰⁷ 'Equal adversary' encompasses a range of shared attributes: equal strength, shared savagery, mass, and connotative value.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Lonsdale (1990). His Appendix B details all the occurrences of the differing forms of the word φρῆν which occurs in words applied both to the lion and the boar.

Also there were upon the shield droves of boars
 and lions who glared at each other, being furious
 and eager: the rows of them moved on together,
 and neither side trembled but both bristled up their
 manes. For already a great lion lay between them
 and two boars, one on either side, bereft of life, and
 their dark blood was dripping down upon the ground;
 they lay dead with necks outstretched beneath the
 grim lions. And both sides were roused still more
 to fight because they were angry, the fierce boars
 and the bright-eyed lions.

(168-175)

Here, a fierce and tense scene of confrontation between equal adversaries is being depicted. Although two boars have already been killed in the battle, the remainder of the boar group share the same attributes as the lions. That is, both types of animals glower at one another and have bristling "manes", both are brave and are motivated by their anger and both are eager to fight. Besides the boar embodying similar character traits as the lion, it is the only other animal that has a "mane" that can bristle in a hostile manner. This detail allows for artistic effect particularly when the boar is being compared to the lion.

Another indicator of the perceived similar qualities between the two animals is the fact that they are both described as having glowing or glaring eyes which signifies their inherent savagery (cf. *Shield of Herakles*, 426, 390-91, Homer, *Od.* 6.130 ff. [eyes that kindle], 11.611 [lions with glaring eyes in the baldric of Herakles], *Il.* 20.164 ff.). This, together with the above evidence, indicates that the boar and the lion were regarded as interchangeable, specifically within the Homeric animal similes (*Il.* 11.293, 12.42).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Lonsdale (1990:71).

Although the lion is occasionally described as being in a state of fear, these instances do not substantially alter the overall impression of the creature:

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ' ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον ὤρσε·
 στῆ δὲ ταφών, ὅπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἑπταβόειον,
 τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας ἐφ' ὀμίλου θηρὶ ἐοικώς
 ἐντροπαλιζόμενος ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων.
 ὥς δ' αἰθῶνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο
 ἐσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἀγροιώται,
 οἳ τέ μιν οὐκ εἰῶσι βοῶν ἐκ πίᾱρ ἐλέσθαι
 πάννυχτοι ἐγρήσσοντες· ὃ δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
 ἰθύει, ἀλλ' οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γὰρ ἄκοντες
 ἀντίον ἀΐσσουσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 καίόμενάι τε δεταί, τάς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ·
 ἤῳθεν δ' ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῷ.

But Zeus father who sits on high drove fear upon Aias.
 He stood stunned, and swung the sevenfold ox-hide shield behind him
 and drew back, throwing his eyes round the crowd of men, like a wild
 beast,
 turning on his way, shifting knee past knee only a little;
 as when the men who live in the wild and their dogs have driven
 a tawny lion away from the mid-fenced ground of their oxen,
 and will not let him tear out the fat of the oxen, watching
 nightlong against him, and he in his hunger for meat closes in
 but can get nothing of what he wants, for the rainy javelins
 thrown from the daring hands of the men beat ever against him,
 and the flaming torches, and these he balks at for all of his fury
 and with the daylight goes away, disappointed of desire.

(*Il.* 11.543-555)¹¹⁰

While the lion starts out feeling afraid of the men, it in fact retreats more with feelings of frustration at its lack of success than with feelings of fear. As Lonsdale indicates,¹¹¹ the combination of the lion's courageous and fearful emotions serves to create a more naturalistic portrayal of the creature.

As seen above, the bulk of lion references occur within the simile formulas, however lions can also be found in several other categories. Reference to the lion can be found in:

¹¹⁰ For an example in the *Odyssey*, cf. 4.791 ff. where Penelope worries whether Telemachos will be killed by the suitors.

¹¹¹ (1990:46). He also comments (1990:44) that the lion is largely portrayed in three dimensional terms, and, as a result, is the most realistic of all the animals mentioned in the similes.

- epithets (*Il.* 5.639 ["the heart of a lion"], 7.228 ["Achilleus the lion-hearted"]);
- metaphors (*Il.* 21.483-4 ["Zeus has made you a lion among women"]).¹¹²

In addition to this,

- lion hides are used as cloaks worn by great heroes (*Il.* 10.23 ff.[Agamemnon], 10.177 ff. [Diomedes]);
- lions are represented on works of art (*Od.* 11.611);
- lions occur in scenes of enchantment as manifestations (*Od.* 4.456 [Old Man of the Sea]; 10.212 ff. [Kirke's beasts]).

It has become clear from the many examples of contexts in which the lion occurs, that the lion image was especially liked by the poet, and by extension, by the people of the era. Within the *Iliad*, it is also evident that the leonine attributes are generally allied with the Achaian forces, whose warriors seem unconsciously to imitate the lion. That is, the lion and the Achaian forces are both the invaders: one jumps over the sides of livestock enclosures, and the other wishes to scale the Trojan walls.¹¹³ Although the lion is savagely portrayed, it is not an indictment of the feline but rather a testimonial to the power inherent in the animal. The story of the outcome of the Trojan War was certainly already known by the people who listened to the Iliadic tales. That is, the Achaian forces will eventually bring about the destruction of Troy. In view of the tendency to match the lion image with the Achaians, and in view of the fact that the focus of the *Iliad* revolves primarily around two Achaian fighters, Achilleus and Agamemnon, it seems that the Achaians were favoured by the poet above the Trojan troops. Hence the lion is paired more commonly with the Achaian side since the animal is the strongest and most powerful of all the animals. Since the feline image

¹¹² I merely note these as categories but do not discuss them since they are largely self-explanatory.

incorporates the concept of victory, the poet has in fact anticipated the Achaian triumph.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that within the *Iliad*, the poet allows only two warriors to wear a lion-skin cloak, and both of them are Achaian. The first hero is Agamemnon who occupies the prestigious position of king of Mykenai and chief leader of the Achaians:

ὀρθωθείς δ' ἔνδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,
ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
ἀμφὶ δ' ἔπειτα δαφοινὸν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος
αἴθωνος μέγαλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ' ἔγχος.

He stood upright, and slipped the tunic upon his body,
and underneath his shining feet he bound the fair sandals,
and thereafter slung across him the tawny hide of a lion
glowing and huge, that swung to his feet, and took up a spear.

(*Il.* 10.21-24)

The second is Diomedes, who is one of the greatest Achaian fighters as well as being Lord of Argos:

ᾠς φάθ', ὃ δ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος
αἴθωνος μέγαλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ' ἔγχος.

He spoke, and the other wrapped his shoulders in the hide of a lion
glowing and huge, that swung to his feet, and took up a spear.

(*Il.* 10.177-178)

Both men are among the elite at Troy and the adjectival phrase, "glowing and huge", in both passages, raises the ordinary activity of donning a pelt, as a basic item of clothing, to a new level. Based on this, the action becomes imbued with potential significance.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Lonsdale (1990:61).

¹¹⁴ The other Achaian whom one might expect to be categorized in this group as "lion-like" in his demeanour is Achilles. However, it would be redundant on the poet's part to issue a lion skin to this hero because he is distinguished by his godly armour, the description of which takes up most of *Iliad*, 18. It can be regarded as significant that, as part of the artwork on his shield, two fierce leonine aggressors are described as harassing a herd of cattle (*Il.* 18.579 ff.).

In view of the above passages, a tempting interpretation presents itself: it could be proposed that the men who wear a specific pelt take on the character attributes of that particular animal.¹¹⁵ The evidence certainly supports such a notion. For one, the lion is the predominant animal image in the *aristeia* of Agamemnon in Book 11 of the *Iliad*.¹¹⁶ Out of thirteen animal similes, lions occur in eight of them. Within these eight, Agamemnon is directly compared to the lion in the two short similes (*Il.* 11.129 ff., 11.239). In terms of the remaining, more developed similes, the image in lines 113 ff. is conspicuous, occurring in the scene where Agamemnon strikes down Isos and Antiphos.¹¹⁷ Here, Agamemnon is compared to the lion, and his two victims to the young of a deer. This is a particularly powerful image because the victims in this context are the super-vulnerable young of an animal that is already the natural prey of the carnivore. The fawns are vulnerable not only by virtue of their nature but they also lack the vital speed that is necessary for their escape, speed to which a fully-grown deer has recourse.¹¹⁸ The image of the victims' lack of speed for escape is carried through to the next long simile in lines 172 ff. Here, the Trojans flee from the bloody Agamemnon in an attempt to reach the city gates and to re-group; a section of them cannot keep the pace and are stranded in the middle of the plain. In a similar manner to the fawns, this latter group falls under the hands of the raging Agamemnon, and by extension the brutal lion figure:¹¹⁹

οἱ δ' ἔτι καὶ μέσσον πεδίον φοβέοντο βόες ὥς,
 ἄς τε λέων ἐφόβησε μολῶν ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ
 πάσας· τῇ δέ τ' ἰὴ ἀναφαίνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος·
 τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσι
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει·

¹¹⁵ Certainly the totemic significance of an animal hide cannot be completely disregarded.

¹¹⁶ Lonsdale (1990:56 ff.). See page 44 above.

¹¹⁷ See above for quotation of this passage.

¹¹⁸ Lonsdale (1990:59) suggests that the use of anthropomorphic vocabulary further intensifies the drama of the scene.

¹¹⁹ The "attacking lion" motif is important because in "nearly every instance this leonine aggression is both motivated and orchestrated by a god . . . invariably the warrior described as leonine aggressor is successful and his opponent is vanquished", Markoe (1989:88).

while others still in the middle plain stampeded like cattle
 when a lion, coming upon them in the dim night, has terrified
 the whole herd, while for a single one sheer death is emerging.
 first the lion breaks her neck caught fast in the strong teeth,
 then gulps down the blood and all the guts that are inward.

(*Il.* 11.172-176)

A frightening and gruesome picture is painted which highlights the fear that the Trojans feel on being confronted by so great and strong a warrior. This gory image finds its parallel in the *Odyssey*, in the lion similes describing the blood-spattered Odysseus after his slaughter of the suitors (*Od.* 22.402 ff., 23.48 ff.). Again, lion and hero present a terrifying image. In the same way that the lion is covered with the blood of an ox that it has ravaged, so too all around is the bloody aftermath of Odysseus' killings.

It is no accident that most of the main protagonists in each work are likened to the lion. This presents an interesting but circular conceptualization. That is, the imagery of the lion amplifies the greatness of the hero in the very same way that the distinction of the hero cements the potency of the lion figure.

Within *Iliad* 11, it is significant that the great Hektor is compared to a mere huntsman in lines 292-3:

ὥς δ' ὅτε πού τις θηρητὴρ κύνας ἀργιόδοντας
 σεύη ἐπ' ἀγροτέρῳ συὶ καπρίῳ ἢ λέοντι, . . .

As when some huntsman drives to action his hounds with shining
 teeth against some savage beast, wild boar or lion, . . .

Here, he encourages his men as a huntsman drives his hounds against a savage beast.

An assortment of these savage beasts are mentioned,¹²⁰ and again the beasts (note the lion) are a direct reference to the Achaian forces. In this context, the grandeur of the

lion image is not employed for Hektor's benefit. As a result, a slightly impotent and fallible image of Hektor, and by extension the Trojan side since Hektor is their greatest warrior, is presented. This interpretation is validated since the lions mentioned in the remaining three similes are also directly compared to heroes on the Achaian side (474 ff. [Aias], 547 ff. [Aias], 382 ff. [Diomedes]).

In Book 5, which contains the *aristeia* of Diomedes, a total of seven lion references can be identified, six of which are in simile form.¹²¹ In the first simile Diomedes is cast as the marauding lion when he rejoins the battle after Athene's advice as to what to do if confronted by an immortal:

δὴ τότε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἔλεν μένος ὥς τε λέοντα
ὃν ῥά τε ποιμὴν ἀγρῷ ἐπ' εἰροπόκοις ὅτεσσι
χραύσῃ μὲν τ' αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον οὐδὲ δαμάσῃ·
τοῦ μὲν τε σθένος ὤρσεν, ἔπειτα δέ τ' οὐ προσαμύνει,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ σταθμοὺς δύεται, τὰ δ' ἐρῆμα φοβεῖται·
αἱ μὲν τ' ἀγχιστῖναι ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι κέχυνται,
αὐτὰρ ὃ ἐμμεμαῶς βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς·

now the strong rage tripled took hold of him, as of a lion
whom the shepherd among his fleecy flocks in the wild lands
grazed as he leapt the fence of the fold, but has not killed him,
but only stirred up the lion's strength, and can no more fight him
off, but hides in the steading, and the frightened sheep are forsaken,
and these are piled pell-mell on each other in heaps, while the lion
raging still leaps out again over the fence of the deep yard.

(*Il.* 5.136-142)

Diomedes presents a formidable picture through the image of the rampaging lion. Even the normal guardian of the flocks cannot withstand the wrath and strength of this beast. This renewed enthusiasm for battle culminates in the following simile (161 ff.) where Diomedes kills Echemmon and Chromios, and where the lion breaks the neck

¹²⁰ Note the alternatives of the boar and the lion.

¹²¹ Aineias stands out as the only Trojan to be accorded the emblem of the lion (*Il.* 5.476). However, this is the exception rather than the rule.

of and kills a bovine.¹²² In lines 476 ff., when Sarpedon admonishes Hektor, accusing his men of "slinking away like hounds who circle the lion", it is not clear who the human equivalent of the lion is, but it is definitely an Achaian and most likely a reference to Diomedes, considering the two earlier images in lines 136 ff. and 161 ff. The lion images in the last two similes, one developed (554 ff.) and one short (782 ff.), appropriately refer to Diomedes' men. In 554 ff., the twin brothers, Orsilochos and Krethos, are likened to two young lions that prey on the livestock of man, while, in lines 780 ff., the men are not named but are described as the bravest of the Achaeans who huddle around Diomedes. The last lion reference is an epithet that is invoked by the Achaian, Tlepolemos, when he refers to his father, Herakles, as a man with "the heart of a lion" (639). If Book 5 is looked at as a whole, besides one short simile in lines 778-79, where the horses of Hera in their eagerness to stand by the brave Achaeans are compared to shivering doves, the rest of the animal imagery is wholly restricted to the lion. Clearly, the lion carries the distinction of being the favoured animal subject within Books 5 and 11 that relate the *aristeiai* of two of the greatest Achaian warriors and, by no means coincidentally, these are the two warriors who even wear the pelt of the fierce beast. As a result, this animal presents a formidable image of strength and ferocity.

According to Magrath,¹²³ the series of lion imagery in the *Odyssey* acts as a vehicle to exponentially build up the feeling of violence as the story progresses. Through a detailed analysis, Magrath reveals the association between the similes that occur in the *Odyssey* and their climactic impact in the bloody Book 22. He suggests that the savage killing in this book is not carried out in the likeness of a rabid dog, but is

¹²² This mode of killing occurs in the *aristeiai* of both Agamemnon (11.175) and Menelaos (17.63): Lonsdale (1990:53).

described more meaningfully as a leonine attack. Certainly, this has far-reaching ramifications for the character of the hero; the hero does not engage in senseless killings and his actions are ennobled with righteous purpose. In fact, in the *Odyssey*, both Odysseus and his son, Telemachos, are identified with the figure of the lion. Out of the eleven lion similes, Odysseus is the subject of six of them. In 4.335 ff. and 17.126 ff., where it is predicted that Odysseus will kill the suitors, he is compared to the terrifying lion wrecking havoc upon the defenseless fawns placed mistakenly in the lion's lair:

ὥς δ' ὅπῳτ' ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος
 νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνοὺς
 κνημοὺς ἐξερέησι καὶ ἄγκεα ποιήεντα
 βοσκομένη, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα ἔην εἰσῆλυθεν εὐνὴν,
 ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφῆκεν, . . .

As when a doe has brought her fawns to the lair of a lion
 and put them there to sleep, they are newborn and still suckling,
 then wanders out in the foothills and the grassy corners,
 grazing there, but now the lion comes back to its own lair
 and visits shameful destruction on both mother and children, . . .
 (*Od.* 4.335-339)

This rather serious error on the mother's behalf underlines the great mistake that the suitors have made in foisting themselves on the household of Odysseus. It seems unnatural that a deer could not have smelt the lingering presence of the previous inhabitant, just as it is against the typical rules of conduct for the suitors to take advantage of Odysseus' absence from his home.

In *Odyssey* 4.724, Odysseus is portrayed as a man with the heart of a lion, a formula found in the description of the celebrated Herakles (*Il.* 5.639) and in a modified form concerning the illustrious Achilles (*Il.* 7.228 – "lion-hearted").¹²⁴ However, it seems

¹²³ (1982:205).

¹²⁴ The other two similes concerning the gory countenance of Odysseus (22.401 ff., 23.48) have been

that being "lion-hearted" is a rather ambivalent image. That is, in view of Magrath's comments, and taking into account the separate leonine vignettes, to have the heart of a lion is to be courageous and strong but with violent overtones; this is more apparent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. Within the *Iliad*, there are two parent-child similes that soften the harsh imagery found in the *Odyssey*. Here, the strongly protective instinct of the feline is evoked (*Il.* 17.133 ff., 18.318 ff.):

Αἴας δ' ἄμφι Μενoitιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὺ καλύψας
 ἐστήκει ὥς τις τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσιν,
 ᾧ ῥά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ
 ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες· ὃ δέ τε σθένει βλεμεαίνει,
 πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων·

Now Aias covering the son of Menoitios under his broad shield
 stood fast, like a lion over his young, when the lion
 is leading his little ones along, and men who are hunting
 come upon them in the forest. He stands in the pride of his great strength
 hooding his eyes under the cover of down-drawn eyelids.

(*Il.* 17.132-136)

In above passage and in 18.318 ff., it is the dead Patroklos who is likened to the young cubs and Achaian warriors who fulfil the role of the parent. Both of these passages are strongly emotive and introduce a humanized element to the lion. That is, the fierce warrior (both animal and human) is strongly loyal and protective over its own and the audience is given the opportunity to vicariously relate with the lion.

Again, in the *Odyssey*, Telemachos is once compared to a lion, in the scene where Penelope worries about her son's welfare at the hands of the suitors (*Od.* 4.791 ff.). Here, Telemachos is likened to a lion that is caught within a crowd of men, a situation that creates cause for fright. In view of the pervading images concerning the strength and power of the lion, this simile is particularly alarming. That is, it is the sheer

quantity of men that decides the outcome and which evokes the fear response; here the quality of prowess is of little or no import.

The remaining lion imagery within the *Odyssey* involves:

- being represented as part of the ekphrasis on the baldric of Herakles (11.610 ff.);
- being present in scenes of enchantment which include:
 - the leonine aspect of Proteus (4.456);
 - the beasts of Kirke (10.212 ff.);
- the Polyphemos episode.

Although the baldric of Herakles is not described in detail, three types of animals are found on it; the lion, the boar and the bear. These formidable creatures are representative of the strength of Herakles. That is, because they are strong, courageous and powerful animals, they have little cause to fear others in the animal kingdom. Both Herakles and the animals are superior creatures in each of their natural realms. In the same way that these animals underline the significant traits of Herakles, so too does each animal reinforce the qualities of the other beasts that they are grouped with. For instance, the boar must be seen as strong and fierce since the bear and the lion both embody the same characteristic. Since the boar has been included in this group, the poet has recognized this as a valid character attribute for the wild pig.

The same argument can be applied to the animals occurring as the various manifestations of Proteus. In terms of the metamorphoses of Proteus, the lion is mentioned in relation to similarly dangerous animals, that is, the snake, the leopard and the boar. As is the case with the above passage, each animal reinforces the character of the other.

Similarly, although Kirke's beasts are dog-like in their demeanour, the lion is paired with the wolf, a naturally fierce predator. In fact, the inborn fierceness of these two types of beast serves to magnify the potency of Kirke's magical abilities; she has completely emasculated savage and wild creatures.

Lastly, in the Polyphemos episode, there is a feline simile in which the *Kyklops* is compared to a "lion reared in the hills" (*Od.* 9.292). With Polyphemos being compared to a ferocious lion that mauls its prey, the beast and monster each reaffirm the other's brutal nature. While the Polyphemos scene is already disturbingly gruesome, the evocation of the lion is reminiscent of such other ferocious similes found in the *Iliad* where the lion gorges on the blood and flesh of its victims:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος ἀλκὴ πεποιθὼς
 βοσκομένης ἀγέλης βοῦν ἀρπάσῃ ἢ τις ἀρίστη
 τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὀδοῦσι
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει
 δηῶν·

As when in the confidence of his strength some lion
 hill-reared snatches the finest cow in a herd as it pastures;
 first the lion breaks her neck caught fast in the strong teeth,
 then gulps down the blood and all the guts that are inward
 savagely, . . .

(*Il.* 17.61-65)

In the same bloodthirsty way that Polyphemos kills and devours the companions, so too does the lion glut itself on its victims. It is evident from the above evidence that the visual image of the lion, within the Homeric works, is strongly portrayed and contributes much to the taut tension that occurs between the characters. While it is cruel and savage at times, it is never unrealistically rendered.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ The exception to this is, as Stanford (1967:277) points out, often quoted by others, the lions are not described as making a sound; they never roar.

The common theme that runs throughout the above passages is the consistent portrayal of the fierceness and grandeur of the lion:

Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίον ὤρτο λέων ὥς
 σίντης, ὃν τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀποκτάμεναι μεμάασιν
 ἀγρόμενοι πᾶς δῆμος· ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀτίζων
 ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτε κέν τις ἀρηϊθόων αἰζηῶν
 δουρὶ βάλλῃ ἐάλῃ τε χανῶν, περί τ' ἀφρὸς ὀδόντας
 γίγνεται, ἐν δέ τέ οἱ κραδίη στένει ἄλκιμον ἦτορ,
 οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 μαστίεται, ἐξ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι,
 γλαυκιόων δ' ἰθὺς φέρεται μένει, ἦν τινα πέφνη
 ἀνδρῶν, ἣ αὐτὸς φθίεται πρώτῳ ἐν ὀμίλῳ·

... From the other
 side the son of Peleus rose like a lion against him,
 the baleful beast, when men have been straining to kill him, the county
 all in the hunt, and he at the first pays them no attention
 but goes his way, only when some one of the impetuous men
 has hit him with the spear he whirls, jaws open, over his teeth foam
 breaks out, and in the depth of his chest the powerful heart groans;
 he lashes his own ribs with his tail and the flanks on both sides
 as he rouses himself to fury for the fight, eyes glaring,
 and hurls himself straight onward on the chance of killing some one
 of the men, or else being killed himself in the first onrush.

(*Il.* 20.164-173)

It is significant that the beast is described in such careful detail. Clearly, the poets in antiquity had a strong visual image of the animal, together with an understanding of the leonine behavioural and character tendencies. As a result, the lion is portrayed with a remarkable consistency and a richness that strongly suggests that the animal lived and breathed in the imaginations of the people of antiquity. As opposed to the ambiguity around the presentation of the dog, the Homeric evidence offers a unified image of the lion wherein the creature is brave, strong, proud and powerful. It is an animal that is also capable of strong emotion; while it does feel fear and anguish, this in no way lessens the magnificence surrounding the image of the lion. It is significant that these characteristics are carried through onto the different artistic fabrics since it indicates a unified and prevailing understanding of the essence of the animal.

Vase Painting

Geometric

According to Boardman,¹²⁶ it is not likely that many Greeks actually ever saw a lion which is probably why there are various changing forms of the feline figure throughout the different artistic techniques and fabrics. In the Geometric period, the lion is represented in the typically simple and stylized style of the period [Plate 7a & b].¹²⁷ The lion often looks very dog-like with a thin torso, heavy chest, thick neck and large head. The feet are curled in an artistic attempt to represent claws.

According to Boardman, the neo-Hittite lion figure with its box-like head and dangling tongue is the first to become popular in Geometric painting but, in the late 7th century, this sort is outmoded by the Assyrian type, characterized by a bulky mane, folded ear and tapered snout.¹²⁸

A highly atypical scene can be found on a Attic tetrapod stand¹²⁹ which represents a man fighting a lion [Plate 7c]. The man, on the right, holds a spear in one hand and a sword in his other, while the lion, on the left, stands on its hindquarters and rakes at the legs of the warrior with its forepaws. According to Hölscher,¹³⁰ this scene is based neither in reality or mythology, but is rather to be seen as the generalized "death-power" (*Todesgewalt*) that the lion represents.

¹²⁶ (1964:95). For the pervasiveness of lions in antiquity according to ancient sources, cf. Herodotus 7.125-7, Aristotle (*HA* VII(VIII) 606b).

¹²⁷ For examples of Geometric lions cf. a neck-amphora, London 1936.10-17.1, Markoe (1989), Pl. XXVI and an amphora, New York 10.210.8, Schweitzer (1969), Pl. 50.

¹²⁸ (1964:95).

¹²⁹ Kerameikos 407, Boardman (1998), Pl.66.

¹³⁰ (1972:102).

Corinthian

Although the Corinthian animal bands illustrate the full range of wild animals, representations of the lion and the panther are especially dominant. This is can be explained by the fact that since there is a greater number of species of ungulates in relation to the two predator species (lion and panther/leopard), the feline species would have to be represented more often than each ungulate species would be to retain a balanced quota of ungulate versus predator breed.

While animals found in the bands comprise a number of different species, no one type of animal is explicitly seen as interacting with another. That is, each animal exists as an isolated and differentiated entity depicted in a manner that best represents their inherent natures.¹³¹

There are two types of felines on animal bands. There are felines with frontally represented heads and with no manes, that Payne¹³² labelled as panthers. The second group, the lions, are distinct from the panthers since they are represented with heads in profile, they have manes, and they are most commonly portrayed with open mouths, out of which hangs the tongue. They are represented in an aggressive and predatory manner and their jaws gape in a frighteningly suggestive fashion indicating that they eat others.

Proto-Attic and Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

While the Attic animal bands retain the residual influence of Corinthian prototypes, there are a few important distinctions. Firstly, while the animal bands on Corinthian

¹³¹ Isler (1978:10ff.) has also noted this. See ungulate section for further discussion of this concept, page 120 f.

¹³² (1931:70).

vases form the main focus of decoration [Plate 8a], the Attic animal bands are subordinate to the more important scenes, usually on the body of the vase, in which mainly heroic or divine subjects occur.

While many of the animal bands in Attic black figure painting do retain this "linear" style of representation, some of the artists¹³³ did use the bands as pictorial similes¹³⁴ and as narrative "strips" to comment on the action occurring in the main area of decoration.

Lion Attack Motif

It is also in these bands that the artists portrayed the "lion attack" motif. These attack scenes occur in two main forms: the first is where a single predator attacks a usually weaker animal of the ungulate species. The victim can be attacked from its hindquarters or head-on. Usually, the predator bites and/or claws its prey, and jumps up onto the victim's frame, and the victim's stance is represented as weakened. That is, usually the victim is semi-collapsed onto the ground. The other attack motif is where two felines attack a single member of the ungulate species. Here, one feline attacks the victim from the rear, and the other feline attacks the creature from the front. With these types of attack, the victim is obviously being overpowered by its attackers and this is underlined by its weakened posture.

As Markoe points out, a progressive development of the attack motif can be distinguished from the beginning of the Proto-Attic tradition through to the archaic age in the Athenian black figure period. From the earliest instances, this theme

¹³³ Particular artists will be discussed later.

¹³⁴ Markoe (1989:90ff.). For the lion attack motif I am indebted to Markoe's highly informative research.

mediates between the above-discussed, simple, non-symbolic "animal fight" motif and the more symbolic significance of the imagery as a whole.

Non-Symbolic Attack Motif

The "non-symbolic", purely decorative lion attack can be found on a krater attributed to the Polyphemos Painter¹³⁵ that represents one of the more standard lion attack formats [Plate 8b]. This scene represents a deer and a lion, both facing right. The lion bites at the hindquarters of the deer. The hind legs of the deer are slightly bent and are braced at an angle that implies that it is being unbalanced, about to collapse. This "rearguard" form of attack suggests that the lion has compromised the deer's ability to protect itself since the victim cannot easily defend its rear. The other "non-symbolic" standard attack format can be found on a tripod in the manner of the KY Painter [Plate 9a].¹³⁶ In this case, the lion faces the bull in attacking it, which may be a comment on the greater strength of the bull as a worthier adversary in comparison to the weaker deer. That is, the two animals meet on equal terms which allows the bull an opportunity to defend itself. In this case, the bull is aware of the nature of its threat, whereas this does not seem as likely with the deer in the previous scene.

While Morris argues for Corinthian influence on the "attack" motif,¹³⁷ Markoe postulates its origins as being in epic poetry.¹³⁸ The animal bands do strikingly recall the evocative world of the Homeric simile where lion attacks are commonly referred

¹³⁵ Munich 6090, Morris (1984), Pl. 3. For a sculptural parallel, see the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

¹³⁶ Athens, NM 12688, Markoe (1989), Pl. VI. For a sculptural parallel, cf. pedimental relief from the Athenian Akropolis (Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 4). For an instance of double lion attack with the bull as the victim, see the pedimental relief from the Athenian Akropolis (Athens inv. 3).

¹³⁷ (1984:65).

¹³⁸ (1989:92).

to, but something can be said in favour of Morris' point. That is, her suggestion recalls to mind the 7th century Proto-Corinthian aryballos [Plate 9b]¹³⁹ which is modelled in the form of the head of a lion, a creature that is commonly found in the animal bands. On the other hand, this vessel can be seen as an inverted form of simile whereby the lion image, in the guise of the head, is stronger than the subordinated band of warriors who are represented on the body of the vase. Nevertheless, the warriors fight amongst themselves, and the associated savagery and skill of the lion evokes the appropriate Homeric milieu for the warring men.¹⁴⁰

In both art and literature, the lion attack motif is the most common. However, whereas in Homer, the lions tend to prey on domesticated animals, sheep and cattle, in art, the most common source of prey for the feline is the wild animal, such as the deer.¹⁴¹ The most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that, in art, the wild animal presents a more dynamic type of image and is more artistically pleasing than the relatively uninteresting physique of the fattened domestic animal. However, the predominant use of domestic animals as victims in the Homeric works also raises some interesting possibilities. That is, based on the fact that a wild animal would have more chance in defending itself than domesticated livestock that are confined to their pens, it seems that the poet, by extension of the animals, implies criticism of the Achaian attack on Troy, a city confined to the space within its own walls and at the mercy of the invaders who surround it. Because of this consistent theme of the Achaians attacking Troy, the concept of the marauder, in the epic tradition, assumed more importance than that of the normal hunting lion.

¹³⁹ Macmillan Aryballos, London 89.4-18.1, Amyx, Pl. 11.

¹⁴⁰ For the lion as a victorious image, cf. Vermeule (1979:85).

¹⁴¹ Lonsdale (1990:42).

In addition to this, the artists did not depend on Homer for all their images. However, as is shown above, in some cases they do seem to draw their narrative ideas directly from the epic context.

Symbolic Attack Motif

As Markoe explains, the lion attack functions as a symbol that serves to reinforce the notion of "heroic triumph".¹⁴² This concept can be applied to the Eleusis amphora,¹⁴³ on which the motif of lion attack occurs in between two mythological scenes; one on the neck of the vase, the other on the belly [Plate 10]. On the neck of the vase, Odysseus (originally marked out in added white) and two of his companions, facing right, hold a stake above their heads. Their bodies are braced in the action of driving the stake into the eye of the Kyklops, Polyphemos. Polyphemos is represented sitting against the far right frame of the picture. He leans back against the edge of the frame, with his knees bent. He is significantly larger than the other three men since, even seated, his body fills the height of the scene. He holds a skyphos in his right hand and his left hand is raised upward grasping the stake that is being driven into his eye. This scene represents a conflation of events since the skyphos signifies the special wine that Odysseus gives the Kyklops, the Kyklops is already seated and drunk since the stake is being driven into his eye by the men. As Homer tells us, Odysseus will succeed in this venture and he and his men will eventually escape the Kyklops' cave.¹⁴⁴

On the shoulder panel, a boar and a lion confront one another. On the extreme left, the boar is represented with a slightly lowered head and the tusk on its snout points in

¹⁴² (1989:90 ff.).

¹⁴³ Polyphemos Painter, Eleusis Museum, Simon (1976), Pl. 15.

¹⁴⁴ *Od.* 9.415.

the direction of the attacking lion. On the right, the lion is represented with an open mouth out of which its tongue curls. His left forepaw is raised horizontally, stretching out towards the boar, the claws about to rake the pig's snout.

Represented in the second, main scene, on the belly of the vase, is the hero, Perseus who is being pursued by the remaining Gorgon sisters. On the left, in position *A* is the decapitated body of Medusa, in position *B* and *C* are her two sisters who run to the right. In position *D*, stands Athena who faces the approaching Gorgons. In position *E* stands Perseus, facing right. However, his figure has been largely obscured by a damaged surface.

According to Markoe, the presence of Athena stands as a marker of the hero's eventual success in that she will assist him in his escape and triumph over the Gorgons.¹⁴⁵ Also, the lion attack scene, representative of heroic triumph, functions as a parallel emphasis between two scenes that involve the success of a hero.¹⁴⁶ Clearly, the simile was deeply entrenched in the Homeric tradition and it had a far-reaching influence on other artistic media. In addition to this, all of the above scenes represent conflict of some kind, the theme of conflict which forms the core of the epic tradition.

The Homeric influence is also found in the two scenes on the New York Nessos amphora [Plate 11].¹⁴⁷ On the neck of the vase, a lion attacks a deer. The lion, on the extreme right, bites at the haunches of the deer and holds onto its rear with one

¹⁴⁵ (1989:91 ff.).

¹⁴⁶ One can also appreciate the visual tension between the action occurring on the neck and the attack motif on the shoulder where the artist has set up a chiastic direction of movement. On the neck, Odysseus and his men move from the left towards the right while, on the shoulder, the attacking lion moves from the right towards the left. The outstretched paw of the lion forms a visual parallel to the upraised arms of the men placed above.

¹⁴⁷ New York 11.210.1, Morris, Pl. 15.

upraised leg. The deer, facing right, rears up, and turns around to look over its shoulder. This attack motif is placed directly above the main scene where Herakles is in the process of defeating the centaur, Nessos. That is, the centaur is clearly weakened since his front legs have collapsed towards the ground.

While this is also a scene representing heroic triumph, there is a fundamental difference between the two attack motifs on each of the above vases. That is, on the New York amphora, the lion attacks a deer while on the Eleusis amphora it is a boar that is portrayed as the victim. Based solely on the physiological differences in physique, a boar as a choice of victim is far more evenly matched in strength against a lion than a mere deer,¹⁴⁸ an observation which leads us to import further meaning into each scene. On the two main panels of decoration on the Eleusis amphora, a more equally weighted struggle is suggested to be occurring between the various opponents; Odysseus and his men must pit their strength against the huge *Kyklops*, and Perseus must outrun the monsters who exceed him both in number and strength. Clearly, both of these heroes must be remarkable considering that they are comparatively lesser beings in the face of "monstrous" strength.

While sharing the same underlying idea, the New York amphora scene has something of its own to contribute. Unlike the boar and the lion, the deer and the lion are unequal in terms of strength. Similarly, there is a difference in the power dynamics between the two fighting figures in the main scenes.¹⁴⁹ Unlike Odysseus and Perseus,

¹⁴⁸ For another example of an "equally weighted" fight pattern in relation to a hero, see a hydria, Madrid 10913, (*ABV* 329.2; *Add.* 89; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2971) [Plate 11b]. On the main panel, Herakles and Apollo struggle over the tripod. Immediately below, on the subsidiary band, lions and boars assume aggressive postures, with the main pair of animals (boar versus lion) confronting each other. Moving from the left side of the field, one pair of each animal (boar and lion) faces to the right, and another pair (lion and boar) face to the left. The lion may be intended as the visual parallel to Herakles, since it is positioned beneath the hero, and the boar as Apollo; in any case it seems clear that the subsidiary band is a comment on the main action occurring above.

¹⁴⁹ An interesting example of this implied inequality is found on an amphora depicting the recovery of

Herakles is no ordinary hero; he has been endowed with superhuman strength. In the same way, the centaur, Nessos, is a relatively minor monster type in comparison to the mighty Kyklops and the terrifying Gorgons. Added to this, the rendition of the figure of Nessos betrays a weakened state wherein his forequarters are depicted as collapsing beneath him. The battle is heavily weighted in Herakles' favour and the notion of unequal strength harmoniously resonates with the animal attack scene above. That is, as the lion is clearly going to be victorious over the deer, so too is Herakles the victor in the battle with the centaur.

It can thus be demonstrated that there is a potential, exploited on certain vases, for an interrelation between the subsidiary lion attack scene and the main panels. This relation should be seen as a general evocation of early Greek comparisons, probably wide-spread folk-comparisons but amply attested to in Homeric epic.

Sometimes an artist deliberately transfers a Homeric reference from a literary framework into a pictorial allusion. This is clearly illustrated on the well-known archaic calyx krater attributed to Exekias [Plate 12b].¹⁵⁰ In the main panel, the Greeks and the Trojans fight over the fallen body of Patroklos. Immediately below, in the subsidiary band, two lions attack, from either side, a bull that has collapsed onto its forequarters; it seems that this animal band may have been intended as a pictorial comment on the main scene, an interpretation supported by the fact that the fight over

Helene, Vaucan 358, (*ABV* 142.7; *Para* 58; *LIMC* 4: Helene 219) [Plate 12a]. On the main band Helene is flanked by two warriors, one of which is Menelaos who reaches out for her. Immediately above, on the shoulder, a deer is flanked by two lions. The lion that is placed on the same side of the vase as Menelaos raises its paw up almost in seeming imitation of the warrior. As the deer is no match against two ferocious predators, so too is Helene dominated by the two, armed warriors.

¹⁵⁰ Athens, Agora AP 1044, (*ABV* 145.19; *Para* 60; *Add*² 40).

the body of Patroklos as described in Homer (*Il.* 18.151 ff.) is, significantly, underscored by a lion attack simile:¹⁵¹

ὥς δ' ἀπὸ σώματος οὐ τιλέοντ' αἶθωνα δύνανται
ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι μέγα πεινάοντα δῖεσθαι,
ὥς ῥα τὸν οὐκ ἐδύναντο δῶ Αἴαντε κορυστὰ
Ἑκτορα Πριαμίδην ἀπὸ νεκροῦ δειδίσσασθαι.

And as herdsmen who dwell in the fields are not able to frighten
a tawny lion in his great hunger away from a carcass,
so the two Aiantes, marshals of men, were not able
to scare Hektor, Priam's son, away from the body.
(*Il.* 18.161-164)

Lions and Furniture

A number of vases depict the throne of Zeus with:

- (i) a lion/lions under the seat [Plate 13a & b],¹⁵²
- (ii) clawed paws terminating the end of each chair leg [Plate 13a & b] and,
- (iii) an instance where a lion's head forms the rear section of the seat itself [Plate 13c].¹⁵³

(i) Here, a lion/lions are represented in either a standing or seated position and are not obviously engaged in any action which is directly related to the scene. These figures are in most cases seemingly intended to represent the ornamental motifs added to the

¹⁵¹ Markoe (1989:n.29). Another instance of a scene drawn directly from literature, in this case, the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, is offered by the oinochoe of Lydos, Berlin 1732, (*ABV* 110.137; *Para* 48) depicting the conflict between Herakles and Kyknos, immediately below which are three scenes of lion attack. In two of these scenes, a pair of lions attack a bull on either flank. In the other scene, a lion attacks a boar, head-on. For further discussion of this vase, cf. Markoe (1989:93 ff.).

¹⁵² For instance, on amphorae, Basel BS 496, (*LIMC* 2: Athena 353), Geneva MF 154, (*ABV* 299.18; *Para* 130; *Add*² 78; *LIMC* 3: Eileithyia 20). It must be noted that there is also a variety of other figures which are placed under the throne seat of Zeus, for example, the running figure of Iris on an amphora, Louvre F32, (*ABV* 135.43; *Para* 55; *Add*² 36), a sphinx on an amphora, Boston 00.330, (*ABV* 135.45; *Para* 55; *Add*² 36; *LIMC* 2: Apollon 818), young men on an amphora, London B147, (*ABV* 135.44, 686; *Para* 55; *Add*² 36), panthers on an amphora, Oxford 509, (*ABV* 239.5; *Para* 110; *Add*² 60). For further discussion on the animal claw furniture, cf. Richter (1966:15ff), Guralnick (1974:186ff.).

¹⁵³ On an amphora, attributed to Group E, Boston 00.330, (*ABV* 135.45; *Para* 55; *Add*² 36; *LIMC* 2: Apollon 818).

panel between the legs of the chair and as such are not depictions of real life.¹⁵⁴ However, in view of the fact that the felines are not portrayed under just any seat but are paired with the king of the gods himself, and in view of the long history of the Near Eastern associations of lions with majesty and power, which had a direct influence on Greek art,¹⁵⁵ it is reasonable to interpret these lions as "symbols" which are used to complement the greatness of Zeus.

(ii) The image of the lion is reiterated in the clawed feet of the throne itself.¹⁵⁶ Although this was by no means a unique kind of chair,¹⁵⁷ the "claws" together with the figure of the lion, under (and above) the seat, do seem a deliberate indicator concerning the importance, yet danger of Zeus. Once again, the figure of the lion has not been arbitrarily and insignificantly applied.

(iii) Since this instance of the lion's head is an isolated occurrence, the leonine decoration may have been arbitrarily transferred to this area of the chair by a creative artist.

Gigantomachy

Another instance where lions occur is in Gigantomachy scenes where the attacking feline acts as the vicious accessory to the god Dionysos [Plate 14a & b].¹⁵⁸ These scenes are generally crowded, with gods and giants actively fighting against one another. The warriors are depicted in various gestures of attack, defense and dying. It is amongst these figures that the representation of the various animals (generally the

¹⁵⁴ Richter (1966:18).

¹⁵⁵ Frankfort (1939:311). Also, the origins of the animal feet on Greek furniture have been traced back to Egyptian prototypes, cf. Richter (1966:15ff.) and Eastern influences, cf. Boardman (1964:100).

¹⁵⁶ There are interesting parallels on some tripods that also have lion's paws as feet.

¹⁵⁷ Richter (1966:15) remarks on the popularity of this type of furniture, especially within the archaic period.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, an amphora, Tarquinia 623, (*ABV* 147.2; *Para* 61; *LIMC* 4: Gigantes 114), a cup fragment, Athens NM Akr. 1632, (*LIMC* 4: Ge 4), an oinochoe, Cambridge 1927.154, (*ABV* 528.47; *LIMC* 4: Gigantes 295).

lion, snake and occasionally the dog) is found.¹⁵⁹ The animals usually cluster around Dionysos, helping him to attack his adversary. On the famous dinos by Lydos [Plate 14a],¹⁶⁰ the god Dionysos is represented in confrontation with a giant. In conjunction with the god, an assortment of predators and a snake also attack the giant. In this scene, the snake has wound itself around the right arm of the giant; a leopard also attacks the victim from the left. A lion stands on the right shoulder of the giant while second lion bites into the giant's left shoulder. A third lion bites at the left thigh of the collapsing victim. The appearance of the lions is significant because outside of this context, it is rare to find the god with the predator.¹⁶¹ While Villard¹⁶² has suggested that the lion represents the personified manifestation of the god, Carpenter¹⁶³ disagrees on the basis that amongst the other predators, sometimes dogs are present, animals which have not been seen to be related to any aspect of Dionysos. What is noteworthy is that the predators make a very sudden appearance in this context about 560 BC, which corresponds with the first tyranny of Peisistratos; it is during this time that the image of the lion is frequently used.¹⁶⁴

Miscellaneous Scenes

There is a particular scene on an amphora by the Amasis Painter representing Herakles being introduced to Olympos [Plate 15a].¹⁶⁵ Besides Zeus, all the other figures face to the left. On the extreme left in position *A* stands Zeus who faces to right. In position

¹⁵⁹ Moore (1979:87) in her discussion of the dinos by Lydos, cites a number of other corresponding scenes in which attacking animals assist Dionysos in his fight against the giants.

¹⁶⁰ Akropolis 607, Moore (1979:Reconstructed drawing on page 99).

¹⁶¹ Carpenter (1986:69) suggests that these Gigantomachy scenes may portray a 'Dionysos' who is not known to us. Also, he points out that the only other mythological scenes in which the lion commonly occurs, in the 6th century, are with Herakles as part of his first Labour.

¹⁶² (1947:11).

¹⁶³ (1986:68).

¹⁶⁴ For information on the revival of Dionysiac worship under Peisistratos in Athens, see Bury and Meiggs, (1975:131ff), Shapiro (1989:85 ff.).

¹⁶⁵ Orvieto, Faina 40, (ABV 151.14, 687; Para 63; Add¹ 42).

B is the god, Hermes, and juxtaposed behind his legs stands a dog. Athene stands in position *C* and Herakles in position *D*. Juxtaposed behind Herakles' legs is a lion. On the extreme right, Dionysos stands in position *E*. Carpenter¹⁶⁶ accounts for the presence of the lion as functioning as a reference to Dionysos' part in the Gigantomachy. On the other hand, von Bothmer¹⁶⁷ suggests that the lion belongs to the absented goddess, Hera.¹⁶⁸ It is here proposed, however, that the lion in fact accompanies Herakles for the following reasons: Firstly, the lion is placed behind the legs of that hero and thus is related to him spatially. The significance of this becomes clear when the dog behind Hermes is taken into account. It is evident that the Amasis Painter intended the dog to be associated with Hermes since, in other scenes, this painter habitually pairs dogs, spatially, with the person it is intended to be associated with.¹⁶⁹ The association of the dog with Hermes is valid since it functioned as a type of familiar for the god.¹⁷⁰ Hence, the spatial relationship of the lion with Herakles strongly suggests a strong association between the two. Secondly, there is a parallel on a lekythos, which features the same theme where the lion must also be associated with Herakles [Plate 15b].¹⁷¹ In this scene, Athene stands next to Herakles and introduces him to a seated Zeus.¹⁷² Standing between Athene and Zeus is a lion¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶ (1986:66, n.46).

¹⁶⁷ (1986:141).

¹⁶⁸ This is supported indirectly by Simon (1998:60 ff.), who explains that lions functioned as servants to Hera. Also, in relation to her discussion of the lion gate at Mycenae and other Greek works that depict both Hera and lions, she suggests that "die Löwen mit Hera verbunden sein konnten als Symbole der Macht und Größe dieser Göttin" (1998:65).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. a fragment, Once Berlin 1691, (*ABV* 151.12, 687; *Para* 63; *Add?* 42) depicting a scene of the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. Here a dog is placed with Hermes and it looks up in the direction of the god, in the same manner as the animal on the Berlin Vase. Also see an amphora, Berlin 1688, (*ABV* 150.9, 687; *Para* 63; *Add?* 42) with the same scene and where a dog is placed with Hermes and another hound placed next to a youth holding a spear, presumably a huntsman.

¹⁷⁰ For the relation of Hermes with dogs, see the chapter on dogs above, page 35 ff.

¹⁷¹ New York 41.162.30, (*ABL* 226.10; *LIMC* 4: Ganymedes 59).

¹⁷² Boardman (1964:98) suggests that this type of scene owes its origins to similar scenes in eastern art where a priest leads a worshipper to a seated god.

¹⁷³ Although this could be identified as a vicious dog, I do not think that interpreting it as a lion can be entirely discounted. While it does lack a definite mane and lifts its forepaw up in a 'dog-like' gesture, it has its mouth open wide in the 'roaring lion' manner. Also, 'fawning' lions are definitely not unknown

that rakes at the shin of Zeus with his paw. Since Dionysos is nowhere present in this representation, the next logical point of association is Herakles. In view of the above evidence, both of the scenes represent a lion that should be seen in conjunction with the figure of Herakles, as a type of evocation of his first labour.

Specific Mythological Scenes

The representation of Herakles' first labour, his struggle with the Nemean Lion, was highly popular in Attic black figure art. Herakles' task was to kill this terrible beast since it was a man-eater. However, since this lion had been bred by Hera or Semele, it cannot be considered an ordinary lion. As a consequence, the hero found that none of his weapons could penetrate the hide of the lion. In order to kill it, Herakles had to wrestle with it and strangle it with his bare hands or, alternatively, to thrust his sword into its mouth; it is this moment of the struggle that the archaic artists tended to favour.

The struggle between Herakles and the lion takes on various poses. One type of template is where Herakles and the lion are represented in a wrestlers' pose, close to the ground [Plate 16a].¹⁷⁴ Here, Herakles grapples with the lion, head-on, with his arms around the lion's upper torso. The weight of Herakles forces the lion to crouch low on the ground, but his hindquarters are raised slightly higher. One hind paw usually rakes at Herakles.

(*Od.* 10.212 ff.). Added to this, it is a late lekythos, and executed in a clumsy style with not much attention paid to detail. It must also be remembered that the animal is behaving in this manner specifically to the most powerful of all the gods, Zeus, and so could credibly be acting out of character.

¹⁷⁴ For instance on an amphora, Brescia, (*ABV* 292.1, 692; *Para* 127; *Add*² 76; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1861), on another amphora, Louvre F215, (*ABV* 336.10; *Para* 138; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1855). According to Brommer (1973:109 ff.), this pose is classed as the *Liegekampf*.

A common earlier pose is where Herakles and the lion are represented facing in the same direction, the lion positioned behind the hero [Plate 16b].¹⁷⁵ Herakles grabs the lion around the neck with one arm and with the other he drives his sword into the open mouth of the beast. The lion stands only on its hindquarters and one back paw rakes at the calf of the hero's leg.

In the third type of scene, the lion and the hero form a triangular composition where the lion, facing Herakles, rears up on its hind legs, its upper torso connecting with the upper torso of the hero [Plate 17a].¹⁷⁶ Herakles has a wide-spread stance in order to brace himself against the leonine onslaught and grasps his arms around the lion's neck, his elbows out, in a standard wrestling gesture. Usually the rear paw of the lion rakes at his shin.

* * *

In consideration of the above material and the circumstances in which lions occur, it seems that the lion was highly mythologized in the ancient mind.¹⁷⁷ As Carpenter¹⁷⁸ points out, lions do not occur in scenes with mortals based in reality. Instead, the animal is reserved for the grander mythological scenes featuring both revered gods and much admired heroes. As it does not seem likely that very many Greeks saw a living lion, the animal was most probably modelled on the postures of living large dogs and influenced by depictions of lions found in Eastern art.¹⁷⁹ Generally, on the

¹⁷⁵ For instance on an amphora, Würzburg L248, (*ABV* 134.18; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1833), on another amphora, Copenhagen NM 7068, (*ABV* 134.14; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1829). According to Brommer (1973:109 ff.), this is the *Stehkampf* which takes two forms; the second and third types discussed.

¹⁷⁶ For instance, on amphorae, Berlin 1720, (*ABV* 143.1, 686; *Para* 59; *Add'* 39; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1792), Würzburg L185, (*ABV* 270.55; *Add'* 70; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 1795). According to Brommer (1973: 109 ff.), this third type develops after the second and is probably an Exekian innovation.

¹⁷⁷ Hölscher (1972:102) also suggests that the lion is seen as a *halbmythisches* animal.

¹⁷⁸ (1986:68).

¹⁷⁹ Boardman (1986:93). This would certainly explain why it is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether an artist is portraying a dog or a feline figure, cf. a lekythos, New York 41.162.30, (*ABL* 226.10; *LIMC* 4: Ganymedes 59).

archaic Attic black figure vases, the feline occupies a more elevated status than the commoner and mostly domesticated hound. Likewise, in Homer, the lion only occurs in similes and not in the "real" world *per se*.

Within the Attic animal bands of the 6th century BC, the true nature of the feline has largely been subordinated on two levels. Firstly, the lion occurs in these bands as a result of a longstanding and formulaic tradition, rooted in the Corinthian art of the previous century. Secondly, the animal occupies a symbolic status when the band is used to comment on the action occurring in the main scene. In sharp contrast to the baser habits of the dog, as represented both in Homer and vase painting,¹⁸⁰ the lion has been highly idealized and has become almost a heraldic type of figure, rather than one existing in everyday life. This idealized concept of the lion is most strongly evident, both in Homer and Attic black figure, through the general lack of representations of the lion as a man-eater. This omission is all the more significant when the image of lion mauling man appears on both Corinthian¹⁸¹ and Attic Geometric¹⁸² vases [Plates 17b &c]. That is, in the Homeric works and Attic black figure, the lion is represented in a remote manner since it is not represented as carrying out an action that a lion in reality is capable of. Rather, it has been taken as a symbol which reflects different archetypal concepts, such as bravery, stature, and ferocity. The lion, as appearing in the Homeric works, does differ in various ways in comparison to the creature represented in archaic Attic black figure. That is, the warmer concept of protectiveness comes out occasionally in the Homeric works but

¹⁸⁰ For instance, see a cup by the Amasis Painter, Boston 10.651, (*ABV* 157.86; *Para* 65; *Add*² 46).

¹⁸¹ See middle band on the Chigi Vase, Rome VG 22679, Hampe & Simon (1981), Pl. 102, depicting a lion hunt, where one man is viciously attacked by the lion.

¹⁸² See Attic kantharos, Copenhagen NM 727, Boardman (1998), Pl. 65.1,2, where two lions are represented fighting over the body of a man.

never in archaic Attic vase painting. In this context, the lion offered room for artistic imagination and skill owing to its aesthetic proportions. The aesthetic value of the lion is made most apparent when one considers that the lion's head was the most common form of water spout, as represented on buildings and archaic Attic vase painting.¹⁸³ Here, the regal lines and flowing mane provide an attractive display out of which the channeled water would issue forth.

¹⁸³ For instances on hydriai, cf. Munich 1716 (*ABV* 362.25; *Para* 161; *Add²* 96), London 1843.11-3.77 (B333), (*ABV* 677.3, 676, 678; *Add²* 148). See Appendix 1 for further discussion on the shapes of water spouts.

IV

OTHER PREDATORS

Pardalis

In antiquity, there does not appear to have been a clearly defined differentiation between the panther feline species and the leopard breed. Within the Homeric poems, the panther and the leopard are not separately distinguished. That is, the Greek word *πάρδαλις*, seems to function as an umbrella term for any large feline other than a lion. On the other hand, the Athenian artists sometimes differentiated between the two.¹⁸⁴ That is, some artists depicted spots on their felines while other artists portrayed their felines with no markings at all. However, the problem arises when a feline is represented with only a few spots or minor incision marks, which in effect makes it look like more like a panther than a leopard. This raises the question as to what species the artist actually intended or if the artist even distinguished between the leopard and panther, as a separate species. Liddell and Scott¹⁸⁵ offer two meanings for the word *πάρδαλις*; both leopard and panther. On the other hand, Lattimore translates the term *πάρδαλις* as leopard. In order to avoid further confusion and to acknowledge that there is this question mark, the Greek term *πάρδαλις* is here directly transliterated as "pardalis" for the purposes of studying the Homeric texts.

¹⁸⁴ Brown (1960: Appendix II) also problematizes this; however, no real resolution is reached.

¹⁸⁵ (1930: *ad verbum*).

Homer

While the lion forms the bulk of the feline imagery in the Homeric works, the pardalis is mentioned a limited number of times. Although the pardalis occurs in three similes in the *Iliad*, it is presented in a different way each time. In the first simile it is grouped with the scavengers and wolves, all threatening types of animals from which deer flee in terror. Here the pardalis is the hunter:

. . . οἱ τὸ πάρος περ
φυζακινῆς ἐλάφοισιν εἰκέσαν, αἳ τε καθ' ὕλην
θῶων παρδαλίων τε λύκων τ' ἥϊα πέλονται
αὐτῶς ἡλάσκουσαι ἀνάγκιδες, οὐδ' ἔπι χάρμη·

[Trojans] . . . they who in time past
were like fugitive deer before us, who in the forests
are spoil for scavengers and wolves and [pardaleis], who scatter
in absolute cowardice, there is no war spirit in them.

(Il. 13.102-104)

In Book 17, the anger of the feline is coupled with the ferocious lion and boar:

οὔτ' οὖν παρδάλιος τόσσον μένος οὔτε λέοντος
οὔτε συὸς κάπρου ὀλοόφρονος, οὗ τε μέγιστος
θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περὶ σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνει. . . .

Neither the fury of the [pardalis] is such, not such is the lion's,
nor the fury of the devastating wild boar, within whose breast
the spirit is biggest and vaunts in the pride of his strength, . . .

(Il. 17.20-22)

The association of the pardalis with the other animals presents a menacing picture of the animal since it is in the company of similarly threatening creatures that the poet has presented as formidable (τόσσον μένος).

In the last simile, it is the pardalis that is being hunted, in this instance, by men:

ἥϋτε πάρδαλις εἴσι βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο
 ἀνδρὸς θηρητῆρος ἐναντίον, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
 ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπεὶ κεν ὑλαγμὸν ἀκούσῃ·
 εἴ περ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἦ οὐτάσῃ ἢ βάλῃσιν,
 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμένη οὐκ ἀπολήγει
 ἀλκῆς, πρίν γ' ἢ ἐξυμβλήμεναι ἢ δαμῆναι·

But as a [pardalis] emerges out of her timbered cover
 to face the man who is hunting her, and takes no terror
 in her heart nor thought of flight when she hears them baying against her;
 and even though one be too quick for her with spear thrust or spear thrown
 stuck with the shaft though she be she will not give up her fighting
 fury, till she has closed with one of them or is overthrown;
 (Il. 21.573-578)

However, although the pardalis has been struck by a spear, the animal is not, at any point, portrayed as being afraid. Again, the poet describes the fury of the beast, which presents a powerful picture of the pardalis' character.

In the *Odyssey*, the pardalis is mentioned as one of the manifestations of Proteus (4.457). The other animals, a lion, a serpent, and a boar are equally as savage as one another which significantly adds to the overall impression of the pardalis, via its being associated with the others. Based on the above, albeit scanty, literary evidence, the pardalis is presented as a dangerous and formidable adversary.

The Pardalis Skin as an Item of Clothing

Only two people are described as wearing a pardalis pelt in Homer, both of whom are heroes; Paris:

Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
 παρδαλέην ὤμοισιν ἔχων . . .

...
 Alexandros the godlike leapt from the ranks of the Trojans,
 as challenger wearing across his shoulders the hide of a [pardalis].
 (Il. 3.16-17)

and Menelaos:

παρδαλήν μὲν πρῶτα μετάφρενον εὐρὺ κάλυψε
ποικίλῃ, . . .

First of all he mantled his broad back in a [pardalis']
spotted hide, . . .

(*Il.* 10.29-30)

At first glance, these heroes seem to have nothing in common, one being a Trojan, and the other an Achaian. However, it is here proposed that the poet has used the pardalis skin to pair them together (whether it be a conscious or unconscious association) because of their dual roles as husband to Helene.¹⁸⁶ It must, however, be noted that Menelaos' hide is described as ποικίλος which can mean that the pelt is variegated in colour, striped or spotted.¹⁸⁷ Although this is a pardalis skin, it is differentiated from Paris' pelt, which makes an impact on how each hero is perceived. That is, the poet deliberately has included mention of this difference which effectively highlights the hero Menelaos, while at the same time commenting on the lesser importance of Paris. This sense of inequality is consolidated in Book 3, where Paris is described in his pardalis pelt at the moment when he advances from the Trojan ranks, when he is confronted by Menelaos. Here, not only does the pelt indicate that an important event is occurring in the narrative action, but the initial feline image is immediately followed by another, in a simile, in lines 21 ff., where Menelaos advances in the bold manner of a lion. This is an interesting choice of animal subjects since both the panther and the leopard are smaller proportioned than the lion in reality. This presents an image of two unequally weighted adversaries in the process of confronting one another where Paris must be understood as the lesser of the two. The weakened image of Paris as a brave warrior is compounded when he catches sight

¹⁸⁶ Lonsdale (1990:50) regards Paris's pelt as a mark of luxury. Griffin (1980:5) interprets the skin as indicative of what Paris stands for, and by extension the Trojans; they are "glamorous, reckless, frivolous, undisciplined." For Griffin's comments on clothing functioning as significant objects, cf. (1980:3 ff.).

¹⁸⁷ Liddell & Scott (1897: *ad verbum*).

of the fierce Achaian warrior; he shrinks back like an unwary man who has just come across a snake (lines 33 ff.). Just as a leopard or panther most likely would not face a lion, so too is Paris not equal to the task.

Similarly, the passage where Menelaos dons his pardalis skin is significant. Book 10 opens with Agamemnon, sleepless with concern over the Argives. He decides to speak to the wise Nestor, and gets up, donning a lion skin (line 23).¹⁸⁸ Menelaos, in a similar state, puts on a pardalis skin and takes up his spear with the intention of visiting with his more important brother, Agamemnon (line 29 ff.). Like the previous passage involving Paris, the assuming of the animal skins highlights the comparative status between the two heroes and alerts the audience to the ensuing meeting that occurs between the Achaians.

¹⁸⁸ See the comments on this hide in the above lion section, pages 54 f.

Vase Painting

Other than the lion, there are discernibly two different feline species in vase painting. While there is a possibility that the artists did not clearly distinguish between the two, for the purposes of this study, Payne's¹⁸⁹ classifications of each species are followed. Although Payne predominantly discusses the Corinthian fabric, the forms of the animals that occur on Corinthian bands are the same as those that are represented in Attic black figure vase painting and can thus be labelled in like manner.

¹⁸⁹ (1931:70).

(a)

PANTHER

After the lion, the panther is the next most popular choice of feline subject matter in art. According to Payne,¹⁹⁰ the label, 'panther' is "conventional, and simply implies a leonine animal with a frontal head." Generally, the panther, as a distinct species, is problematic. That is, it is possible to interpret this feline as a lioness. On the other hand, an argument in favour of the feline as a 'panther species', is that one would expect to see a more or less consistent inclusion of dugs, which is not the case. The panther, as depicted artistically, lacks a mane and any distinguishing markings on its coat; it has a more streamlined body and tapered neck than the heavysset lion and its face is frontally represented.

Corinthian¹⁹¹

Like the lion, the panther alternates with the other animals that are found in the animal bands on Corinthian pottery [Plate 8a]. However, unlike the lion, the panther does not appear as aggressive since its frontally orientated face does not imply that it interacts with the other species. The lion, on the other hand, has a wide open mouth usually with a tongue that hangs out, and seems to be facing the animal next to it, if one may interpret it thus.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Besides the lion, other felines typically do not occur in Geometric art.

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

Dionysian Scenes

In Attic black figure, panthers primarily occur in scenes involving the god Dionysos and/or his retinue of maenads and satyrs.¹⁹² One such scene is the Gigantomachy.¹⁹³ In the Gigantomachy context, the panther assists Dionysos by attacking the same giant that the god confronts.¹⁹⁴ It is a fearsome predator paired with an inherently savage god.

Outside of the Gigantomachy scenes, panthers occur in another type of scene with Dionysos in which the god is depicted as seated or reclining on a kline with the feline/s seated or lying beneath/near the furniture.¹⁹⁵ In the Louvre [Plate 18a] and the Bochum [Plate 18b] representations each panther is holding a stick or, more likely, a bone in its mouth or chewing on the object. The behaviour of the feline and the context in which it occurs very strongly evokes the scenes in which the table dog occurs¹⁹⁶ and it is here proposed that, in these circumstances, the panther has subsumed the role of the dog. That is, since dogs are usually found with human masters,¹⁹⁷ another more fearsome animal should be associated with the powerful Dionysos. The panther, as an attribute of the god, is the logical choice of animal to fulfil this role.

¹⁹² For a panther placed with a satyr, cf. a pelike, St. Petersburg 1911.10, (*ABV* 396.24; Para 173; *LIMC* 8: Midas 22). For maenads carrying the feline, cf. two oinochoe, London B515, (*ABV* 426.17; *LIMC* 8: Mainades 24); London 1911.4, (*ABV* 428.2; *LIMC* 8: Mainades 84).

¹⁹³ Akropolis 1632, Moore (1979:Fig. 13), [Plate 14b]. Based on the Lydos dinos fragments and the other comparative material that Moore discusses, it is likely that the figure on Akropolis 1632 is in fact Dionysos.

¹⁹⁴ See above discussion in the lion section for more information on the animals as auxiliaries to Dionysos in Gigantomachy scenes.

¹⁹⁵ On an amphora, Metapontum 305.254; (*LIMC* 7: Semele 27); on a pelike, Louvre F376, (*ABV* 393.16; *LIMC* 5: Hermes 664).

¹⁹⁶ See section on dogs for a fuller discussion of this topic and for comparative examples.

¹⁹⁷ While there is an instance, on a lekythos, where a dog is represented under the kline of Dionysos (Athens 581, *ABV* 492.84; *Add'* 123; *LIMC* 3: Dionysos 558) this is a rare occurrence.

Water Spouts

Although Dunkley¹⁹⁸ maintains that the panther-head water spouts on vases [Plate 19a] are really intended as lion heads, it does seem that these maneless animals should be distinguished from the latter since there are some instances where the artists have attempted to portray frontal lion head spouts, including the representation of a mane.¹⁹⁹ These representations are markedly different from the smaller panther head type. Based on the frequency with which the panther heads occur in the form of waterspouts, the feline is clearly regarded as equivalent in status and interchangeable with the lion-head found in fountain houses.

¹⁹⁸ (1935-6:194).

¹⁹⁹ On a hydria, London 1843.11-3.49 (B 329), (*ABV* 334.1, 678; *Para* 147; *Add'* 91).

(b)

LEOPARD

According to Payne,²⁰⁰ a feline may be classed as a leopard "when the neck or whole body is marked with circles."

Corinthian

Although leopards occur very infrequently in Corinthian art, they are represented in the same manner as the panther but with the important inclusion of spotted markings on their pelt [Plate 19b]. These spots create an eye-catching representation of the feline.²⁰¹

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

The representation of leopards can be found on the animal bands of band cups where the felines attack ungulate prey. On a band cup by the Oakshott Painter [Plate 20a],²⁰² at the extreme left, two lions attack a bull while to the right, two leopards attack another species of ungulate. Although this is a straightforward animal attack scene with each feline flanking the animal, it is biologically interesting because the leopards are depicted with dugs as opposed to the clearly male lions. According to Aristotle,²⁰³ out of all the females of the animal species, the female pardalis and bear alone are more courageous than the male.

²⁰⁰ (1931:70).

²⁰¹ Los Angeles, Weintraub (Amyx, Pl. 26), Switzerland, Private (Amyx, Pl. 27.1a).

²⁰² Oxford 1972.162, (*Para* 78.2, *Add.*¹ 51).

²⁰³ *HA* VIII (IX) 608a.

Love Token

The leopard was also used as a love token between Eromenoi and Erastai. On a skyphos by the Amasis Painter, there are a number of scenes, running around the vase, which represent the exchange of love gifts between older men and their younger love interests [Plate 20b].²⁰⁴ It is on this cup, under handle B/A, that the earliest representation (c. 550 BC) of a panther love gift is found.²⁰⁵ Here, a young man kneels down on a bended knee and holds a leopard.²⁰⁶ He grasps the hind paws of the feline with his right hand and the front legs of the animal with his left hand. According to Koch-Harnack,²⁰⁷ although there is no other example of an admirer directly handing over a panther to his beloved, as is the case with roosters and hares, the feline on the Paris skyphos must be seen as a courting gift. She gives two reasons for this assumption: firstly, the context of the vase is of males giving gifts to one another, following in the Eromenos/Erastes tradition, and secondly, the youth holding the leopard grips the feline in the same manner as when a hare is being handed over as a love gift.

The Representation of the Leopard Skin in Attic Black Figure

The leopard skin, as depicted in black figure vase painting is worn only by a very restricted number of subjects. The figure represented in a leopard skin is presumably the god, Dionysos.²⁰⁸ Although he wears the cat skin solely in Gigantomachy scenes, the pelt does become one of his iconographic attributes.²⁰⁹ Similarly, his female

²⁰⁴ Louvre A479, (*ABV* 156.80, 688; *Para* 65, 90; *Add*² 46).

²⁰⁵ All the other examples are found on vases from the first half of the 5th century. For the leopard as a pet and status symbol amongst the Athenian youth as represented on vases of the 5th century, cf. Ashmead (1978).

²⁰⁶ While this feline looks very much like a panther, I have categorized it as a leopard because it has incised markings on its pelt that could be intended to represent spots. There are also spots on the tail.

²⁰⁷ (1983:107 ff.).

²⁰⁸ See Akropolis 1632, Carpenter (1991:Pl. 15)[Plate 14b], also compare Akropolis 2211.

²⁰⁹ Carpenter (1986:58 ff.).

companions, the maenads, also occasionally are represented as wearing either a fawn skin or leopard pelt [Plate 21].²¹⁰ According to Carpenter, the fawn skin seems to have been the customary garb of wayfarers and hunters whereas the leopard skin was definitely of a more exotic variety.²¹¹ His observation on the more common nature of the deer's skin is supported by an account in the *Odyssey* where Athena gives Odysseus a deer's hide as part of the costume making up his beggar's disguise:

ἄμφι δέ μιν ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,
 ῥωγαλέα ῥυπόωντα, κακῶ μεμορυγμένα καπνῶ·
 ἄμφι δέ μιν μέγα δέρμα ταχείης ἔσσ' ἐλάφοιο,
 ψιλόν·

Then she put another vile rag on him, and a tunic,
 tattered, squalid, blackened with the foul smoke, and over it
 gave him, the big hide of a fast-running deer, with the hairs rubbed
 off, to wear, . . .

(*Od.* 13.434-437)

Clearly, this type of animal skin was not considered a luxury item since it appears in conjunction with filthy clothing and, worn to baldness, it contributes to an overall, slovenly appearance. Conversely, the leopard skin, as represented on figures in Attic vase painting, creates a sense of "otherness" since it is found on figures who are volatile and largely inscrutable. That is, Dionysos is an enigmatic and dangerous god, the Amazons are a mythical race of dangerous and aggressive women and the Gorgon, Medusa, is a dangerous but rather obscure figure.

²¹⁰ For a maenad wearing leopard skin, cf. an amphora, Paris, CabMéd. 222, (*ABV* 152.25, 687; *Para* 63; *Add'* 43).

²¹¹ (1986:67 ff.). Carpenter also mentions that the appearance of the leopard pelt probably owes its origins to East Greek art. For an instance where an Amazon wears a leopard pelt [Plate 22], cf. a fragment, Athens, Kerameikos Mus, (*ABV* 107.2, *Para* 43; *Add'* 29). On an olpe by the Amasis Painter, London B 471, (*ABV* 153.32; 687; *Para* 64; *Add'* 44), the Gorgon, Medusa, is also depicted with a leopard skin as part of her clothing attire [Plate 23]. Since Gorgons have Eastern connections, this representation provides further supporting evidence for Carpenter's suggestion above.

There are cases where the pardalis head appears on the shoulder straps on the armour of warriors [Plate 24a]. On side A of the Riechen, Hoek amphora,²¹² it is the warrior, Menelaos, who has this decoration on his corselet. This may reveal the artist's familiarity with the pardalis pelt of Menelaos in Homer (*Il.* 10.29-30).

²¹² Riechen, Hoek, (*Para* 65; *LIMC* 4: Helene 158). A warrior on side B also has the same panther head decoration on his shoulder flaps. Also see side B of an amphora in Boston 01.8026, (*ABV* 152.26, 687; *Para* 63; *Add*² 44). An unnamed warrior has a panther head as decoration on the shoulder flap of his corslet. It must be noted that if only a frontal feline head is represented, it is usually impossible to discern whether it belongs to a panther or a leopard. For the purposes of this discussion, the heads are regarded as belonging to either or both animals.

(c)

WOLF

Homer

A third type of animal skin is also used in the *Iliad*, this time worn by the Trojan spy,

Dolon:

ἔσασατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο,
κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην, ἔλε δ' ὄξυν ἄκοντα,
βῆ δ' ἰέναι προτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ·

He put on about him the pelt of a grey wolf, and on his head set
a cap of marten's hide, and took up a sharp throwing spear
and went on his way toward the ships, from his own camp, . . .
(*Il.* 10.334-336)

However, on his way to Hektor, Dolon is pursued and caught by Diomedes and Odysseus.

The ensuing unsavoury characterization of the disloyal Dolon is emphasized not only by the more ignoble character of the wolf, by extension of the pelt, but also by the marten's hide cap which he places on his head. A marten,²¹³ being a weasel-type and predatory animal, symbolizes the shamelessness albeit resourcefulness of Dolon when he is apprehended by the two heroes. Here, the spy, shaking with fear, blames Hektor, tries to ransom himself and finally reveals strategic information about his own army in an attempt to save his life:

. . . ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη τάρβησέν τε
βαμβαίνων· ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίγνεται ὀδόντων·
χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δείους· τῷ δ' ἀσθμαίνοντε κιχήτην,
χειρῶν δ' ἀψάσθην· ὁ δὲ δακρύσας ἔπος ηὔδα·
ζῶγρεῖτ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι·

And Dolon stood still in terror
gibbering, as through his mouth came the sound of his teeth's chatter
in green fear; and these two, breathing hard, came up to him

²¹³ Aristotle (*HA* VIII (XI) 612b).

and caught him by the hands, and he broke into tears and spoke to them:
 "Take me alive, and I will pay my ransom . . ."
 (*Il.* 10.374-378)

Clearly, this man is no hero.

Other instances where the wolf occurs in the Homeric works are as one of the enchanted beasts of Kirke (*Od.* 10.212 ff.), and in similes describing the skirmishes between the Trojans and the Achaians (*Il.* 4.471 ff., 11.72 ff.). There is a particularly gruesome simile in the *Iliad* which describes the wolves feasting on raw flesh, glutting on the blood and gore of a felled stag:

... οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὥς
 ὠμοφάγοι, τοῖσιν τε περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή,
 οἳ τ' ἔλαφον κεραδὸν μέγαν οὔρεσι δηώσαντες
 δάπτουσιν· πᾶσιν δὲ παρήϊον αἷματι φοινόν·
 καὶ τ' ἀγεληδὸν ἴασι ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
 λάψοντες γλώσσησιν ἀραιῇσιν μέλαν ὕδωρ
 ἄκρον ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος· ἐν δέ τε θυμὸς
 στήθεσιν ἄτρομός ἐστι, περιστένεται δέ τε γαστήρ·

And they, as wolves
 who tear flesh raw, in whose hearts the battle fury is tireless,
 who have brought down a great horned stag in the mountains, and then feed
 on him, till the jowls of every wolf run blood, and then go
 all in a pack to drink from a spring of dark-running water,
 lapping with their lean tongues along the black edge of the surface
 and belching up the clotted blood; in the heart of each one
 is a spirit untremulous, but their bellies are full and groaning.
 (*Il.* 16.156-163)

Since it is the Myrmidons, led by Achilles, who are compared to the wolves, this simile cannot be overly negative. That is, the poet seems to favour the Achaian forces.²¹⁴ Instead, the poet has used the comparison of the wolves to convey the viciousness of the men.

²¹⁴ This is discussed above in the lion section, pages 56 ff.

Also, while the lion is described as a solitary animal when it hunts its prey, the wolf is represented as part of a pack. However, this does not diminish the inherent savagery of the image of the wolf as is evident from the above passage.

Vase Painting

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

Wolves do not occur very often in archaic Greek art.²¹⁵ In fact, there is only one instance in the *LIMC*, where a wolf is depicted in the form of a device on the breastplates of two men [Plate 24b].²¹⁶ And even in this instance, the wolf faces have been very childishly sketched; so much so that it is difficult to ascertain precisely what animal is being depicted. There is clearly no interest in the wolf as an artistic subject. Perhaps the wolf was not considered a worthy enough beast to be represented in the more heroic scenes found in black figure of this age. Additionally, the image of the lion was more interesting to the artists as well as having well-established roots in other cultures which, as already mentioned, had influence on the archaic artists. Another factor that should be taken into account is that while the artists most likely had little first-hand knowledge of the lion, the wolf was native to their land. That is, while they may not have been aware that lions also travelled in packs, they would have known that this was true concerning the wolf. In an effort to portray the animal realistically, it would not have been feasible, in terms of both artistic and time constraints, to have represented a group of wolves and the artist may have preferred to avoid the wolf altogether. If one operated on the assumption that not many Greeks ever saw a lion, this creature would have appealed far more to their imagination than the common wolf. The scarceness of the lion would have made it more exotic and

²¹⁵ Wolves do not discernibly occur in Geometric or Corinthian vase painting.

²¹⁶ On a fragment of a lekanis, Athens, Acr. 2112, (*ABV* 58.120; *Add²* 16; *LIMC* 1: Amphiaraos 8).

interesting, and therefore, worthy of representation. Lastly, the low-slung physique of the wolf is less appealing than the erect and streamlined carriage of the lion which also may have been a factor in contributing to the artists' choice of subject matter.

* * *

It is clear that the above felines and the wolf were not as popular as the lion was in Homer and, to a lesser extent, in vase painting. This is based on the fact that the lion was rooted in a long-standing tradition, a tradition that has survived to modern times. Although the panther was the preferred species out of the "other" felines, its frontally orientated face somehow does not have the same fierce and formidable expression that the lion's open mouth and hanging tongue evoke. Instead, the panther's expression is somewhat impassive. There is a sense of energy and vitality surrounding the lion in the animal bands whereas the panther is somewhat innocuous. Perhaps, this is why the panther is largely relegated to the animal bands while the lion occurs in both the subsidiary bands and the main scenes. Additionally, the grandeur and aesthetic consequences of having a mane must also have been factored into the overall preference of subject matter. Perhaps, for instance, the presence of a crest is why the boar was favoured over the other ungulates.

As with vase painting, the Homeric poems did not have much use for other felines and the wolf besides the lion. Since the lion presented a completed and unified image that encapsulated the notion of heroic prowess, the other felines were to a large extent redundant. Additionally, it must also be taken into account that the Greeks were working within a tradition and that the image of the lion was deeply embedded within the culture, a product of a longstanding heritage.

V

BOARS

Homer

In the *Iliad*, the boar is used in similes to demonstrate fierceness of character, strength and courage. It is portrayed as an animal that shows little fear in the face of the danger which the huntsmen and their hounds represent and it is depicted as a beast that is willing to fight to the death (*Il.* 12.41 ff., 17.725 ff.):

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἔν τε κύνεσσι καὶ ἀνδράσι θηρευτῇσι
 κάπριος ἢ λέων στρέφεται σθένει βλεμεαίνων·
 οἱ δέ τε πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες
 ἀντίον ἵστανται καὶ ἀκοντίζουσι θαμειᾶς
 αἰχμὰς ἐκ χειρῶν· τοῦ δ' οὐ ποτε κυδάλιμον κῆρ
 ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἀγνηνορίη δέ μιν ἔκτα·
 ταρφέα τε στρέφεται στίχας ἀνδρῶν πειρητίζων·
 ὅππῃ τ' ἰθύσῃ τῇ εἴκουσι στίχες ἀνδρῶν·
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ . . .

As when among a pack of hounds and huntsmen assembled
 a wild boar or lion turns at bay in the strength of his fury,
 and the men, closing themselves into a wall about him,
 stand up to face him, and cast at him with the volleying spears thrown
 from their hands, and in spite of this the proud heart feels not
 terror, nor turns to run, and it is his own courage that kills him;
 and again and again he turns on them trying to break the massed men
 and wherever he charges the masses of men break away in front of him;
 such was Hektor . . .

(Il. 12.41-49)

Despite the formidable and unified front that the men present, the boar is not deterred from its own defence. Rather, the men seem to fuel the anger of the boar, anger that allows no room for alarm. According to Lonsdale,²¹⁷ the boar is to be seen as a warrior in its own right, protected by its hide and teeth, and he asserts that the function of the boar-hunt simile is to demonstrate the heroic nature of the warrior

²¹⁷ (1990:76).

featuring in the main narrative action. In this simile, it is the greatest Trojan warrior, Hektor, who is being compared with the savage boar. As the hunters break away when the boar charges at them, so too do the Achaians quail in the face of the furious onslaught of Hektor. That the boar be used as a comparison for so great a hero, who drives "men to thoughts of panic" (*Il.* 12.39), serves as a strong indicator of the concepts of power and strength embodied in the animal.

Owing to the savage nature of the boar, it is often paired with an equally vicious predator, the lion (*Il.* 5.782 ff., 7.256 ff.).²¹⁸ These two animals are vividly presented as strong, proud, courageous and feral. However, while both animals are to be feared proportionately, the poet of the *Iliad* makes it clear that in a confrontation between the two, the lion remains the unvanquished:²¹⁹

ὥς δ' ὅτε σὺν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβίησατο χάρμη,
ὥ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον
πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης· ἐθέλουσι δὲ πιέμεν ἄμφω·
πολλὰ δέ τ' ἀσθμαίνοντα λέων ἐδάμασσε βίηφιν·

As a lion overpowers a weariless boar in wild combat
as the two fight in their pride on the high places of a mountain
over a little spring of water, both wanting to drink there,
and the lion beats him down by force as he fights for his breath, [so
Hektor . . .]

(*Il.* 16.823-826)

Here, Hektor is compared with the lion while the wounded Patroklos is being likened to the boar that is defeated. This is inherently interesting because, while Hektor is the furious attacker with no real opposition, he can either be the lion or the boar, both being of equal enough status. However, when he is portrayed as the victor, but one

²¹⁸ According to Lonsdale (1990:71), the boar and lion share similar emotional states. For further correspondences of the lion with the boar, see above, lion section, page 50 f.

²¹⁹ Lonsdale (1990:71) points out that while the boar is, to a certain extent, another permutation of the lion, it remains distinct from the feline because it never kills its adversary.

who fights a worthy opponent, he specifically assumes the lion's image since this is the stronger of the two. On the same level, the stature and importance of Patroklos is not diminished in any way through being compared to the boar. That is, he still retains all of the superior connotations of a fighting spirit even though he has been wounded in battle. However, if he had been paired with a lesser animal, such as the deer, a vastly inferior picture of the hero would have emerged. This fundamental difference between the boar and the lion is noted by Vermeule²²⁰ who suggests that lion imagery is used for scenes of attack while boars are invoked when courageous withdrawal from the battle is described.

In the *Iliad*, the boar is mainly represented as a raging and wild beast; however, in the *Odyssey* swine feature primarily as livestock belonging to men (*Od.* 14.101 ff., 13.405 ff.) and are used as food in sacrificial feasts (*Od.* 14.72 ff., 24.215 ff.):

ὥς εἰπὼν ζωστήρι θοῶς συνέεργε χιτῶνα,
βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἐς συφεοὺς, ὅθι ἔθνεα ἔρχατο χοίρων.
ἐνθεν ἑλὼν δὴ ἔνεικε καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἱέρευσεν,
εἶσέ τε μίστυλλέν τε καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρεν.
ὀπτήσας δ' ἄρα πάντα φέρων παρέθηκ' Ὀδυσῆϊ
θέρμ' αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσιν . . .

He spoke, and pulled his tunic to with his belt, and went out
Swiftly to his pig pens where his herds of swine were penned in,
And picked out a pair and brought them in and sacrificed them,
And singed them, and cut them into little pieces, and spitted them,
Then roasted all and brought and set it before Odysseus
Hot on the spits as it was, . . .

(*Od.* 14.72-77)

As the *Odyssey* is concerned predominantly with the world of men, some of whom farm livestock, it is not surprising that a porcine animal is mentioned as a food source.

²²⁰ (1979:88).

Within the Homeric texts, various words are used to describe the porcine creature.²²¹ Since there are a relatively large number of porcine labels, significant perceptions concerning the animal are revealed. That is, in the *Odyssey*, the pig is generally referred to simply as ὁ or ἡ σῦς, which can mean swine, pig, a hog or boar. However, in the *Iliad*, added weight is given to σῦς through often being paired with κάπρος or ἄγριος,²²² which describes the boar as wild. This differentiation between σῦς and σῦς κάπρος or σῦς ἄγριος indicates that there were domestic pigs (σῦς) on the one hand, and wild boars (σῦς κάπρος / ἄγριος) on the other hand.

The terms σῦς κάπρος, σῦς ἄγριος and ὁ κάπρος generally are found in the simile structures. However, σῦς κάπρος is consistently used²²³ when the boar is offered as the alternative to the lion. This seems to elevate the savage status of the boar, in relation to the feline. Alternatively, when the boar is described in similes on its own, the term ὁ κάπρος is favoured. On the other hand, the terms ὁ or ἡ ὄς, ὁ or ἡ σῦς, ὁ σίαλος, σῦς σίαλος and ὁ χοῖρος are used to describe pigs that are kept as livestock, for food and sacrifice.²²⁴

The overt difference between the domestic pig and the wild boar is articulated in the *Odyssey* when a wild boar is described as having mated with a sow:

τε συνῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον
(*Od.* 11.131).

In this line, the poet clearly distinguishes between an ordinary type of pig (σῦς) in

²²¹ ὁ or ἡ σῦς (*Il.* 13.471, *Od.* 4.457), σῦς κάπρος (*Il.* 5.783), σῦς ἄγριος (*Il.* 8.338, *Od.* 11.611), ὁ κάπρος (*Il.* 11.324, *Od.* 6.104), ὁ or ἡ ὄς (*Il.* 10.264, *Od.* 15.397), ὁ σίαλος (*Il.* 21.363, *Od.* 2.300), σῦς σίαλος (*Il.* 9.208, *Od.* 17.181), ὁ χοῖρος (*Od.* 14.73). All translations are drawn from Liddell & Scott (1930: *ad verbum*).

²²² Sometimes the term ὁ κάπρος is sufficient in describing the boar, especially a wild boar.

²²³ One exception is *Il.* 17.282.

²²⁴ In the three instances where ὁ σῦς does not refer to the domestic pig, there is always an adjective included that makes its context more specific.

contrast to a wild one (κάπρον).

Based on the above defining vocabulary, it is clear that in antiquity, a distinction was made between the domestic pig as opposed to the wild boar. While nothing can be said of the difference in appearance between the two, there is essentially a dissimilarity in the character and the function of each.

Besides the wild boar found in similes and the swine belonging to and used by man, the boar image occurs in only a few other passages in both of the Homeric works. In the *Iliad*, boar's tusks are used on Odysseus' helmet as a form of protective armour:

... ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
ρίνοῦ ποιητήν· πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἱμάσιν
ἐντέτατο στερεῶς· ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
ἀργιόδοντος ὕδς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως·

... and he too put over his head a helmet
fashioned of leather; on the inside the cap was cross-strung firmly
with thongs of leather, and on the outer side the white teeth
of a tusk-shining boar were close sewn one after another
with craftsmanship and skill.

(*Il.* 10.261-265)

It is appropriate that the helmet belongs to this hero, since earlier on in the narrative,

Diomedes praises Odysseus' courage:

εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γε κελεύετε μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι.
πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,
οὗ πέρι μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη.
τούτου γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

"If indeed you tell me myself to pick my companion,
how then could I forget Odysseus the godlike, he whose
heart and whose proud spirit are beyond all others forward
in all hard endeavours, and Pallas Athene loves him.

Were he to go with me, both of us could come back from the blazing
of fire itself, since his mind is best at devices."

(*Il.* 10.242-247)

If we were to understand Odysseus as the boar this description encapsulates another facet of the porcine image. That is, not only is it a proud and brave fighter, but it is also a cunning and tricky animal, making it a difficult animal to capture.

The boar is also one of the animals involved in the metamorphosis of Proteus (*Od.* 4.457). Here, it is paired with similarly fearsome creatures, the lion, the serpent and the leopard. Although the poet has described the boar as a σῦς, the word is qualified by μέγας. That is, this pig falls outside of the normal porcine description.

The boar is again paired with vicious beasts, the lion and the bear, when it occurs on the artwork on the baldric of Herakles (*Od.* 11.611). Here, the boar occupies an elevated status since it has been embossed on part of the battle equipment of a hero who is renowned for being a great warrior. The term that is used to describe the animal is ἄγροτεροί τε σῦες, which is an explicit reference to the wild type of boar.

Lastly, mention of pigs occurs in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*, where half of Odysseus' companions are magically transformed into swine by the witch, Kirke:

... αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα
ῥάβδῳ πεπληγυῖα κατὰ συφροῖσιν ἔεργνυ.
οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.

...next thing
she struck them with her wand and drove them into her pig pens,
and they took on the look of pigs, with the heads and voices
and bristles of pigs, but the minds within them stayed as they had been
before.

(*Od.* 10.237-240)

Here, the men are described as σῦες, the ordinary, domesticated type of pig. This underlines the potent nature of Kirke's magical abilities. That is, as she subdues wild beasts so that they behave like fawning dogs (*Od.* 10.210 ff.), so too are the previously capable men transformed into harmless and impotent porkers.

Vase Painting

Geometric

In Geometric art, the depiction of the boar is a very rare phenomenon. On an Attic Geometric pyxis,²²⁵ a primitively represented sow is portrayed in the company of her offspring [Plate 25a]. Although it is impossible to discern whether the sow and her progeny are wild or domesticated, no clear indication of aggression is implied through their stance. That is, they have been represented in a pert manner, with long tails curled in a jaunty pose, with hooked, claw-like feet, with open mouths, their snouts elongated and tapering, reminiscent of a dog's muzzle. Boardman²²⁶ suggests that these and the various other animal representations that are found on the pyxis act as indications of prestige and wealth. Apart from this proposal, no other potential meaning can be inferred from the context.

Corinthian

As is the case within the Homeric poems, in vase painting boars do not occur as frequently as lions. In the animal bands of the 7th century Corinthian vase painting, the boar is not singled out as a preferred animal and is pictorially interchangeable with the other ungulates. That is, the deer/stag and the goat (the ram and bull to a lesser degree) are generally the favoured subject matter out of the ungulate species. The posture of the boar in the Corinthian animal bands portrays the sturdy stance of a powerfully built and physically strong animal.²²⁷ It is depicted as a large animal, with a heavy-set torso and haunches and a thick neck. It is represented with bristling crest that runs from the forehead along its back; it has a curled porcine tail, sometimes has

²²⁵ Louvre A514, Coldstream Pl. 4h.

²²⁶ (1998:25).

²²⁷ For instance, an olpe, Munich 8764, Amyx, Pl. 16:1.

tusks and has relatively thin legs in relation to its bulk. Frequently, the boar is depicted with its head slightly lowered which strongly suggests a confrontational attitude.²²⁸ That is, while the other ungulates are also portrayed with a lowered head, their heads almost touch the ground which is a characteristic posture of an animal which is grazing. On the other hand, the angle of the boar's head does not evoke the "grazing posture" since it does not dip down deeply enough towards the ground. In view of the inherent aggression of the animal, it is most likely adopting an essentially hostile stance.

On the Corinthian animal bands, the mannerisms of the boar reveal that the animal is best equipped, out of the ungulate species, to be able to fend off a leonine attack. In this fabric, the wild boar, as opposed to domestic pigs, seems to be the main object of artistic interest. That is, the behaviour of the swine that are depicted on the vase scenes does not indicate a mildness of character that would more likely be found in domestic stock. Both the Homeric works and vase paintings discern between the two forms of the pig, the wild versus the domestic.²²⁹ It is evident that the wild boar is the preferred animal in both Homer and art since it has more vivid attributes, both in physique and character traits, than the common pig. These attributes allow for superior artistic effect.

²²⁸ For instance, an olpe, Frankfurt 3335, Amyx, Pl. 16:2b, a pyxis, Toledo 63.24, Amyx, Pl. 52:1.

²²⁹ Based on the absence of the domestic pig in vase painting of this fabric and based on the fact that the pig is represented in an aggressive manner, it is assumed that the porcine animal is in fact a boar.

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

It is in Athenian black figure vase painting that the figure of the boar is more commonly found than in the Corinthian fabric. Within the black figure style, this animal is primarily found in the animal bands where, with an aggressive posture, it generally confronts a predator-type animal,²³⁰ in the same manner as the Corinthian predecessors. As with the Corinthian animal bands, the boar is not discernibly favoured by the Attic artists above the other ungulates. However, in the bands where the boar is the only animal that is represented in conjunction with the lion, the inference of equally matched opponents is apparent [Plate 25b].²³¹ That is, in these scenes, the boar and the usually snarling lion face each other in confrontation; neither animal indicates any weakness through their posture.

There is evidence that the Athenian artists saw and exploited the inherent possibilities in this confrontational animal image. An interesting example can be found on a hydria in New York²³² where three scenes of conflict are represented [Plate 26a]. On the shoulder of the vessel, two hoplites confront each other in battle. On the main panel, the hero Herakles wrestles with the fishy monster, Triton, and on the lower animal band, a lion, with its paw raised, opposes a boar that braces itself on stiffened legs in anticipation of the attack. All three scenes are positioned towards the middle of their respective picture field and in each the opponents are equally matched. Neither hoplite warrior is seen at a disadvantage since neither have a weakened

²³⁰ For instance, on a hydria by the Euphiletos Painter, London 1849.6-20.11 (B300), (*ABV* 324.39, 694; *Add'* 88), on a hydria by the Madrid Painter, Vatican 16451 (418), (*ABV* 329.1; *Add'* 89). In these instances, the boar and the lion are the only two species of animals that have been chosen to be represented by the artists. According to Schefold (1992:102), wild boars, together with lions and bulls, are representative of the savagery inherent in nature.

²³¹ For instance, on a hydria, London B329, 678; *ABV* 334.1; *Para* 147; *Add'* 91).

²³² New York 23.160.1, (*ABV* 280.4; *Add'* 73; *LIMC* 8: Triton 4 a).

stance; Triton is well matched by the strong Herakles, and the boar and the lion are similarly paired. The two upper scenes that are conflict-based, also help to reinforce the inherent opposition between the boar and the lion as natural enemies. However, it is unmistakable that the artists have primarily used the animal band symbolically to enhance the meaning on the main panel.²³³

It is significant that in most of the animal bands which depict an instance of the lion "attack" motif, where one or more felines attack a member of the ungulate species, the boar is not the beast that is usually chosen to fulfil the role of the victim. Instead, the deer or the bull is preferred as the prey. This provides further supporting evidence for the strength and dominance of the boar in relation to the feline figure. A notable exception is the well-known cup potted by Neandros which represents a series of feline attacks [Plate 26b].²³⁴

On side A, two scenes of animal attack occur. On the left, two lions attack a bull from left and right. On the right, a panther leaps onto the hindquarters of a deer. At each handle a siren is turned outwards, but looks back towards the centre of the scene. Another two scenes of attack are represented on side B. On the left, a lion, in a head-on confrontation, attacks a boar. He leaps onto the neck and shoulders of the boar, dragging this part to the ground. One of his hind legs rake the face of the pig. On the right, two panthers, on either side of their victim, attack a deer. At each side of the

²³³ Although there is an additional boar to the left, on the animal band, it is difficult to explain its presence. Perhaps the artist ran out of space for another lion-boar grouping and fitted in only one other animal. For another comparative example of the above vase symbolism, see an amphora, Amiens 468, (*ABL* 694; *Para* 153.13; *LIMC* 7: Peleus 116). On the main scene of this lekythos, the struggle between Peleus and Thetis is represented. This struggle is underlined by the animal band where a boar (on the left) confronts a lion (on the right).

²³⁴ Boston 61.1073, (*ABV* (167.3)(168.1); *Para* 69, 70, *Add'* 47; *CVA* 2, pls 98.3-4, 99.4).

field is a siren; they are positioned as in side A. An inscription is present on each side of the cup. However, for the purposes of this study, side B is the main object of interest:

Νέανδρος ἐποίησεν εἶ γε πάρδαλις ἤδι ναί(ι)χι ναί με
 retr. σειρήν ὀδί (or ὠδί) γε ναίχιν ταῦρος (ο)ὔτος
 σειρήν (Beazley's reading, *Para* 69)

Vermeule²³⁵ offers a loose translation that conveys a possible interpretation of the inscription: "a lion got this boar, yes he did, well fought."

While it does seem likely that the boar will lose this battle, the confrontation between the two animals is evenly matched. That is, the lion interacts with the boar as if he is an equal adversary; the lion confronts the boar face-to-face. On side A, the single panther attacks deer from behind, which implies that the struggle is unequal since the suggestion is that the deer was running from the predator before it was caught. On the other hand, the boar has met its attacker head-on probably in an attempt to defend itself. This direct kind of confrontation evokes *Iliad* 16, mentioned earlier in this chapter, where the lion and boar find themselves in competition over a water source. Clearly, the boar was not considered a weakly animal.

Miscellaneous Scenes

- There is an unusual scene on an oinochoe,²³⁶ which represents a maenad caught between two growling boars [Plate 27a]. The boars each emerge from a cave that is partially visible against both vase margins. Although the representation of a maenad on her own does not follow the normal Thiasos convention,²³⁷ maenads

²³⁵ (1981:91).

²³⁶ London 1864.10-7.9 (B503), (*ABV* 527.20; *Add*² 131; *LIMC* 8: Mainades 6).

²³⁷ *LIMC* 8: Mainades 6, p.783.

are commonly associated with animals.²³⁸ In this case, the wild and volatile aspect of the boar can be seen in conjunction with the unrestrained behaviour common to maenads, that is most tellingly evoked by Euripides, a century later:

ἦ δ' ἄφρον' ἐξιείσα καὶ διαστρόφους
κόραξ ἐλίσσουσ', οὐ φρονοῦσ' ἅ χ' ἤ φρονεῖν,
ἐκ Βακχίου κατεῖχετ', οὐδ' ἔπειθέ νιν.
λαβοῦσα δ' ὠλένης ἀριστερὰν χέρα,
πλευραῖσιν ἀντιβᾶσα τοῦ δυσδαίμονος
ἀπεσπάραξεν ὦμον, οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους,
ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς εὐμάρειαν ἐπεδίδου χεροῖν·
Ἴνῳ δὲ τὰ πὶ θάτερ' ἐξεργάζετο,
ῥηγνύσα σάρκας, Αὐτονόη τ' ὄχλος τε πᾶς
ἐπεῖχε βακχῶν·

Agauë was foaming at the mouth; her rolling eyes
Were wild; she was not in her right mind, but possessed
By Bacchus, and she paid no heed to him. She grasped
His right arm between wrist and elbow, set her foot
Against his ribs, and tore his arm off by the shoulder.
It was no strength of her that did it, but the god
Filled her, and made it easy. On the other side
Ino was at him, tearing at his flesh; and now
Autonoë joined them, and the whole maniacal horde.

(*Bacchae*, 1122-31)

In the fifth century play, Euripides, describes how Pentheus is torn apart by his mother and the other women who are possessed by the Bacchic god. The women are completely under the influence of Dionysos and cannot be held accountable for their actions. It is only at the end of the play, when Agauë regains her sanity, that she realizes the direness of her deed.

Specific Mythological Scenes

It is also pertinent to note that one of Herakles' labours was to capture the huge and dangerous Erymanthian boar that had been laying waste the forests of Arcadia and terrorizing travellers. The ferocity of the boar is underlined since it takes a famous and strong hero to subdue it. The representation of this task was popular in Attic

²³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 797.

scene painting. In some of the vase scenes representing this labour, Herakles is shown carrying the boar in to show King Eurystheus, who panic-stricken by the sight of this fearsome creature hides in a large pithos [Plate 27b].²³⁹

The underlying concept of the strength and ferocity of the boar is again observed in an unusual scene on a white ground oinochoe [Plate 28a].²⁴⁰ The white background of the oinochoe provides a stark backdrop for the main subjects of the scene. On the left side of the field is a large and snarling boar that faces to the right, towards a tree. The boar has a large torso, and a bristling mane, and teeth are visible in its mouth which is slightly opened. The front legs of the pig are stiff and braced leaning backwards. His overall posture implies imminent and aggressive attack. In the central area of the scene stands an insubstantial-looking tree that has a long and thin trunk. The tip of the trunk terminates in branches. In these branches, a small figure (Peleus) huddles towards the top of the branches; his gaze is directed downward to the ground level. He appears very precariously balanced. On the extreme right, a large lion faces to the left, looking towards the tree, its mane stands up and is bristling, it is crouched in a coiled spring posture, its mouth is open in a growling gesture and its claws in the two fore-paws are bared. Both animals are overtly aggressive in behaviour. Also, these beasts have been depicted on a large scale in comparison to the relatively small human figure curled up in the tree, a detail that dramatically adds to their ferocity that is evident through their stances and facial expressions. This suspenseful scene

²³⁹ For example, an amphora, Louvre F59, (*ABV* 259.15; *Para* 114; *Add*² 67), an amphora Naples SA 186, (*ABV* 270.51; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2124).

²⁴⁰ New York 46.11.7, (*ABV* 434.3; *Para* 187; *Add*² 111). This scene could be a reference to the myth where Akastos takes Peleus on an overnight hunting trip. During the course of the night, while Peleus is resting, Akastos steals the magical knife that protects Peleus from the wild animals. Cheiron has to retrieve this knife before Peleus can safely emerge from the woods that are inhabited by vicious creatures (Schefold, 1992:186). Both the boar and the lion could be the type of animal that the men were hunting and this scene could be a reference to the stranded Peleus before Cheiron's timely intervention.

demonstrates an awareness of the lion and the boar as two animals that were both potentially dangerous and savage creatures and that could inspire a fear-based reaction.

Another instance where the boar can be found in black figure vase painting is in scenes depicting the Kalydonian boar hunt where the boar is being pursued and attacked by men and their hounds [Plate 28b & c].²⁴¹ Although the boar hunt image can also be found in Corinthian art,²⁴² the inscriptions on these are different from the Attic representations and, therefore, the Corinthian hunt scenes were rooted in a native epic tradition.²⁴³ On a lekanis lid attributed to the hand of the Vatican Mourner,²⁴⁴ there are two boar hunt scenes depicted [Plate 29].²⁴⁵ Since these scenes lack inscriptions of any kind, they cannot be placed within a particular myth and may simply represent a generic "boar hunt" type scene.²⁴⁶ The grouping of the figures follow the typical schematic layout²⁴⁷ for the boar hunt image where a central boar is attacked by men standing on either side of it. It stands as testimony to the strength of the boar that the boar hunt representations portray a large number of men, with their dogs, in stark contrast to the solitary boar.

* * *

²⁴¹ For instance, François Vase, Florence 4209, (*ABV* 76.1, 682; *Para* 29; *Add*² 21), a band-cup, Munich 2243, (*ABV* 163.2, 160.2; *Para* 68; *Add*² 47). According to Schefold (1992:102), the story describing the Kalydonian hunt was probably known in Athens in the 6th century BC. This would explain the sudden appearance of these representations in vase painting. However, Schefold does not state whether he has based his date on the prevalence of the depictions themselves or whether the evidence was provided by an independent literary source.

²⁴² For instance, neck-amphora, Once Lecce, Amyx, Pl. 126:3.

²⁴³ Schefold (1992:197).

²⁴⁴ Würzburg L442, (*ABV* 140.5).

²⁴⁵ Masters (MA diss. Durban 1996:127) suggests as a possibility that two stages of the boar hunt are occurring.

²⁴⁶ As Carpenter (1991:186) suggests, the Kalydonian boar hunt cannot be positively identified unless through the aid of inscriptions or unless a female figure (Atalanta) is present.

²⁴⁷ Boardman (1985:227) points out that this is the standard template for boar hunt scenes.

Based on the above Homeric and artistic evidence, the concept of the boar is very clearly defined. While the swine could be overpowered by the stronger feline animals, it was inherently a powerful, dangerous and energetic creature capable of stalwart battle. This understanding might indicate why the boar's head was often used on the prows of ships as a battering ram.²⁴⁸ That is, the concept of the animal embodied hardiness, a willingness to fight and tireless effort. It seems likely, in view of the difference in Greek terms describing the boar, that the archaic Attic artists intended their boars to be of the wild type. Based on this evidence and the aggressive posture of the boar, it does not appear that domestic swine were of intrinsic artistic interest.

It seems that the primary idea attached to the boar was that, first and foremost, it was a fighter. It is not surprising, then, that the boar's tusks were historically sewn on the caps of real human warriors.²⁴⁹ That is, in addition to the durability of the material, there must have been a certain honour in wearing the teeth of a worthy fighting opponent.

²⁴⁸ For instance, a cup by Exekias, Munich 2044, (*ABV* 146.21, 686; *Para* 60; *Add?* 41).

²⁴⁹ For an example of a reconstructed Mycenaean boar tusk helmet, see Athens National Museum 6568.

VI

OTHER UNGULATES²⁵⁰

Homer

The study of the other ungulate species, the deer, the goats, the bulls, the rams, pigs, sheep and cattle, does not offer as much useful information as the other animal types. That is, the other ungulates in Homer are rarely invoked in similes but, instead, they are mentioned in reference to their functional role as a food source (*Il.* 8.230, 9.205 ff.), as sacrificial victims²⁵¹ (*Il.* 1.40 ff., 1.65 ff., *Od.* 3.5 ff.), as the livestock belonging to man (*Od.* 4.84 ff.), they are used as a means of expressing value (*Il.* 2.446 ff., *Il.* 23.703 ff.), they are offered as a bartering commodity (*Il.* 7.470 ff.), their hide is used as material items (*Il.* 3.375 [bull's hide used as a chinstrap of a helmet], *Il.* 4.105 ff. [The goat's horn bow of Pandaros], *Od.* 1.108), and they are the quarry of the hunt (*Il.* 10.360 ff., 15.271 ff.). As a direct consequence of the above functions, these animals lack overt individualized character traits and instead form the generalized backdrop for the main narrative action in both epic works.

Wild Versus Domestic

In another role, as victims of predators, the herbivore falls into two categories, wild versus domesticated. Firstly, the ungulates as domestic livestock²⁵² are completely at the mercy of the predator since they have usually been penned inside man-made

²⁵⁰ The category of "Other ungulates" deliberately does not include any discussions of the wild boar since it is regarded as a category on its own. There is, however, a slight overlap with domestic pigs which are also regarded as belonging in the "domestic livestock" category.

²⁵¹ I am deliberately not discussing the sacrificial contexts since this introduces the religious connotations, which is a study in its own right.

²⁵² The category of domestic livestock includes pigs, sheep, cattle and goats.

enclosures and they have been placed in an unnatural context. Since in the inhabited regions they have no natural predator, they are not equipped for survival under attack by a wild animal:

ὥς δὲ λέων μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθὼν
αἵγεσιν ἢ οἷεσσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούσῃ, . . .

As a lion advancing on the helpless herds unshepherded
of sheep or goats pounces upon them with wicked intention, . . .
(*Il.* 10.485-486)

The second category of ungulate is the one that has been born to the wild. This ungulate is hunted by both man and beast and, like the domestic herbivore, the wild ungulate occupies a low position in the food chain:

. . . ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὥς εἴ τε δαφουνοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν
ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνήρ
ἰὼ ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μὲν τ' ἤλυξε πόδεςσι
φεύγων, ὄφρ' αἵμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε δαμάσσεται ὠκύς οἰστός,
ὠμοφάγοι μιν θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι δαρδάπτουσιν
ἐν νέμει σκιερῷ·

. . . and around him
the Trojans crowded, as bloody scavengers in the mountains
crowd on a horned stag who is stricken, one whom a hunter
shot with an arrow from the string, and the stag has escaped him, running
with his feet, while the blood stayed warm, and his knees were springing
beneath him.
But when the pain of the flying arrow has beaten him, then
the rending scavengers begin to feast on him in the mountains
and the shaded glen.

(*Il.* 11.473-480)

Although both categories of ungulates are mentioned in the context of similes, usually the animal occupies a purely secondary role, where it is preyed upon by wild beasts.²⁵³ That is, the predator is the main focus of these similes.

²⁵³ See deer section below for further discussion.

In another context, however, the ungulate occupies a primary role where it can be evoked in reference to its strength and status in relation to the herd:

... μετὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,
Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.
ἦ ὅτε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων
ταῦρος· ὃ γάρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένησι·

... and among them powerful Agamemnon,
with eyes and head like Zeus who delights in thunder,
like Ares for girth, and with the chest of Poseidon;
like some ox of the herd pre-eminent among the others,
a bull, who stands conspicuous in the huddling cattle.
(*Il.* 2.477-481)

Usually the ungulate is of the male gender and thus is distinct from the predominantly female herd. As a result, the qualities of leadership and authority are evoked. Agamemnon is raised above the normal quality of man and is presented as a singular and unique being.

An ungulate can sometimes be invoked in order to convey the effect of a sound occurring:

αὐτὰρ ὃ θυμὸν αἴσθε καὶ ἥρυγεν, ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος
ἥρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα
κούρων ἐλκόντων·

He blew his life away, bellowing, as when a bull
bellows as he is dragged for Poseidon, lord of Helike,
and the young men drag him.
(*Il.* 20.403-405)

This is distinct from the predators who typically are not vocal.

Out of all the ungulates that form a part in the "other ungulate" group, the deer imagery has the most to offer. Usually, the image of the deer is employed when an

insult is being intended. In one context, when Achilles angrily remonstrates with Agamemnon in the beginning of the *Iliad*, he accuses Agamemnon of having "a dog's eyes, with a deer's heart" (*Il.* 1.225). Here, since the deer reference is paired with an obvious canine insult, it too must be considered derogatory. In this scene, Achilles regards Agamemnon as displaying the timidity of a deer where its only response to danger is to flee. While this may not be much commented on of the wild animal, it is certainly not an attribute that a brave and noble warrior should be displaying

In general, the deer occurs most frequently in the Homeric similes, similes which demonstrate the perceived character of the creature. The overriding character trait that the deer is considered to display is the concept of cowardice, as described in the words of the god, Poseidon:²⁵⁴

Τρῶας . . . οἱ τὸ πάρος περ
φυζακινῆς ἐλάφοισιν εἰκέσαν, αἳ τε καθ' ὕλην
θῶων παρδαλίων τε λύκων τ' ἥϊα πέλονται
αὐτῶς ἡλάσκουσαι ἀνάλκιδες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ χάρμη·

. . . the Trojans . . .
were like fugitive deer before us, who in the forests
are spoil for scavengers and wolves and leopards, who scatter
in absolute cowardice, there is no war spirit within them.
(*Il.* 13.101-104)

Here, the deer is diametrically opposed to the fearsome boar and lion which are lauded for their courage, even in the face of grave danger and even when they do not have much hope of success. Keeping in mind that Poseidon is attempting to rally the Achaian forces, an obvious insult is being directed towards the behaviour of the Trojan forces.

²⁵⁴ Lonsdale (1989:67).

Within the Homeric works, the deer is an animal that is frequently hunted by both man (*Od.* 10.156 ff. [Odysseus hunts a great stag])²⁵⁵ and animal (*Il.* 15.579 ff.). It is innately defenseless and is not at all equipped with well-developed survival mechanisms:

ὥς δ' ὅπότε' ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος
 νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθινοὺς
 κνημοὺς ἐξερέησι καὶ ἄγκεα ποιήεντα
 βοσκομένη, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα ἔην εἰσήλυθεν εὐνὴν,
 ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφῆκεν . . .

As when a doe has brought her fawns to the lair of a lion
 And put them there to sleep, they are newborn and still suckling,
 Then wanders out into the foothills and the grassy corners,
 Grazing there, but now the lion comes back to his own lair
 And visits a shameful destruction on both mother and children . . .

(*Od.* 4.335-339)

This is clearly not the type of behaviour that one would expect of a creature born in the wild. That is, it would seem that the animal should have developed some sort of survival skills in order to ensure the propagation of its own kind.²⁵⁶

Although the similes are evocative, they present very simplistic images in comparison to the lion and boar, for example, whose character is well-developed through a series of consistent images. It is also conspicuous that the physical characteristics of the herbivores are not singled out and described in detail, as is often the case with the other animals already mentioned in the preceding chapters.

²⁵⁵ Birge (1993) and Schmoll (1987) discuss, in detail, the possible symbolism of the stag hunt.

²⁵⁶ Lonsdale (1989:59) also comments on the anthropomorphic use of vocabulary which increases the sense of poignancy that is evoked.

Vase Painting

Geometric

Deer have a primarily decorative function on Geometric ware, a function which keeps within the character of this period. They can either be represented in a successive row, forming a patterned frieze [Plate 30a],²⁵⁷ or they are individually represented [Plate 30b].²⁵⁸ Here, the deer is portrayed in a stiff standing position, with its head lowered groundward, with long upright ears and a short tail that points downwards. This tail position distinguishes the deer from the goats which generally look the same but have a short tail that points upwards.

Corinthian

The main types of ungulate animal that occurs in Corinthian animal bands are the boar, stag/deer, the ram, goat and the bull [Plate 8a].

The deer and stag are typically depicted with their heads bent towards the ground, in a presumed grazing posture. Here, each ungulate is not treated merely as a decorative object, but instead, a notion of function is implied, which is encoded in its representation. That is, ungulates graze, they are herbivorous, they are largely unaware of the potentially dangerous felines on either side of them, and they are not themselves inherently aggressive. Each animal is represented in its own particular "context", doing generally what all ungulates characteristically do. The bull, the ram and the boar, on the other hand, generally assume a threatening pose and seem to challenge the next animal in the band sequence. That is, they have a solid stance that could be interpreted as confrontational. Also, the deer and stag seem to reach further down towards the ground in contrast to the angle of the heads of the bull, the ram and

²⁵⁷ For instance, the Dipylon amphora, Athens 804, Coldstream Pl. 6.

²⁵⁸ For instance, an oinochoe, Agora P 15122, Coldstream Pl. 7c.

the boar which are less pronounced. This implies that the deer are eating whereas the latter group is inherently aggressive.

Except for the occurrence of the ram and the bull, it is conspicuous that no other domesticated ungulate appears in these bands. In consequence, the ram and the bull are significant in some way beyond their domestication. That is, although these two animals are theoretically domestic stock, they stand as fairly universal symbols of power and aggression which sets them apart from the inherent docileness which is common in livestock.

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

Ungulates also occur on the subsidiary animal bands of Attic black figure vases where, as in Homer, they are the victims of both man and predators. Within these animal bands, the favoured species of ungulate are generally the stag/deer and the bull. However, the ungulate alone does not offer any potential symbolism. Instead, they are an essential component of the feline attack image, a self-contained image which carries its own particular symbolism.²⁵⁹ According to Markoe,²⁶⁰ the "choice of two *different* animals - bull and stag - as prey in flanking lion attack groups underscores the purely secondary importance of the animal victim."

Like the Corinthian animal bands, other domestic livestock, with the exception of the bull, are typically not included in Attic animal bands. Although the bull is domesticated, its essentially volatile nature seems to place it alongside the wild animal species, in terms of equivalence in status and prowess.

²⁵⁹ See above lion section for further information, page 66 ff.

²⁶⁰ (1989:99 n. 49).

On the other hand, while deer, rams and goats do appear in the main scenes of Attic black figure, they are usually presented as an attribute of a divinity²⁶¹ or are represented as one of the sacrificial victims being led in a procession. Apart from the above contexts, livestock is generally not represented in the main scenes.

Specific Mythological Scenes

Based on the above discussion, it is not surprising that the two ungulates that do occur in the Herakles cycle are the bull and the deer, since representations of these ungulates are dominant. However, even here, they follow a description that is true to character. That is, the task of fetching the Kerynitian hind²⁶² is not even one of Herakles' more dangerous labours [Plate 31a]. The hind itself does not pose any danger. Rather, it is its protectress, Artemis, who is the real obstacle that stands in the hero's way. It is also significant that the desirability of the animal is not due to the inherent character of the creature but rather to its forbidden and thus extremely coveted golden antlers.

Similarly, Herakles' labour involving the Cretan bull [Plate 31b]²⁶³ underlines the fundamental character traits of the bovine in the same way that the Kerynitian labour reflects the deer. In the Cretan bull episode, the behaviour of this domesticated animal is motivated by an external source, in the guise of the god Poseidon, who causes the bull to terrorize the surrounding areas.

* * *

²⁶¹ For further information concerning the connections between the particular gods or goddesses with specific animals, see Simon's (1998) comprehensive book on Greek divinities.

²⁶² For instance on an amphora, Würzburg L199 (*ABV* 287.5; *Add*² 75; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2177).

²⁶³ For instance on an amphora, Munich 1407 (*ABV* 290; *Add*² 75; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2329).

It is not surprising that domestic animals were not overtly favoured in the Homeric works and in the different artistic fabrics. That is, the domestic livestock lack the distinct character traits that the other animals have. Additionally, they must not have had much imaginative appeal for man in antiquity since livestock was a necessary commodity, an item of business or a means of food. From a purely aesthetic point of view, the sheep, the pigs, goats and cattle generally lack the physical prowess of the wild animal. Above all, one must keep in mind that domestic livestock are essentially herd animals. That is, they co-exist and belong as members of a flock/herd and, in consequence, do not have any defining individual qualities. In terms of the bull and the ram, however, these animals tend to stand distinct from the herd in terms of their male gender and biologically-based leadership attributes. That is, they have a defined function within the flock/herd and because of biological reasons, they generally do not share their position with another member of the same species. Since these animals are singled out as "other" in relation to the rest of the herd/flock, they tend to occupy a position of power and status. Hence, the artists could comfortably depict the bull or ram as individuals, and in both literature and the arts, a more noble image can be attributed to each creature.

Although the deer is a wild ungulate, it is clearly not considered an unusual animal. The above evidence suggests that it was a rather common animal, whose behaviour did not create much cause for comment. It is evident that the deer fulfils a largely utilitarian function, contributing little to the heightened and charged imagery found both in Homer and archaic Attic black figure vase painting. One must recall the deer's hide pelt of Odysseus (*Od.* 14.436). The hero only is made to wear this when he

assumes the disguise of an unworthy beggar. That is, although it is deliberate, the pelt negatively impacts on the prowess of the protagonist.

VII

SNAKES

Homer

A creature that had a significant impact on both animal and man alike, was the snake.

The Homeric works reveal how birds fight it in nature (*Il.* 2.308 ff., 12.200 ff.):

ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπὶ ἤλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἑέργων
φοινήμεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον
ζῶν ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα, καὶ οὐ πῶ λήθετο χάρμης,
κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρὴν
ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε
ἀλγήσας ὀδύνησι, μέσῳ δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλ' ὁμίλῳ,
αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

As they were urgent to cross a bird sign had appeared to them,
an eagle, flying high and holding to the left of the people
and carrying in its talons a gigantic snake, blood-coloured,
alive still and breathing, it had not forgotten its warcraft
yet, for writhing back it struck the eagle that held it
by chest and neck, so that the eagle let it drop groundward
in pain of the bite, and dashed it down in the midst of the battle
and itself, screaming high, winged away down the wind's blast.
(*Il.* 12.200-207)

It must be taken into account that this reptile is one of the natural prey of the eagle species and that the bird is accustomed to and physically equipped for the capturing of the snake. But, as testimony to the snake's antagonistic nature, not even the strong and powerful eagle can withstand its ferocity.

It is also apparent that the snake was not only a threat to the members of the animal kingdom but also was considered dangerous to men (*Il.* 3.33 ff., 22.93 ff.):

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα,
ἄψ δ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὦχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς . . .

As a man who has come on a snake in the mountain valley

suddenly steps back, and the shivers come over his body,
and he draws back and away, cheeks seized with a green pallor. . .
(*Il.* 3.33-35).

Gauging from the above responses that the creature evoked, it is evident that this reptile made a considerable impression on the psyches of the Greeks. Additionally, it carried out another important function in serving as the basis for portents sent by the gods themselves (*Il.* 12.200 ff.). It is not surprising that this creature was closely associated with the gods because it must have forced the ancients into an awareness of their mortality when its poison could cause great discomfort and probable death:

ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κείτο κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων
Λήμνῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθι μιν λίπον υἱεὺς Ἀχαιῶν
ἔλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῷ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου·

Yet himself lay apart in the island, suffering strong pains,
In Lemnos the sacrosanct, where the sons of the Achaians had left him
In agony from the sore bite of the wicked water snake.
(*Il.* 2.721-723)

Here, Philoktetes, leader of the Thessalians, cannot take up his rightful place and man his ships because of the severity of his affliction. In consequence, he is replaced by Medon, bastard son of Oileus.

The predominant attitude towards the snake, within the Homeric works, is one of fearfulness. In the *Odyssey* (4.457), the serpent is paired with other similarly terrifying creatures, the boar, lion and leopard, when it is described as one of the manifestations of Proteus. This particular combination of animals indicates the underlying concept of the snake as dangerous and primal.

Similarly grim overtones can be found in a description of the *Iliad* where a snake, not content with preying only on the young, strikes at the mother bird as well. This

passage describes an opportunistic creature that is intent on taking as much as it can get:

... δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφρινός
 σμερδαλέος, τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φόως δέ,
 βωμοῦ ὑπαΐξας πρὸς ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουσεν.
 ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα,
 ὅζω ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες
 ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν ἡ τέκε τέκνα·
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας·
 μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτᾶτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα·
 τὴν δ' ἐλελιξάμενος πτέρυγος λάβεν ἀμφιαχυῖαν.

... a snake, his back blood-mottled,
 A thing of horror, cast into the light by the very Olympian,
 Wound its way from under the altar and made towards the plane tree.
 Thereupon were innocent children, the young of the sparrow,
 Cowering underneath the leaves at the uttermost branch tip,
 Eight of them, and the mother was the ninth, who bore these children.
 The snake ate them all after their pitiful screaming,
 And the mother, crying aloud for her young ones, fluttered about him,
 And as she shrilled he caught her by the wing and coiled around her.
 (Il. 2.308-316)

Although the snake has overtly malevolent overtones within the Homeric poems, it does seem that the creature was an enigmatic symbol to the ancient people. That is, snakes played a large part in the shrouded mystery cults²⁶⁴ and were consistently affiliated with many of the Olympian gods and goddesses.²⁶⁵ According to Kearns,²⁶⁶ snakes have "an intimate connexion with heroes and 'chthonic' deities because of their mysterious appearances and disappearances from the earth; under the earth, it seems, they still retain their power and vitality." The intangible quality which surrounded the image of the snake is also revealed through the role that the reptile played in omens. It seems that the snake could appear in a number of contexts, most of which would be interpreted as an important sign. Both a snake appearing alone (Il. 2.308 ff.) and one

²⁶⁴ Burkert (1987:106).

²⁶⁵ For additional information on the various deities, see Simon's (1998) detailed study on the subject.

²⁶⁶ (1989:16).

seen in the grip of a bird's talons (*Il.* 12.200 ff.) were considered significant enough events into which meaning could be imported.

Vase Painting

Geometric

The snake as a decorative and "space filling" object²⁶⁷ is found in Geometric art, with one possible exception. That is, while the figure of the snake did superficially function as a decorative device [Plate 32a],²⁶⁸ the reptile was also sometimes used as a feature ornamenting funerary pottery.²⁶⁹ That is, because the snake is a creature that makes its home beneath the ground, it was associated with the dark realms found in the Underworld and with the dead. In addition to this, the snake's periodic shedding of its skin symbolically encapsulates the concept of rebirth and renewal, which could make it an appropriate symbol in a funerary context. Overall, it seems that snakes were assigned a protective function in antiquity. According to Kearns,²⁷⁰ this protective function is "due partly to the instinctive fear inspired by the snake ... but partly also to the creature's origins in the earth itself." Since the snake is so close to the earth, says Kearns, it would naturally seek to protect that which gave it life and sustenance. Perhaps, also, in real life one tended to encounter snakes in the comparatively deserted contexts of cemeteries. Since this was easily observed by the painters, it may have seemed natural to include the creatures on their funerary ware.

The image of the snake is not commonly found in Corinthian art and it seems that where it does occur, it functions primarily as a space filler [Plate 32b &c].²⁷¹ Here, the figure of the snake is represented in a series of continuous 'S' patterns. It is placed in between two animals/figures that confront each other, where it occupies an awkward triangular area of space.

²⁶⁷ See description in Corinthian art below.

²⁶⁸ As on a pitcher, Athens 14411, Coldstream, Pl. 13c.

²⁶⁹ For instance, on an amphora, Leiden I.1909/1.1, Coldstream, Pl. 11a.

²⁷⁰ (1989:111).

²⁷¹ For instance, two alabaster, Boston 98.910, Amyx, Pl. 18.1a, attributed to the Griffin Painter; Boston 91.210, Pl. 18.5, attributed to the Painter of Munich 283.

Attic Black Figure Vase Painting

Tombstones

The chthonic aspect of the snake can also be found in Athenian black figure representations [Plate 33a].²⁷² Here, the figure of the snake is superimposed on white-coloured grave mounds. In these representations, it is not clear whether the snake is intended to be a carving on the tombstone or whether it is a real snake. However, the implications of the snake's associations with the underworld must be included in the interpretation of the scene. In view of the vase depictions of snakes on tombstones, it is unusual that the representation of the snake was not commonly used as a decorative symbol on real archaic stelai.²⁷³ It seems that the Athenians preferred to represent human images, most likely representative of the person who had died.

The snake appears in two forms in archaic Attic black figure. It can simply be represented as a normal snake or it can be portrayed with a beard that hangs over the bottom lip of the reptile [Plate 33a].²⁷⁴ According to Guralnick,²⁷⁵ this feature is Egyptian in origin, where the beard functioned as a marker of a deified person who had become the protector of the deceased in the Underworld.

Omens

Although omens played an important part in the Greek people's daily life, the "bird-carrying-snake" representations are not as common as one would expect in art of this

²⁷² For instance, an amphora, London 1842.3-14.2 (B239) (*ABV* 371.147; *Add*¹ 99; *LIMC* 3: Automedon 17).

²⁷³ For a selection of archaic stelai, cf. Richter (1988).

²⁷⁴ For instances of a bearded snake, a column krater, New York 31.11.11, (*ABV* 108.5, 684; *Para* 43; *Add*¹ 29; *LIMC* 3: Automedon 17).

²⁷⁵ (1974:183).

period.²⁷⁶ This is surprising since not only would this animal grouping fill awkward areas of space, but it could have greatly added to the meaning of the main action, following in the tradition of the *Iliad*. On a belly amphora, by the Painter of Acropolis 606 [Plate 33b],²⁷⁷ a well thought out scene is represented. Juxtaposed in the center of the field and facing left, are two warriors who ride on their horses. The front legs of the horses are lifted off of the ground while their hindquarters are slightly bent at the knee joint, in the standard galloping posture. A hare, which is represented beneath the bellies of the horses, springs forwards on its hind legs with its forepaws raised and outstretched but parallel to the ground line. Based on the widespread stance and the posture of the hare, fast movement is being indicated. In the top right hand corner of the field, a bird, that is represented in flight, holds a snake in its beak. Overall, the presence of the animals greatly enhances the meaning of this scene and invites interpretation.

Boardman²⁷⁸ suggests that the hare acts as an indicator of the swift passage of the horsemen and that the bird must be seen as an omen. Since the horsemen are not located in any particular context, various combinations of meaning can be proposed. That is, the omen could either be a marker of potential success or it could serve as a portent for failure.²⁷⁹ In the *Iliad*, Poulydamas interprets an eagle omen as a negative happening when the snake bites back and sees it as a warning that the Trojans should not attack the Achaian camp:

²⁷⁶ On an amphora, Athens 15111 (ABV 306.43, *Add?* 81), a bird is represented with a snake in its beak and flies beneath the shields of two dueling warriors. This surely is meant as an omen for one or both of the fighting men.

²⁷⁷ Berlin inv. 4823, (ABV 81.4; *Para* 30; *Add?* 22).

²⁷⁸ (1974:35), cf. also Beazley (1986:36).

²⁷⁹ The position of the bird omen could also be of significance. In the *Iliad* (12.230 ff.), while Hektor is scolding Poulydamas, he suggests that the omen would be interpreted differently if it was seen on the right hand side, in the sunshine, as opposed to being observed on the left side, in the murk.

μὴ ἴομεν Δαναοῖσι μαχησόμενοι περὶ νηῶν.
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐκτελέεσθαι οἶομαι, εἰ ἐτεόν γε
 Τρωσὶν ὅδ' ὄρνις ἦλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν
 αἰετὸς ὑσιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔργων
 φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον
 ζών· ἄφαρ δ' ἀφέηκε πάρος φίλα οἰκί' ἰκέσθαι,
 οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσε φέρων δόμεναι τεκέεσσιν ἐοῖσιν.
 ὧς ἡμεῖς, εἴ περ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν
 ῥηξόμεθα σθένει μέγῳ, εἴξωσι δ' Ἀχαιοί,
 οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα·
 πολλοὺς γὰρ Τρώων καταλείψομεν, οὓς κεν Ἀχαιοὶ
 χαλκῷ δηώσωσιν ἀμυνόμενοι περὶ νηῶν.

Let us not go on and fight the Danaans by their ships. I think it will end as the portent was accomplished, if the bird sign that came to the Trojans as we were trying to cross was a true one, an eagle, flying high and holding to the left of the people and carrying in its talons a gigantic snake, blood-coloured, alive, but let it drop suddenly before winning his own home, and could not finish carrying it back to give to his children. So we, even though in our great strength we break in the gates and the wall of the Achaians, and the Achaians give way before us, we shall not take the same ways back from the ships in good order; since we shall leave many Trojans behind us, whom the Achaians will cut down with the bronze as they fight for themselves by their vessels.
 (Il. 12.216-227)

However, it seems that the interpretation of omens was not embraced by everybody.

Indeed, here, Hektor is scornful of the bird sign and chooses to place his faith in the counsel of Zeus himself.

Likewise, the horsemen can also be understood on two different levels. That is, the warriors could either be seen as the aggressors in pursuit of their quarry or they could be the pursued and in flight. Although all of the possible options presented are valid, the value of this scene lies in the artist's deliberate use of animal symbols in order to create a meaningful picture with which the viewer can actively engage. This composition provides the modern scholar with evidence that the ancient Greek was conscious of the significance of the animal kingdom in their culture and that animals

were purposively utilized in artistic compositions.²⁸⁰ Although snakes are the natural food of the bird, it seems unlikely that this was the motivating impetus behind the bird-snake representations. That is, the defining characteristic of Attic black figure is that the artists were highly innovative.

Dionysian Scenes

Snakes are also found in scenes that represent Dionysos and, occasionally, his followers.²⁸¹ In the Gigantomachy contexts, the snake assists the god in his battle against the giants. Like the dog and the feline figures, the snake becomes an iconographic attribute for the Bacchic god in scenes of this type.²⁸² Snakes do not frequently occur in Dionysiac scenes outside of the Gigantomachy representation. However, Carpenter²⁸³ highlights a column krater by Lydos as the notable exception [Plate 34a].²⁸⁴ This scene, detailing the Return of Hephaistos, consists of a retinue of maenads and satyrs that clutch bunches of grapes in reference to the god of wine. Amongst them, Hephaistos rides on his donkey. On the extreme right side of the excerpt of the scene in Plate 34a, stands a satyr, who holds in his right hand both a bunch of grapes and a bearded snake by the tail. While the presence of the snake is unique in this type of context, Carpenter suggests that because Lydos generally portrayed snakes in Gigantomachy scenes, "the possibility exists that he simply transferred the snake from one mythical scene to another."²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ On a late Attic lekythos, Cambridge 1925.30.49, (*ABL* 233.20; *LIMC* 3: Cheiron 23), there is a scene representing the struggle of Peleus and Thetis. On the right hand side of the struggling pair, there is an altar on which a snake has been depicted. It may be a reference to one of the transformations of Thetis or be intended to be understood as an omen.

²⁸¹ According to Carpenter (1986:125), the inclusion of the snake and the feline with Dionysos most probably was derived from an Eastern-based Dionysos.

²⁸² Carpenter (1986:72) points out that, whereas felines are rarely excluded from Gigantomachy representations, snakes are not nearly as essential.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ New York 31.11.11, (*ABV* 108.5, 684; *Para* 43; *Add?* 29).

²⁸⁵ (1986:84).

On the other hand, snakes were paired not only with satyrs, but with maenads as well. On an amphora attributed to the Leagros Group and dated at the end of the 6th century BC, a carefully composed scene features Dionysos amongst maenads and satyrs.²⁸⁶ Two maenads frame the scene. The one on the extreme left, in position *A*, carries a snake in her right hand with its tail draped over her forearm. The maenad on the extreme right of the field, in position *E*, carries a panther in her arms, its two front legs clutched together in her right hand. In position *B*, a satyr strides towards the right. His feet face to the right but he looks over his shoulder, facing to the left. Dionysos stands in position *C*, in the central area of the scene. He is represented as taller than the others, and this, together with his central position, indicates his importance. Another satyr stands in position *D*, to the right of Dionysos. He faces to the right and balances on his right leg with his left leg tucked up off the ground. He also holds a snake in his right hand. The artist has been particularly conscientious about including all the Dionysiac iconographic elements. That is, an animal pelt drapes over the shoulders of each satyr, Dionysos holds his kantharos and a frond of ivy, the four followers all hold branches of ivy and the various animals, and ivy wreaths adorn the heads of satyr *B*, Dionysos and maenad *E*.

Snakes and Furniture

There is an unusual occurrence of the snake in a scene on a cup which represents the introduction of Herakles to Zeus [Plate 34b].²⁸⁷ Here, an upright snake forms the backrest of Zeus' throne. Since this is not a regular phenomenon in archaic Attic vase painting, no apparent meaning can validly be ascribed. However, this form of the

²⁸⁶ Naples 128333, (*ABV* 367.93). For a maenad holding a snake, cf. an Exekian amphora, Budapest 50.189, (*Para* 61).

²⁸⁷ London B379, (*ABV* 60.20; *Para* 26; *LIMC* 5: Herakles 2847).

snake on chairs on which someone is seated, is often found in Egyptian art,²⁸⁸ for reasons that cannot be here applied.

Miscellaneous Scenes

- Snakes occur in fountain house scenes on the pediments of the fountain house establishments.²⁸⁹
- A decorative snake wrought in metal is represented on the helmet of Achilles where it supports the crest, on a neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter [Plate 35a].²⁹⁰
- There is a scene on a lekythos in Boston attributed to the Edinburgh Painter [Plate 35b],²⁹¹ that represents Aias, the lesser, with sword drawn, the goddess, Athene, who stands on the extreme right of the field, and Cassandra who stands between the two. Positioned between the figures of Aias and Cassandra is a large snake that faces to the left. The posture of its body echoes the snake on Athene's shield. Indeed, it rests its chest area on the fallen shield of Aias. The snake is probably a reference to the sacred serpent of Athene that is believed to have lived on the Akropolis from very early times.²⁹²

Specific Mythological Scenes

The power of the symbol of the snake becomes more evident when mythological scenes are taken into account. In myth, the image of the snake is frequently transformed into monster types. In the second labour of Herakles, the hero must

²⁸⁸ Guralnick (1974:185).

²⁸⁹ For instance, on hydriai, Leyden xv e 28, (*ABV* 266.1, 644, 691; *Para* 117; *Add¹* 69), London B330, (*ABV* 276.1, 676, 678; *Para* 121; *Add²* 72). Cf. Appendix 1 for further discussion of these scenes.

²⁹⁰ Boston 01.8027, (*ABV* 152,27, 687; *Para* 63; *Add¹* 44; *LIMC* 1: Achilles 508).

²⁹¹ Gela, N 125/B (*ABV* 476, No. 46; *Para* 217; *Add¹* 120; *LIMC* 1: Aias II 42).

²⁹² Hopper (1971: 47).

defeat the Lernaean Hydra, a vicious nine-headed snaky monster occupying the marsh, terrorizing the people at Lerna [Plate 36a]. With this labour, since every time he cut off a snaky head two new ones grew out in its place, Herakles had to enlist the aid of his nephew, Iolaos. As Herakles chopped each head off, Iolaos immediately followed behind cauterizing the stumps left behind and in this way they defeated the monster. This particular scene was not as popular as the Nemean Lion and the Erymanthean Boar in archaic Attic black figure. However, where it does occur, the Hydra is represented with a scaly and snake-like torso and at the top part of the torso, sprout many writhing snakes.²⁹³ In the Louvre example, it is interesting that the snaky heads are represented with beards. That is, the artist has simply transferred the "snake-beard" convention, commonly found in ordinary snake representations, to this extraordinary monster which indicates that in certain artistic workshops this practice became the standard mode of representation for any snake-like creature.

Another monster type with whom snakes are associated are the Gorgon sisters. On an olpe by the Amasis Painter,²⁹⁴ Perseus is represented decapitating the Gorgon, Medusa [Plate 23]. She presents a terrifying image with snakes emerging from her hair, with a frontal face and a grinning mouth, with two sets of wings, with an animal pelt as part of her clothing and with two larger snakes tucked into her waist band. The combination of these elements are so foreign to what is normally associated with ordinary human representations that an unnatural and monster-like image is created. From these contexts, it is clear that the general function of the snake in mythology was to present a terrifying image. The image of the snake spoke of danger and potential malevolence. If one considers that no-one could look at the Gorgon,

²⁹³ For instance on an amphora, Louvre F 386, (*LJMC* 5: Herakles 2003).

²⁹⁴ London 1849.6-20.5 (B471), (*ABV* 153.32, 687; *Para* 64; *Add*² 44).

Medusa, since they would immediately turn to stone, and if one take into account the snaky aegis of Athene which had a protective function, the serpent also seems to have an apotropaic aspect. That is, because the snake presents a terrifying image, it effectively wards off any unwanted attentions. In this way, the snaky hair of Medusa functions as a type of warning for people to avert their gaze and the aegis of Athene protects the wearer and any others whom Athene veils with it, the snakes cautioning against any potential attack from an external source.

An alternative function of the snake in myth was as a guardian of specific and valuable treasures.

In Herakles' eleventh labour, he is ordered by King Eurystheus to collect the golden apples of the Hesperides [Plate 36b].²⁹⁵ These apples could only be found on a tree that was guarded by an unsleeping, hundred-headed dragon called Ladon. In order to achieve this feat, Herakles had to enlist the aid of the Titan, Atlas.

Similarly, Jason of the Argonauts has to steal the Golden Fleece that is guarded by an eternally awake and frightening dragon:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τυφομένης ὕλης ὕπερ αἰθαλόεσσαί
καπνοῖο στροφάλιγγες ἀπείριτοι εἰλίσσονται,
ἄλλη δ' αἰψ' ἑτέρῃ ἐπιτέλλεται αἰὲν ἐπιπρό
νειόθεν ἰλίγγοισιν ἐπήορος αἰσσουσα-
ὥς τότε κεῖνο πέλωρον ἀπειρεσίας ἐλέλιξε
ῥυμβόνας, ἄζαλέησιν ἐπηρεφέας φολίδεσσιν.
... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπηγ
ὑποῦ σμερδαλέην κεφαλὴν μενέαινεν αἰείρας
ἀμφοτέρους ὀλοῇσι περιπτύξαι γενύεσσιν.

The monster in his sheath of horny scales rolled forward his interminable coils, like the eddies of black smoke that spring from smouldering logs and chase each other from below in endless convolutions.
...his grim head still hovered over them and the cruel jaws threatened to snap them up.

(Apollonius IV.139-44,153-55)

²⁹⁵ Berlin inv.3261, *ABL* 198.2.

It is only with the magical help of Medea, who puts the serpent to sleep, that Jason can fulfil his quest.

The image of the snake, in various forms, plays a large role in the Argonautic adventures.²⁹⁶ This suggests that the archetype of the snake made a great impact on the consciousness of the ancient Greek since it is represented in a wide ranging variety of guises.

Additionally, the sheer might of the snake is underlined by the fact that the two great heroes cannot defeat their respective monsters without the super-ordinary assistance from an outside source. In general, then the vase paintings provide evidence of the same general attitude to snakes as is evinced by the Homeric epics and by the broad spectrum of Greek myth: a dangerously poisonous creature with chthonic or divine supernatural associations.

²⁹⁶ The seer, Mopsus, is killed by the bite of a snake (IV.1518 ff.), Jason must sow serpent's teeth for Aeetes (Bk. III.1334 ff.) and the monster, Ladon, is described as a snake (Bk. IV.1396 ff.).

VIII

CONCLUSION

As Lonsdale²⁹⁷ has noted, the Greeks in antiquity possessed "a world-view that found it most natural to portray perceptions as a process of continuous interchanges between the human, natural and supernatural worlds." This world-view is clearly reflected in both the literary and artistic evidence. Owing to the nature of the Greek perceptions, the animal both mirrors and is mirrored by the human and supernatural worlds. As a result, it is often difficult to isolate whether a given characteristic is attributed to the animal or the human/deity. This is compounded by the fact that the Homeric evidence is the result of a continuous and dynamic tradition, a tradition influenced by many other cultures. It must be taken into account that besides the vase and Homeric traditions, there was most likely a third aspect, the folk tradition. That is, the Homeric texts cannot be taken as isolated instances of a story, on which all other literature was based, but as representative of prevailing thought and perceptions. Although the Homeric evidence represents its own specialized selection of data, the poets relied and drew on the folk heritage. In a similar sense, the artistic genre must be understood as drawing on both Homer and as being located within a folk-orientated context.

While taking this into account, it is evident that the different animals discussed in this study had distinct character traits. That is, each animal type must be understood as embodying separate and individual character traits peculiar to its breed since each has its own particular niche in the literature and the arts. With this in mind, it is therefore not surprising that during the time period covered in this study, there was "no generic

²⁹⁷ 1989:333.

word for animal until τὸ ζῷον comes into use in the 5th century BC".²⁹⁸ This reveals that the Greeks did not view their animals as indistinct members belonging to an undifferentiated body, but rather each one responded to its own individual description.

On a more general level, then, since the dog, snake, lion, panther and leopard types all occur in Gigantomachy scenes, they must be viewed as inherently fierce creatures. That is, not only do these animals appear in a scene of conflict between gods and giants, but they are consistently paired with the wild and unpredictable god, Dionysos. The god's dominion extended beyond the edges of civilization, into the unexplored vegetation, a place where most of these animals belonged. In comparison to the other animals in the Gigantomachy scenes, the presence of the dog is unusual since it does not, for a number of reasons, wholly belong within this milieu. For one, the dog is only occasionally represented in the Gigantomachy context and is not a known fixed attribute of the god, Dionysos. Secondly, it is a creature that generally does not live in the outlying regions beyond the human community, as do the other animals, but rather is located in situations where men occur. Thirdly, the dog does not feature at all in other supernatural transformations,²⁹⁹ such as the different manifestations of Proteus; here, a new combination of animal images is introduced; the boar, bear and the lion. In view of the dog's seemingly unsuited appearance within the Gigantomachy context, its inclusion must be seen as an implicit comment on the inherent savagery of the canine animal.

The dog as portrayed in the different genres presents a highly complex series of images. It is an animal that cannot be absolutely defined since it presents a study of

²⁹⁸ Lonsdale (1979:156).

²⁹⁹ A notable exception is the lekythos representing Hekate, Athens 19765, *LIMC* 3: Erinys 7.

contrasts. That is, it is entirely too simplistic to argue for either of the two extremes of the character of the dog as "bad" versus "good", and "well-liked" versus "disliked". Instead, one needs to recognize that the concept of the canine falls into the grey zones of both "good" and "bad", and "well-liked" and "disliked" depending on the particular context that the animal was located. While this stands as true, the evidence points to a pervasive distrust of the animal. On a fundamental level, the dog was aggressive and savage. While still retaining these character traits, through the filter of domestication, the animal could display the positive attributes of loyalty and companionship, and live in a symbiotic co-existence with the human dimension. At the other end of the spectrum, the undomesticated dog, relegated to the role of pariah, most closely responded and was true to the underlying savagery and aggression. However, in each sphere of life, the dog fulfils a very definite function. Within the context of the hunt and herding, the dog was a necessary and helpful adjunct to the huntsmen and herdsman. On the other hand, within the context of war, the carrion eater was in harmony with the cyclical nature of life involving the precondition of decay that comes before renewal.

At the same time, there seems to be a recognition that the behaviour of the dog was less than refined. The cup by the Amasis Painter³⁰⁰ immediately is evoked where the defecating dogs strongly remind the viewer of the "realness" of the creature. If one compares the dog with the lion, two very different pictures emerge. That is, the dog must be viewed as a living, breathing and very physically manifest creature. On the other hand, while the lion displays a vivid and rich set of imagery, it is presented as an conceptualized ideal rather than a real animal born of the earth. The feline does not

³⁰⁰ Boston 10.651, (*ABV* 157.86; *Para* 65; *Add'* 46).

engage in activities rooted in the real world, such as necessary bodily functions or the consumption of the carrion of fallen warriors or hunstman.

This theory can be applied to the archaeological record in the form of the water spouts. It is remarkable that even to the untrained eye, in both real water spouts and those depicted in scenes represented on vases, the lion's head is the norm and the dog's head is never portrayed. In view of the ancient evidence already presented concerning the dog, it is therefore not surprising that the Greeks in antiquity would not voluntarily choose to have their drinking and bathing water flow from the *mouth* of an essentially unclean animal, both in behaviour and habits.³⁰¹ On the other hand, the concept of the lion consists of mainly abstract qualities of power, strength, and courage and is generally not based in any physical reality. Apart from the potential cultural influences that would have dictated the lion's head as a common form of water spout, the feline seems the most obvious choice of image.

The dog must essentially be seen as a opportunist; it fawns around its master or lies under the eating couch in the hopes of receiving any offer of food or, in the role of the carrion eater, it will feed on and hence defile the bodies of those killed in battle.

On the other hand, the canine was clearly considered to have had extrasensory powers of communication. One must consider the large role that dogs played in the Asklepiian cult, in which dreams and visions were a core component of the healing process. Evidently, since dogs could communicate with the divine realms, they were,

³⁰¹ A notable exception to this rule is found in the form of two red figure rhyta moulded in the shape of a dog's head attributed to the Brygos Painter, Villa Giulia 867, (*ARV²* 382.187; *Para* 366; *Add'* 228), Leningrad 679 (St. 360), (*ARV²* 382.188; *Add'* 228). For a selection of animal head rhyta, such as the deer, goat, boar, bull, ram, and lion, cf. the work attributed to the Group of Class W (*ARV²* 1550-51).

to a large extent, considered the intermediaries between the material and non-material realms and were thus imbued with a unique kind of importance. In light of the canine role as intermediaries, it becomes clear why Hermes and dogs are consistently associated since they are singularly suited. That is, Hermes can also be understood as an intermediary since he, in his role of messenger god and patron of travellers, travels freely between the different realms of the underworld, human world and Olympos. In addition to this, Hermes as an archetype is as complex as the dog; he is an enigmatic god whose character embodies the Jungian notions of both the shadow side and the light.

Throughout the artistic and literary representations, the figure of the lion most strongly stands out. It seems that as an animal, the lion generally usurped the roles of the other types of felines since the leonine image contributes a discrete combination of characteristics. That is, the character of the lion as portrayed in both the artistic and literary genres presents a self-contained series of images that does not rely on external sources to enhance how one perceives the animal. When the figure of the lion is approached, it offers the viewer or audience a multi-faceted range of attributes, ranging from powerful aggression to a strongly paternalistic image. The concept of the lion includes the notion of the victorious hero, but not one ashamed to express emotion; the feline presents itself as a hungry beast, that desires both food and glory, it is a strong and powerful creature, it displays a proud and noble carriage and personality, and it is a beast that lesser animals and, often, men inherently fear and respect. The fact that the main protagonists in Homer are consistently likened to the lion reveals that the feline image was considered dominant, strong and powerful, a cut above the rest of the members within the animal kingdom in much the same way as

each main protagonist is portrayed within the world of men. Throughout the different genres, the character of the lion is unmistakable; it is presented to the audience and the viewer without hidden meaning or subtle insinuation. When the image of the lion is represented, the concomitant associations are immediately evoked. This means that while the lion displays many and variegated attributes, it does not raise enigmatic overtones to which the audience must actively respond in order to interpret the potential meaning underlying the particular situation in which the feline occurs. Instead, the dog takes on this role.

Based on the evidence presented in this study, it seems unlikely that the people in antiquity came into contact with a lion in reality. For one, the overall impression of the image surrounding the lion is highly mythologized and fundamentally idealistic. Evidently, the artists and poets had a largely accurate understanding of how the animal looked, on a physiological level. However, it has here been argued that they had ample artistic evidence found in art with Near Eastern origins to convey the impression to the modern scholar that the Greek people actually did encounter the creature. The archaeological evidence supports this contention. That is, a number of boars' tusk helmets have been discovered which supports the artistic and literary evidence that attests to the phenomenon of the boar hunt in antiquity. If the Greeks used boars' tusks from their boar hunts, there is no valid reason why, if they hunted lions, they would not string together lion's claws as trophies, for instance, or use a hooked talon as part of a weaponry device.³⁰²

³⁰² I wish to thank Professor Anne Mackay for this, and many other, pertinent insights offered during our numerous discussions on the different animals.

In terms of the other felines, then, the panther was evidently considered the most appropriate animal in the depiction of scenes involving Dionysos. Since the panther does not typically display any obvious character tendencies, it must be seen to have largely taken on the qualities peculiar to the god himself. Dionysos, mythologically, presents a dark and abstruse image; he is a dangerous god with menacing undercurrents and generally evokes an unsettling state of discomfiture. Additionally, the frontally orientated face of the panther, and the somewhat unreadable expression (unlike the lion) lends an air of mystery and enigma to the creature. That is, the panther, as depicted in vase painting, looks directly at the viewer but has no perceivable expression that would suggest an emotional state. This frontally orientated face is perhaps significant when one considers the longstanding tradition in vase painting where the frontal face is a key attribute in signifying "monster" and "danger" in terms of the representation of the Gorgons and to a lesser extent satyrs.³⁰³ Perhaps, also, the frontal face has an apotropaic significance which warns the viewer of the potential malevolence behind the external appearance. On the other hand, the remaining predators, the leopard and the wolf, occupy a subordinated role in which they simply supplement the richness and diverseness of the concept of aggressiveness, danger, and, for the wolf, slyness.

The boar, on the other hand, presents a very clear image of brute strength and courage. This animal is not overtly complex in terms of its concomitant imagery but is used to represent the idea of the archetypal fierce and bold warrior. However, while the image of the lion presents a more personal type of comparison where the individual aspect is highlighted, the boar image offers a standard "warrior" template

³⁰³ For discussion of the frontal face, cf. Korshak (1987).

that is primarily generalized to the attributes it displays. That is, the lions as they are depicted singly in Homer, seem to stand as discrete individuals and as a result are compared to other important individual men. On the other hand, the figure of the boar as appearing in Homer, seems to be undifferentiated from any other boar, standing instead for the abstract concepts of strength and bravery rather than presenting a specific personality. At the same time, these abstract concepts are concrete enough for the boar to stand on its own in the arts and literature, as a single creature rather than an anonymous member belonging to a pack. It is for this reason that the boar is most often presented as an opponent of the lion. Owing to its inherent savagery and slightly cunning manner, the boar was also considered sometimes suitable to be paired with some of the members of the Dionysian retinue, the maenads. However, this is not a common phenomenon and thus cannot be considered a strongly significant attribute of the creature.

In terms of the other ungulates, the ram and the bull are two animals which present clear concepts of strength and potency. The deer, on the other hand, are very "two dimensional" animals that generally exhibit the attributes of cowardice and lesser strength. However, it must be taken into account that the herd animal, as a general rule, does not lend itself to the cinematic nature of epic where the "spotlight" generally falls onto individuals who are picked out of the indistinct members of the herd. As a result, an animal is picked for its egregious qualities. Additionally, the livestock, as herds, would have been extremely difficult to represent on vases, the task being both time consuming and potential confusing, spatially-speaking, for the viewer. In this light, perhaps the typically repetitive goat bands on Rhodian oinochoai

are intended as representations of a herd and the repeated bird motifs on the Geometric fabric stand for a flock.

It is noteworthy that domesticated animals do not generally occur on animal bands. That is, the representation of the dog and the horse in the subsidiary bands is a rare phenomenon. Instead, wild animals find their places in these bands where they are represented in a manner that reveals their manifest characters. A probable explanation for this discrepancy in animal types points to the notion that domesticated "pets" were placed in a different category of mind set of people of antiquity and were thus not seen as an "animal" *per se*.

Out of all the animal types, the concept of the snake seems to be the most ancient and deeply entrenched since, by the 6th century BC, it had already developed a primarily symbolic status in both art and literature. This was no doubt due to the large role that snakes played in the ancient mystery cults, and its concomitant earth-related connotations. The snake, as presented in art and literature, does not display a personality as such. That is, the concept of the serpent clearly stood as a strongly archetypal symbol that presented a wide range of oblique and suggestive meanings. The concept of the snake typically involved the aspect of extreme danger, death and enigma. Since the snake traversed freely both above and below the ground, it was privy to the secrets of the earth that man was not able to access or understand. Since the Underworld was here located and because of the potential fatality of the serpent's bite, the snake had strong associations with the realm of the dead and with death. Owing to these associations, the concept of the snake recommended itself as an

attribute to be incorporated into monster images, such as the Gorgons, Kerberos, and such like.

It has proved highly appropriate to compare Homeric contexts with those on vases since the two genres present a series of images that both confirm one another and highlight the differences for the scholar's attention. That is, when the images correspond, it presents a unified body of evidence on which to base one's theories concerning each animal. On the other hand, in instances where the imagery presents differing aspects of the particular animal, it provides a "lead" that needs to be explored and perhaps points to a little understood, or subtle aspect of the animal, which is highlighted for our attention.

It has become evident that this area of study has enormous potential for further exploration. For one, it is clear, that the Near Eastern influences need to be more comprehensively investigated and directly compared to the Greek evidence and imagery, since this would provide greater understanding and shed light on some of the symbolism that is fundamentally rooted in Near Eastern culture. However, this is an aspect that could not have feasibly been researched within the constraints of this thesis.

In conclusion, the study of animals as they occur in antiquity has been a highly rewarding undertaking. Not only can they be appreciated on a purely aesthetic level in the artistic and literary media, but they present a wide range of conceptual possibilities which stimulates thought in the viewer and audience. In addition to this, while the Greeks in antiquity were primarily anthropocentrically-orientated, they took

an obvious pleasure and interest in the animal dimension which is strongly evinced in their literary and artistic pursuits.

IX

APPENDIX

Snakes and Fountain Houses

During the last part of the 6th century fountain house scenes became popular on Attic black figure vases, especially on the hydria. The popularity of this scene type has been directly linked to the construction of a Peisistratean fountain house, the Enneakrounos, c. 520 BC.³⁰⁴ As Griffiths Pedley has suggested,³⁰⁵ the revamping of the water supply system was highly significant in terms of the transition it represented, from rulers who were involved in purely political matters to a government that offered more services to the public. He also points out that it must have vastly improved the quality of life for the Athenian inhabitants.

The standard fountain house scene type reveals glimpses of everyday life where women are represented collecting the water in their containers and talking amongst themselves,³⁰⁶ and where men are in the process of washing themselves, presumably after their exercises or hunting activities.³⁰⁷ Although the fountain house scenes are intrinsically interesting as a whole, it is the consistent recurrence of the lion-head water spout that demands some explanation. That is, considering the plentiful evidence of lion-head water spouts, both on vases and in their original, sculpted form, there is a disconcerting silence in the secondary literature concerning the significance

³⁰⁴ Griffiths Pedley (1987:76).

³⁰⁵ (1987:77). For a discussion of the location of the fountain house, cf. Travlos (1971:204).

³⁰⁶ For instance, on a hydria, Toledo Ohio 61.23 (*Para* 147.5 *ter*, *Add*² 91), on another hydria, London 1843.11-3.49 (B329), (*ABV* 334.1, 678; *Para* 147; *Add*² 91).

³⁰⁷ For instance on a hydria, Leyden xv e 28 (*ABV* 266.1, 644, 691; *Para* 117; *Add*² 69). The animal band below this scene, depicting a stag being hunted by men on their horses can be seen to function as a pictorial explanation for the action occurring on the main panel.

of the lion's head itself. Dunkley,³⁰⁸ who carried out an in depth study on fountain houses of the sixth century BC, comments on the recurrent use of the lion's head, as opposed to small numbers of incidences of other types of animals.³⁰⁹ During the course of his discussion, almost by default, he mentions the usefulness of the spread out mane for attachment-to-the-wall purposes. However, nowhere in his paper does he attempt to explain the reason for the choice of this specific animal.

Throughout the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the majority of lion references are found within the simile structures. For the most part, the lions are portrayed in a ferocious manner, alternatively marauding the livestock or hunting wild animals. What is striking about their representation is that for all their violent behaviour, no lion is ever heard to roar.³¹⁰ It is rather incongruous, then, that the lion is most frequently portrayed with a wide open mouth throughout Corinthian, Geometric and Archaic art.³¹¹ Despite the mute Homeric lion, the feline with an open mouth was adopted in art as a conceptualized template for the standard lion posture. Based on this observation, I propose that the lion with its mouth open was the logical choice of animal to have water gushing out of what was a conveniently open aperture. At the same time, the lion is a striking and regal beast with flowing lines and it has a mane that would create a pleasing visual parallel to the rippling of the water that poured from the spout. However, aside from these few suggestions and bearing in mind the undoubted Eastern influences, the question concerning why the lion was specifically used remains inadequately explained.

³⁰⁸ (1935-6).

³⁰⁹ For instance, on a hydria, Boston 61.195 (Griffiths Pedley (1987: Fig. 11)), [Donkey's head spout], on an amphora, Berlin 1843 (ABV 478; Add² 120). [Boar-heads], on a hydria, London 1843.11-3.49 (B329), (ABV 334.1, 678; Para 147; Add² 91), [Riders on their horses].

³¹⁰ Stanford (1967:277), *ad* II. 4.335 ff.

³¹¹ See lion section for examples, page 64 ff.

Although the fountain house scenes, as a whole, are intrinsically interesting in their own right, there is one vase representation, a hydria, that stands out in particular.³¹²

The figure at the extreme left of the scene is the goddess, Athene, distinctive with her helmet and aegis, facing to right. She stands behind the bellies of horses of a quadriga that emerges into the picture metope.³¹³ One of the horses paws at the ground with its hoof.

On the right hand side of the scene, a fountain house has been represented from the side. The entablature is supported by two Ionic columns. Behind the first column, in the centre of the picture field, stands Herakles in position *B*. He has a wide-legged, striding stance moving towards the right. He is dressed in his lion skin with the tail tucked into his belt, he wears his quiver and bow on his back and his scabbard protrudes at waist level. His right arm swings out behind him and is bent at the elbow. With his right hand he grips his sword in a potentially attacking position. His left arm is raised horizontally and he reaches forward to grasp the neck of a large snake. The snake, which seems to emerge from the roof of the fountain house, faces to the left. An unidentifiable woman, to right, occupies position *C* where she stands within the precincts of the fountain house itself. She leans slightly forwards holding a hydria up to a waterspout. The type of water spout is unclear. Immediately below the spout rears a disproportionately small lion emerging from the rocky outcrop on the extreme right that backs the fountain establishment. The lion faces to the left and

³¹² Hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, Boulogne 406 (*ABV* 332.21; *Para* 149; *Add*² 90). See foldout illustration on page 156.

³¹³ The presence of the chariot is implied because the horses are in their harnesses and are yoked.

only its head and forepaws are visible. Its mouth is open in a typical roaring expression. It is not clear whether its paws rack at the woman's shins or whether it is leaping towards Herakles, past the woman.

Osborne³¹⁴ suggests that the scene represents a conflation of the various elements of the Herakles cycle. His first proposal is that the snake could be taken as a reference to the Lernean hydra episode. This is a potentially valid contribution because although the Lernean hydra was a many-headed snake, as a water snake, it was a reptile that would often be found around water, and it did pose a threat to people who came to the spring in which it lived. Added to this, the Greeks would not have drawn water directly from a spring because of the mud and the precarious balancing of water jugs. Instead, it is most likely that a fountain house would have been built for the purposes of channelling the water through pipes out of which the liquid could be collected.

Besides his explanation for the presence of the snake, Osborne reminds us that the hero Herakles is variously associated with fountains during the course of his labours. He also suggests that the lion could be the evocation of the Nemean labour and that the presence of Athena could recall the scenes of Herakles being led into Olympos by his patron goddess. In terms of the setting as a whole, Osborne remarks that the fountain-house represents all that is civilized in life. However, says Osborne, it is at these precise places where women were susceptible to unwanted male attention. Thus, Herakles can be seen as the civilizing element of the scene in which he wards off potentially disruptive and malign forces.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ (1983:67 ff.).

³¹⁵ However, Osborne (1983:69 ff.) also questions whether one can be completely certain of the

Boardman³¹⁶ argues against a mythological interpretation, and instead suggests a political symbolism. He compares other fountain house scenes by the Priam painter and argues that the settings must be Athenian because of the non-mythical names that are given to the women and because, on two other vases, the Athenian spring Kallirrhoe is mentioned.³¹⁷ Based on this evidence, and the fact that the fountain house in the picture is built against a rock, a phenomenon which is only very rarely found in other fountain house scenes, Boardman suggests that the scene may indicate some kind of problem with local circumstances or a cult. Drawing on his suggested Herakles-Peisistratos connection in Greek art,³¹⁸ Boardman proposes that this vase represents the hero (Herakles/Peisistratos) effectively dealing with the hypothetical crisis.

Moon³¹⁹ comments on the gesture of Athene, on the stance of the horses, the outstretched paw of the hero's lion skin, and the roaring feline at the maiden's feet as contributing factors of what he sees as an altogether ominous scene. Although, he describes this as "a most confounding scene...[which] defies interpretation",³²⁰ he suggests that it may be a reference to an early representation of Herakles and the Hesperides or that it may involve political significance.³²¹

altruistic intentions of Herakles.

³¹⁶ (1972:67 ff.).

³¹⁷ According to Travlos (1971:204), Kallirrhoe was the name of a spring before the Enneakrounos was built and can be found south east of the Olympieion in the Ilissos riverbed.

³¹⁸ (1972).

³¹⁹ (1983:116 n.21).

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ Here, Moon (1983:116 n.21) quotes the story of Leaina from Pausanias 1.12.1 which tells of a bronze lioness that was erected in memory of Leaina who was killed by Hippias..

On the other hand, Beazley³²² and Schefold,³²³ have both suggested that the snake and fountain are an early reference to Herakles episode in the Garden of the Hesperides. As no one scholar had adequately resolved this perplexing scenario, I propose to argue for the presentation of a rather humorous scene. The key to the decipherment of the scene is the fountain house itself. That is, the artist, the Priam painter, has very consciously highlighted the fountain house since it prominently occupies half of the picture field. The visual impact is striking when you consider that in the one half of the scene, heroic action is being depicted and on the other side, a very mundane and everyday theme is presented. This juxtaposition of the two very different themes already makes for a humorous impression on the observer. In addition to this, what is so striking about these two 'beasties', the lion and the snake, is that they are significantly the two things you could be sure of encountering when you went to fill your hydria.

The archaeological evidence reveals that the lion's head frequently occurred in the guise of the water spout and, to the ancient, would have been commonly associated with fountain houses. Similarly, besides the fact that real snakes would have been attracted to the cool and damp of the fountain house establishment,³²⁴ depictions of snakes can be found on the reliefs of fountain house pediments³²⁵ and sculpted snakes have been found modelled on terracotta models of fountain houses.

With this essential background information in mind, the scene takes on a completely new dimension where two seemingly arbitrary animals (who are in fact well within

³²² *CVA*, Oxford. (1931:100).

³²³ (1992:134).

³²⁴ Dunkley (1935-6:170).

³²⁵ For instances on hydriai, Leyden xv e 28 (*ABV* 266.1, 644, 691; *Para* 117; *Add?* 69), London

their appropriate context) are portrayed in a rather atypical manner. The logical conclusion is that the previously inanimate and decorative objects have stepped out of their former static existence and taken on a life of their own, in the bogey-man tradition. While it must be noted that the woman is seemingly unaware of these dangers and focuses her attention on filling her hydria, our 'larger-than-life' hero, Herakles, rushes to her (unnecessary) defence. One paw from his lion skin cloak flaps upwards (rather unsuited to our unflappable hero) in his haste to rescue her, while his patron, Athena, raises a hand in horror at his difficult deed.

The humour in the situation can be extended even further. That is, the "flapping paw" is, like the tail, tucked into the hero's belt. It is proposed that this scene is located between Herakles' various labours where he and his patron goddess stop off at a fountain house with the intention of allowing the hero to perform his ablutions. Since Herakles does not want to get his prized lion pelt wet, he carefully tucks away the extraneous and dangling pieces. However, in this representation, he does not get to accomplish his task since he perceives the maiden to be under attack and in need of some assistance.

Since this vase is securely located within a time period that has already witnessed the shift in scene types, from the purist mythological sort to those of daily living,³²⁶ this more light-hearted interpretation is not as implausible as it first seems. Added to this, while the Priam Painter does not lack in imagination, he does tend to have a rather self-conscious style. With this in mind, the 'flapping paw' can only be deliberate, purposely intended as a pictorial comment.

1836.2-24.169 (B330), (*ABV* 276.1, 676, 678; *Para* 121; *Add'* 72).

³²⁶ Griffiths Pedley (1987:77).

Within the context of some of his other work, the Priam Painter definitely reveals a certain sense of humour in terms of the handling of his subject matter. On one of his vases³²⁷ on which is depicted yet another fountain scene, we find two rather vulgar waterspouts situated in between the more normal lion head. Each spout is placed under a frontally represented horse and rider, which is unusual on two counts. Firstly, this is a highly atypical type of water spout and, secondly, in vase painting frontally-depicted horsemen are not uncommon, along with frontal chariots, and so the concept of such a water spout was ready to hand for a vase painter.³²⁸ What this frontality does in fact accomplish, is to suggest rather crudely that the water gushes from the genital area of each animal. On the other hand, in terms of the scene representation as a whole, if one is to support Boardman's more politically orientated stance, one wonders how seriously the Athenians viewed the tyrant. As we can judge, Peisistratos did seem overly preoccupied with the image that he presented to his citizens and this must have been cause for some comment.



The above scenes together present a kaleidoscope of imagery rooted in everyday life. It is not implausible that in ancient times, women were wary of real snakes on entering the rather damp establishments; it is not impossible, with the time for talk while waiting in line, that the conversation could have become occasionally lewd and it must have been frustrating to have arrived at a fountain house only to have discovered a posse of others with first claim on the water.³²⁹ In fact it seems that the Priam Painter had a rather insightful imagination when he depicted a domain that ordinarily was occupied by women.

³²⁷ For instance, on a hydria, London 1843.11-3.49 (B329), (ABV 334.1, 678; Para 147; Add² 91).

³²⁸ For instance, on an amphora, Orvieto, Faina, (ABV 135.41).

³²⁹ Cf. a hydria, London 1843.11-3.17 (B332), (ABV 333.27, 694; Para 146; Add² 53) where the central figure raises her hand in comic frustration.

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Note: All quotations of Greek texts are drawn from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae C/D* ROM, by Dumont, D. J. and Smith, R. M. (1992-4).

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Plate I



a

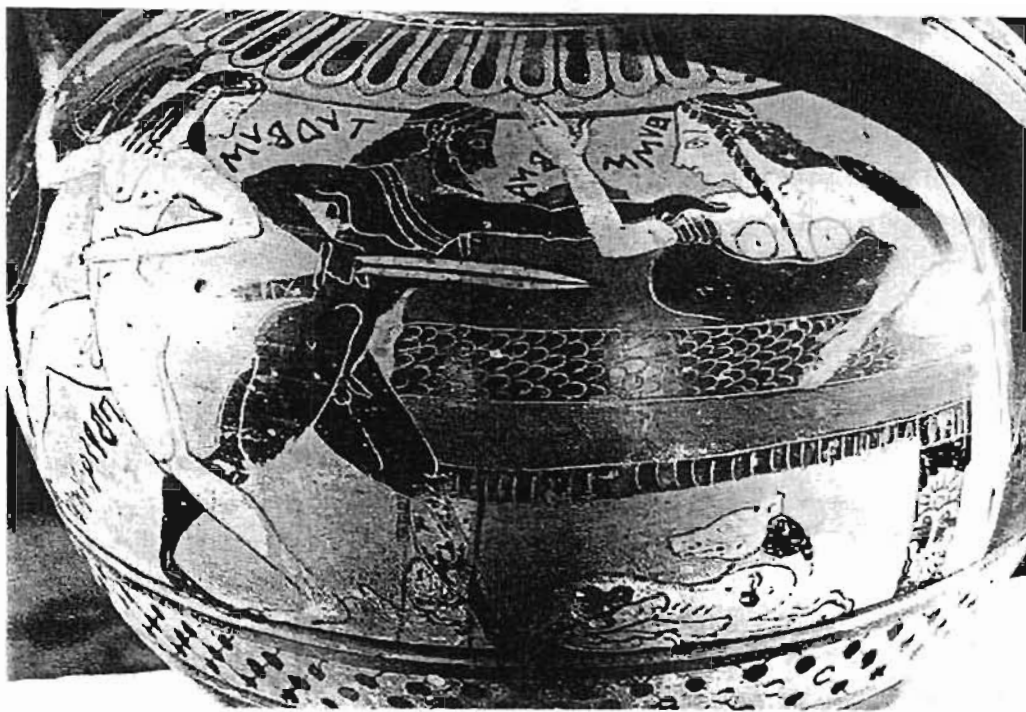


b



c

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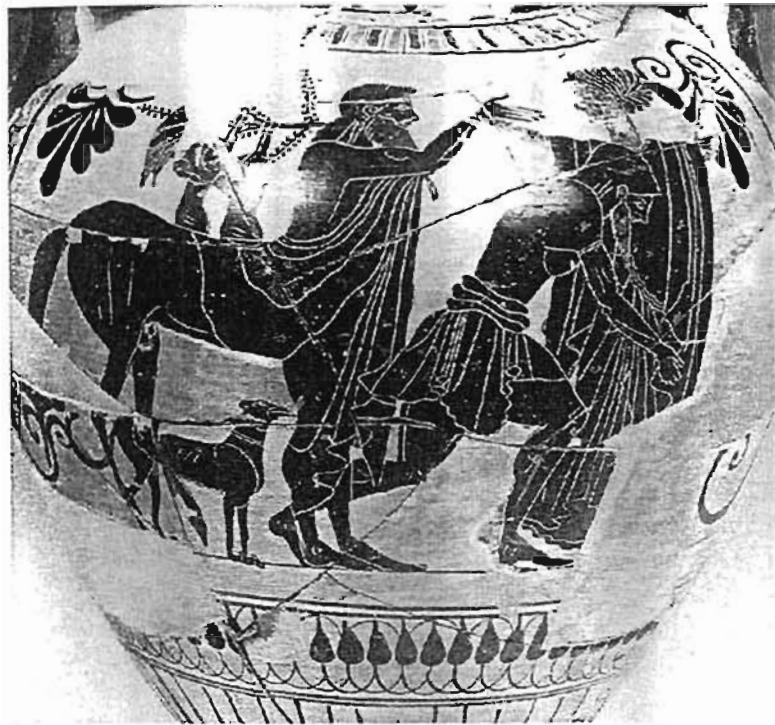


a



b

Plate 3



a



b

q



a



Plate 5

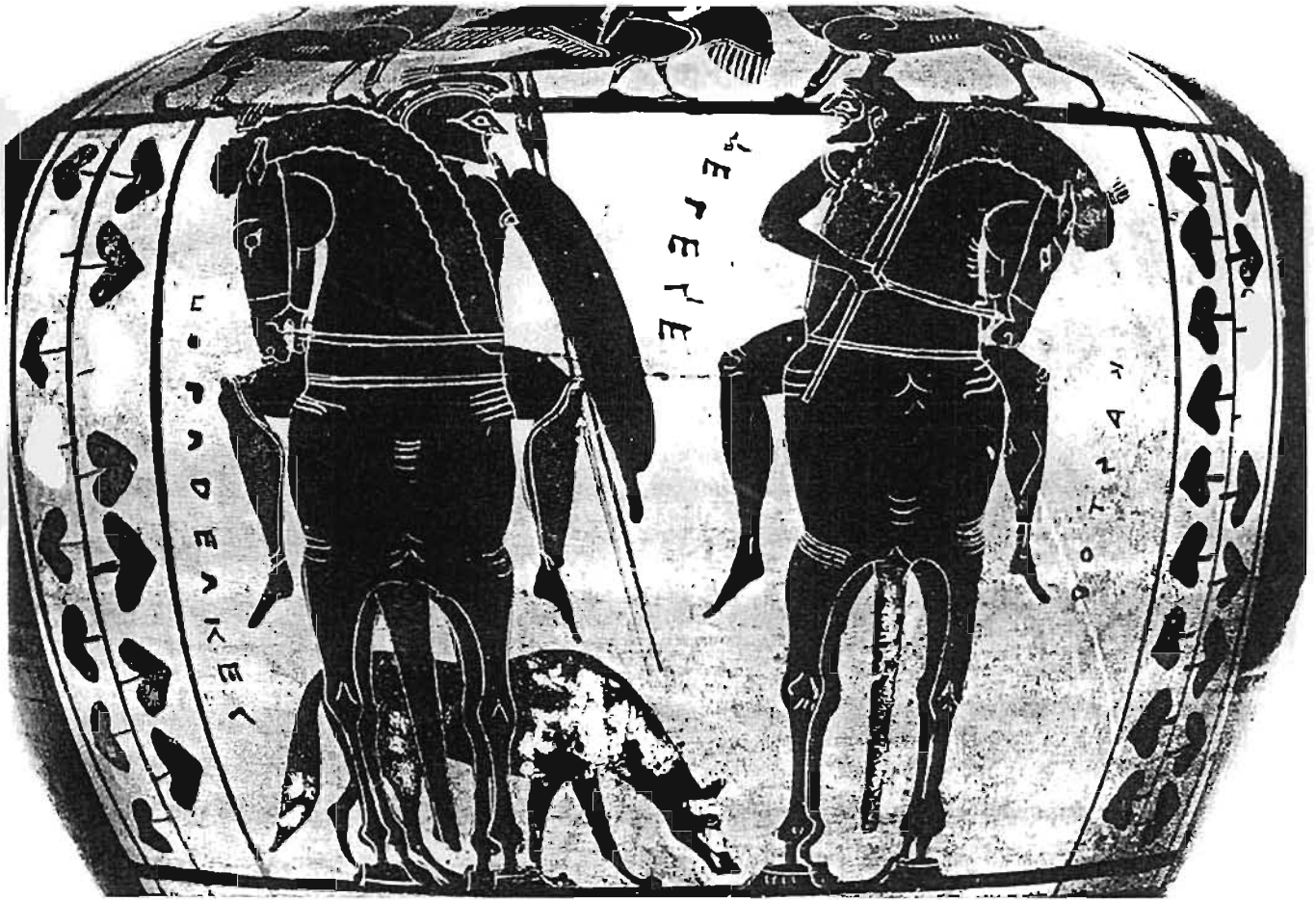


a



b

Plate 6



a



b



a

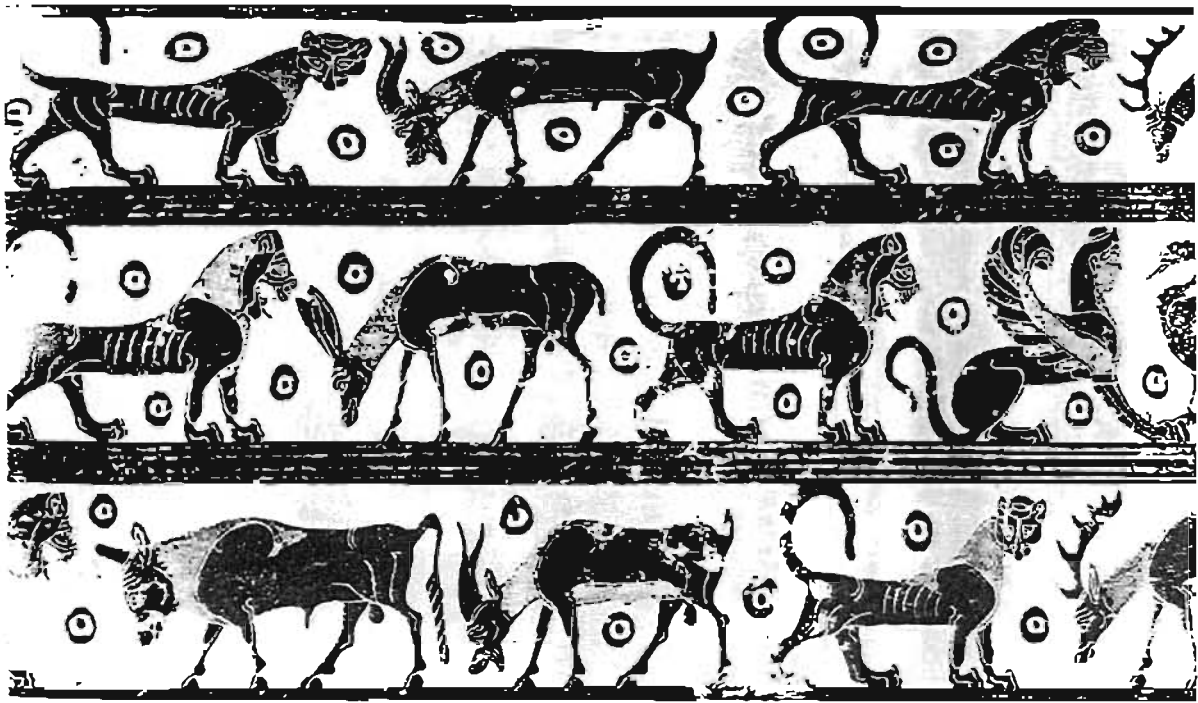


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Plate 8

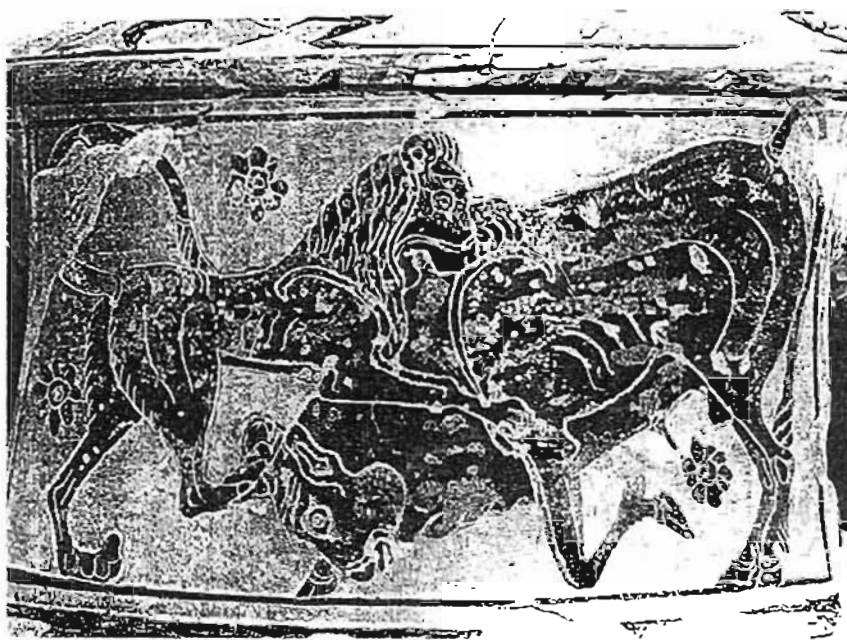


a



b

Plate 9



a



b

Plate 10



Plate 11



left



front

a



right



b

Plate 12



a



b

Plate 13



a



b

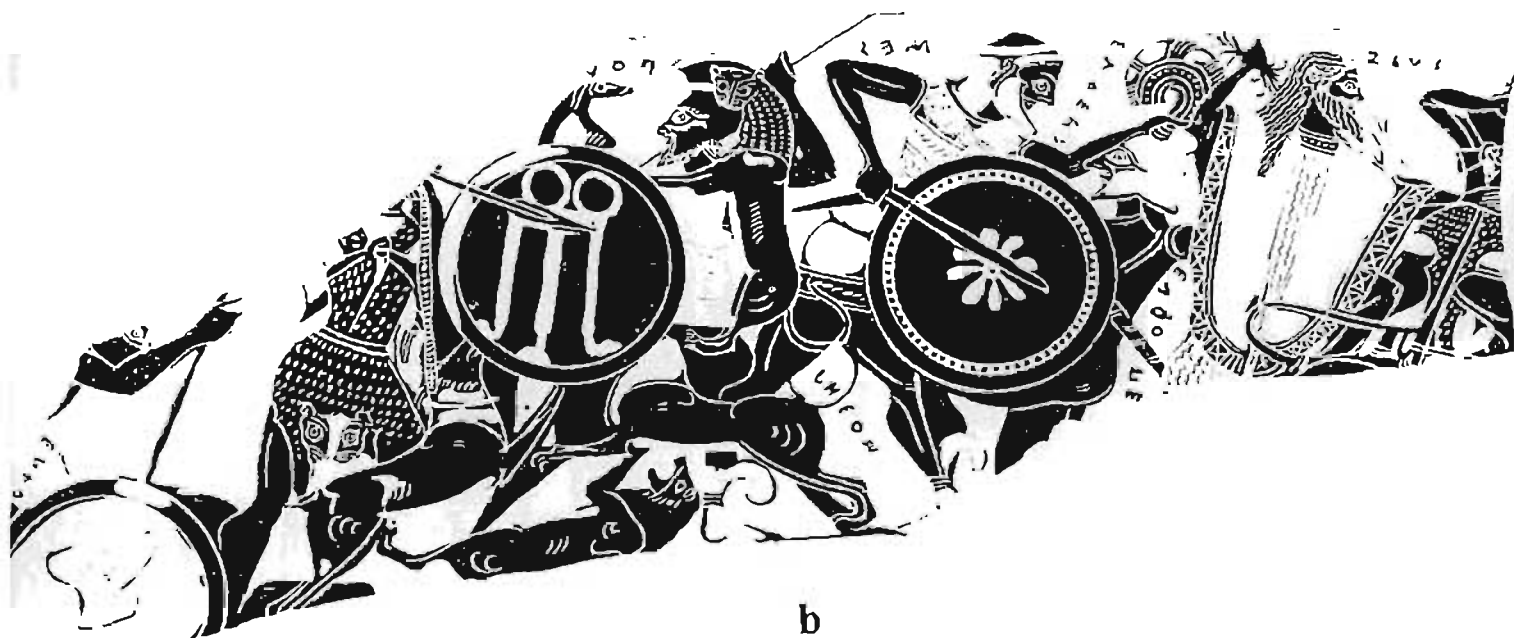


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Plate 14



a

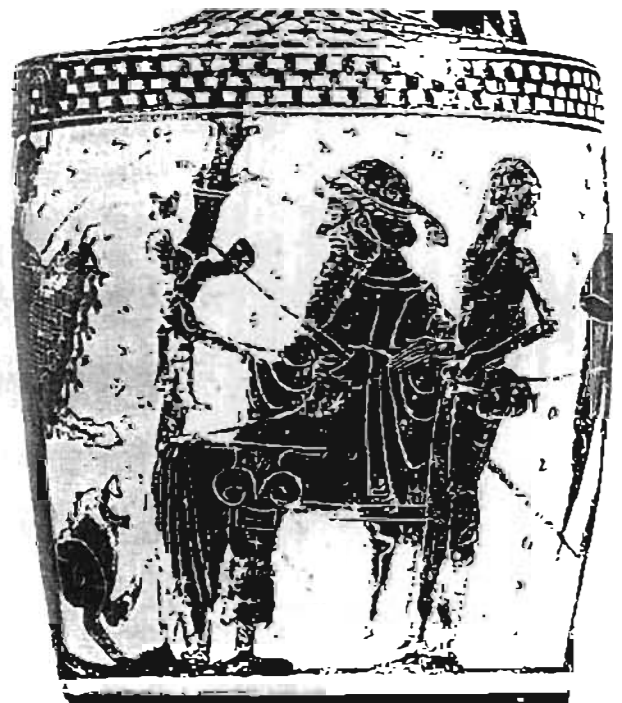


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Plate 15

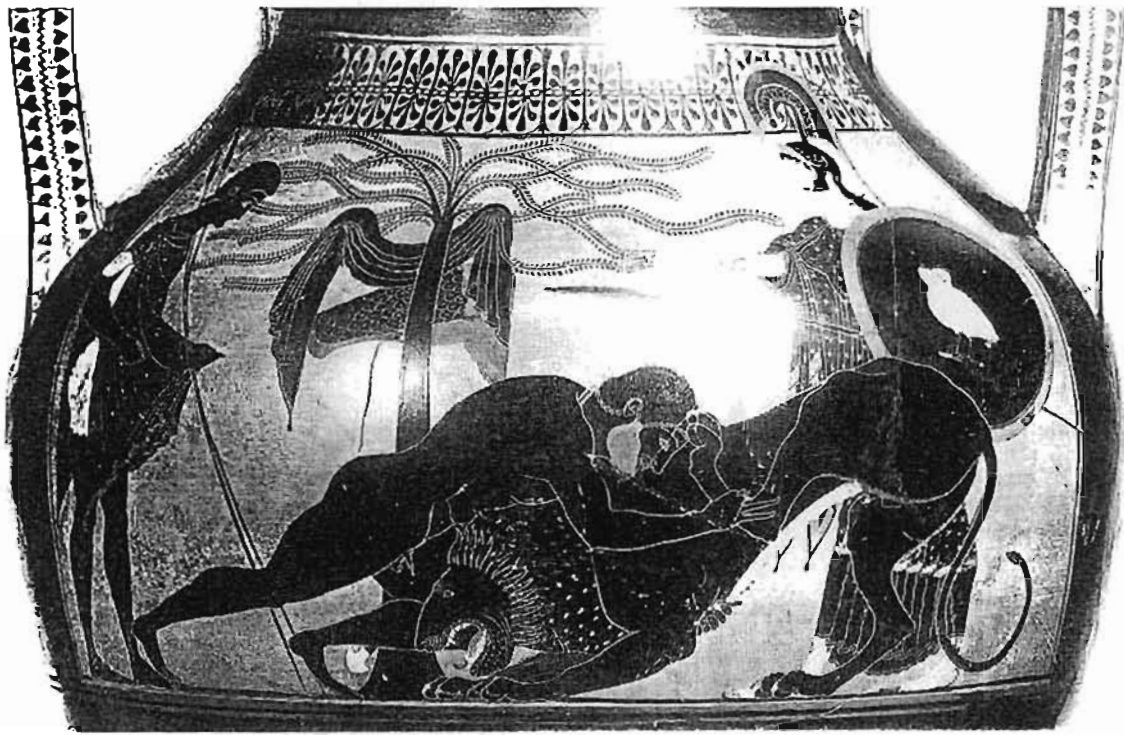


a



b

Plate 16



a



b

Plate 17



a



b



c

Plate 18



a



b

Plate 19



a



b

Plate 20



a



b

Plate 21



Plate 22

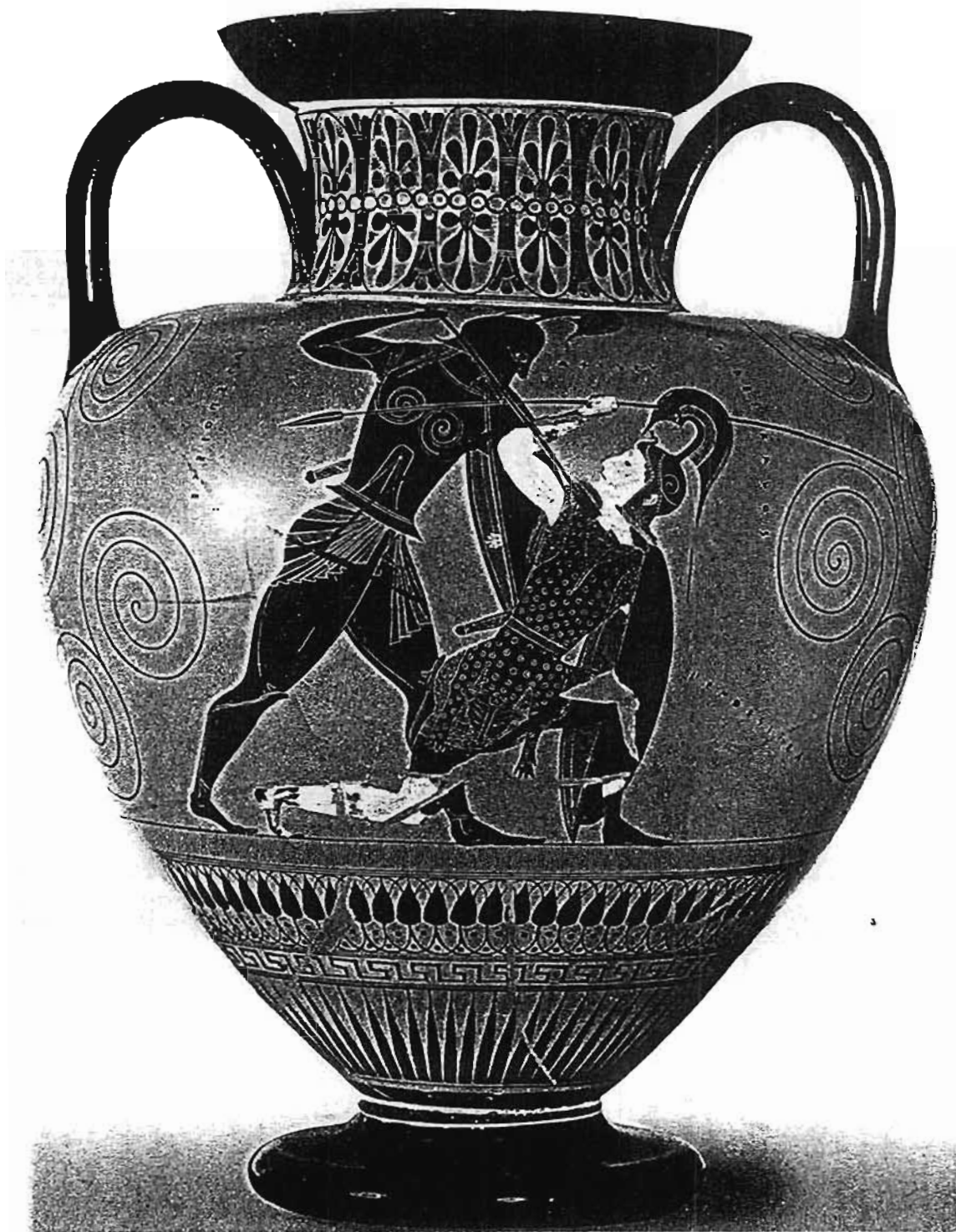


Plate 23

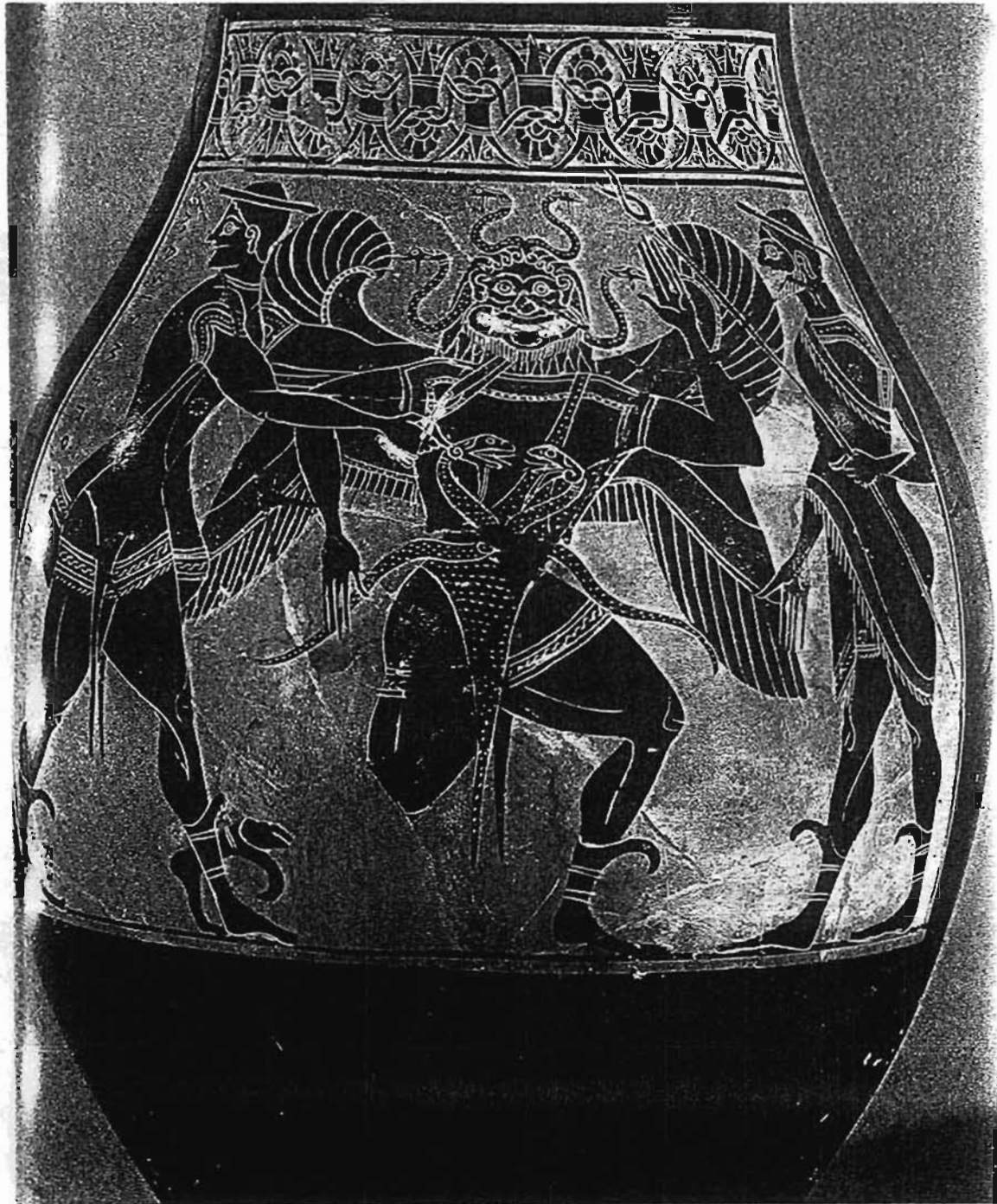
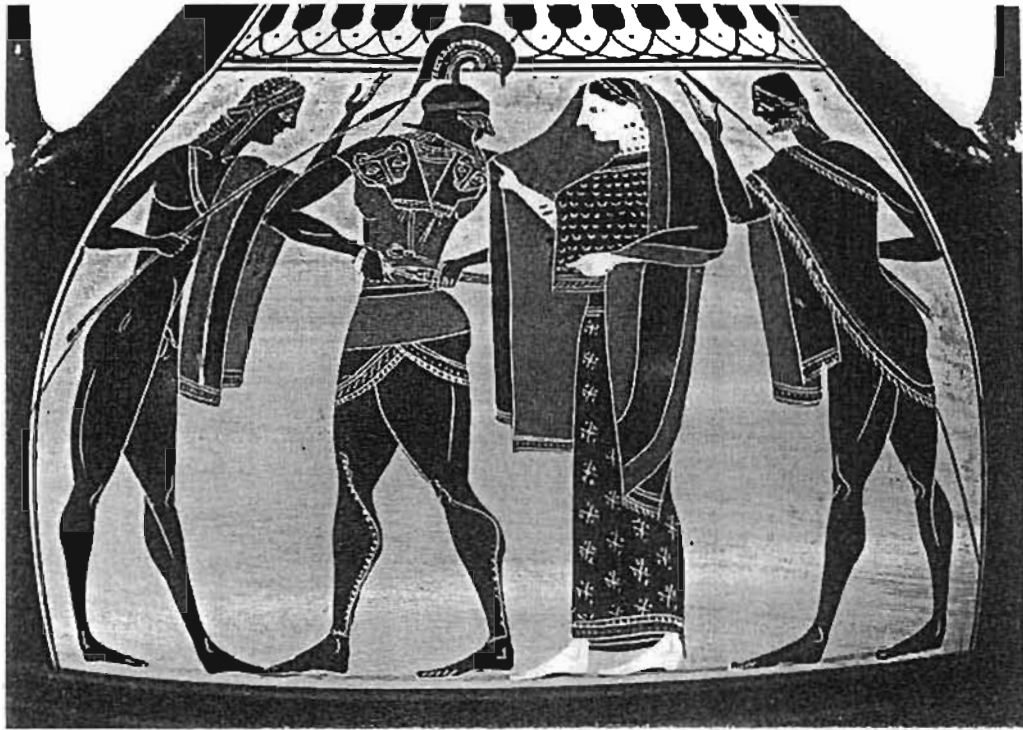
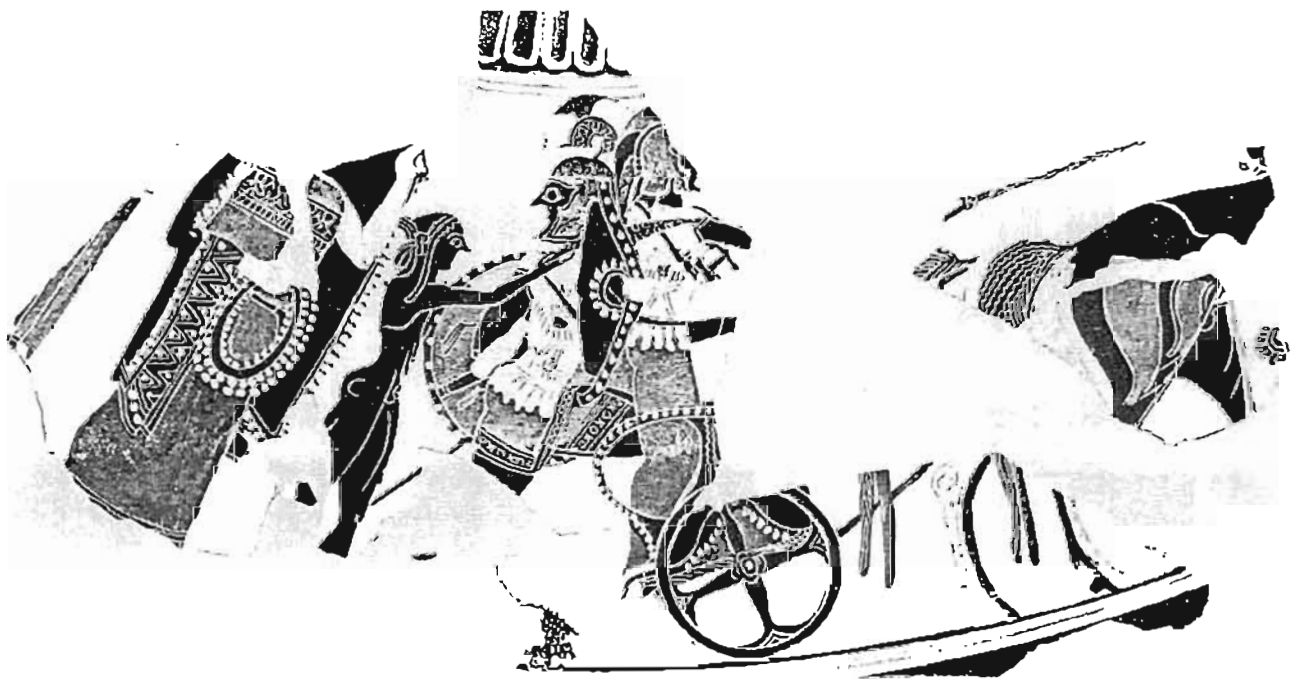


Plate 24



a



b

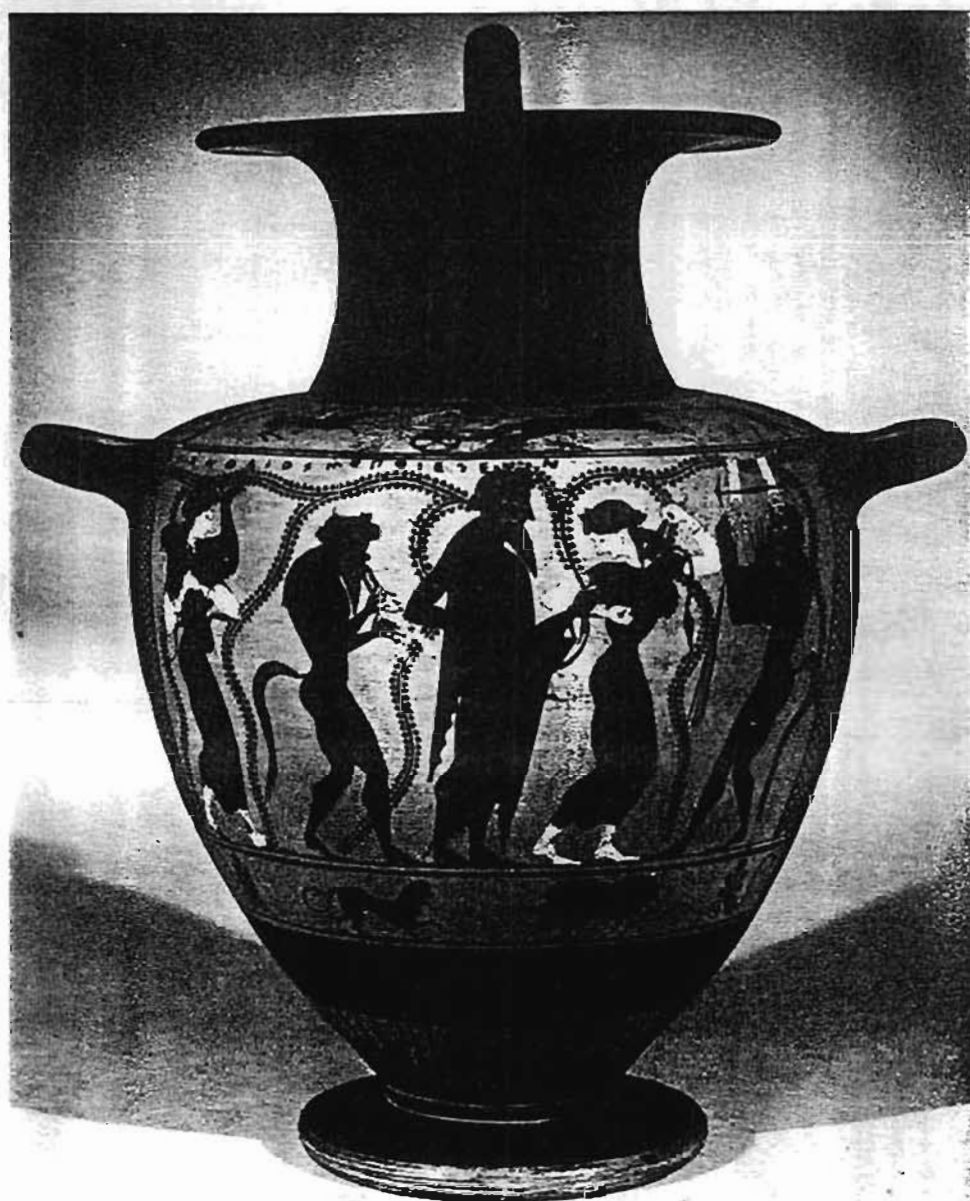
Plate 25



Detail of a

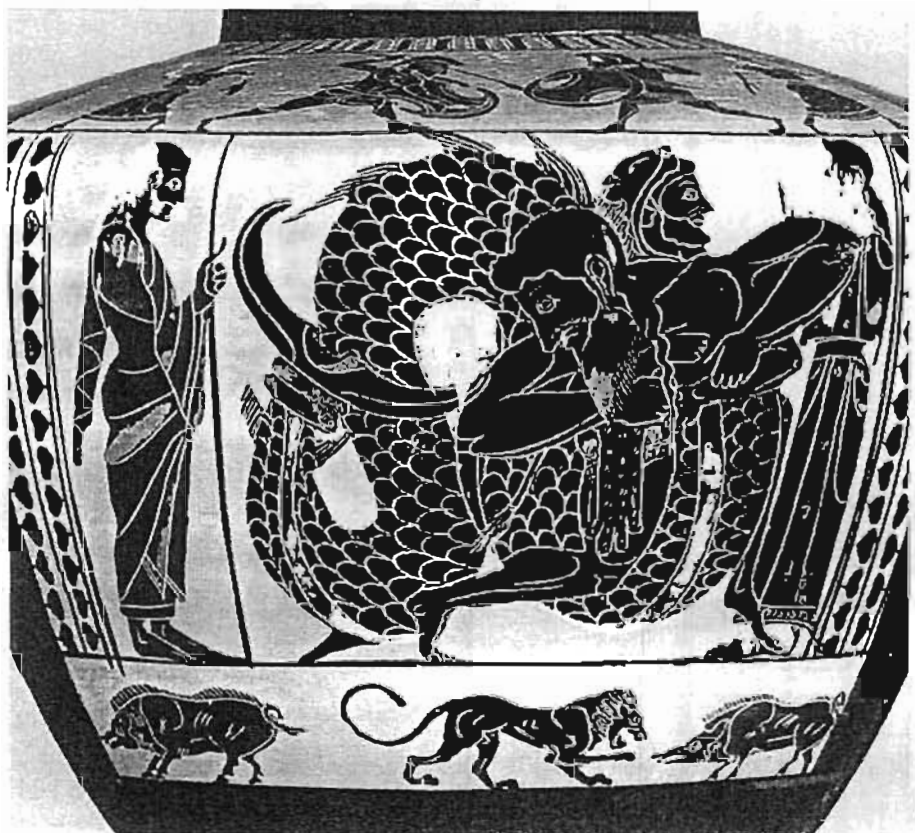


a



b

Plate 26



a



b

Plate 27

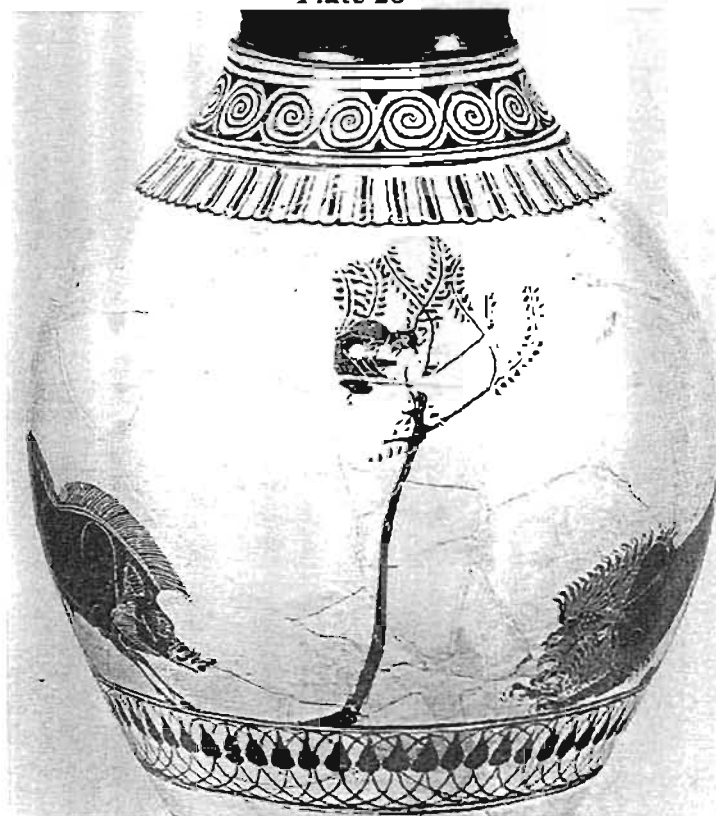


a



b

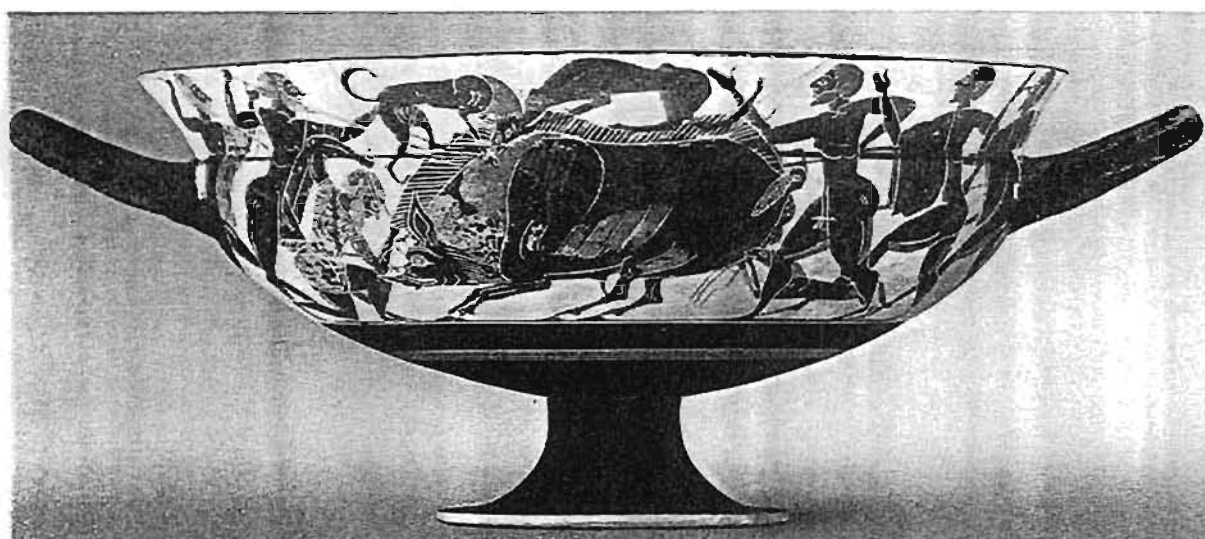
Plate 28



a

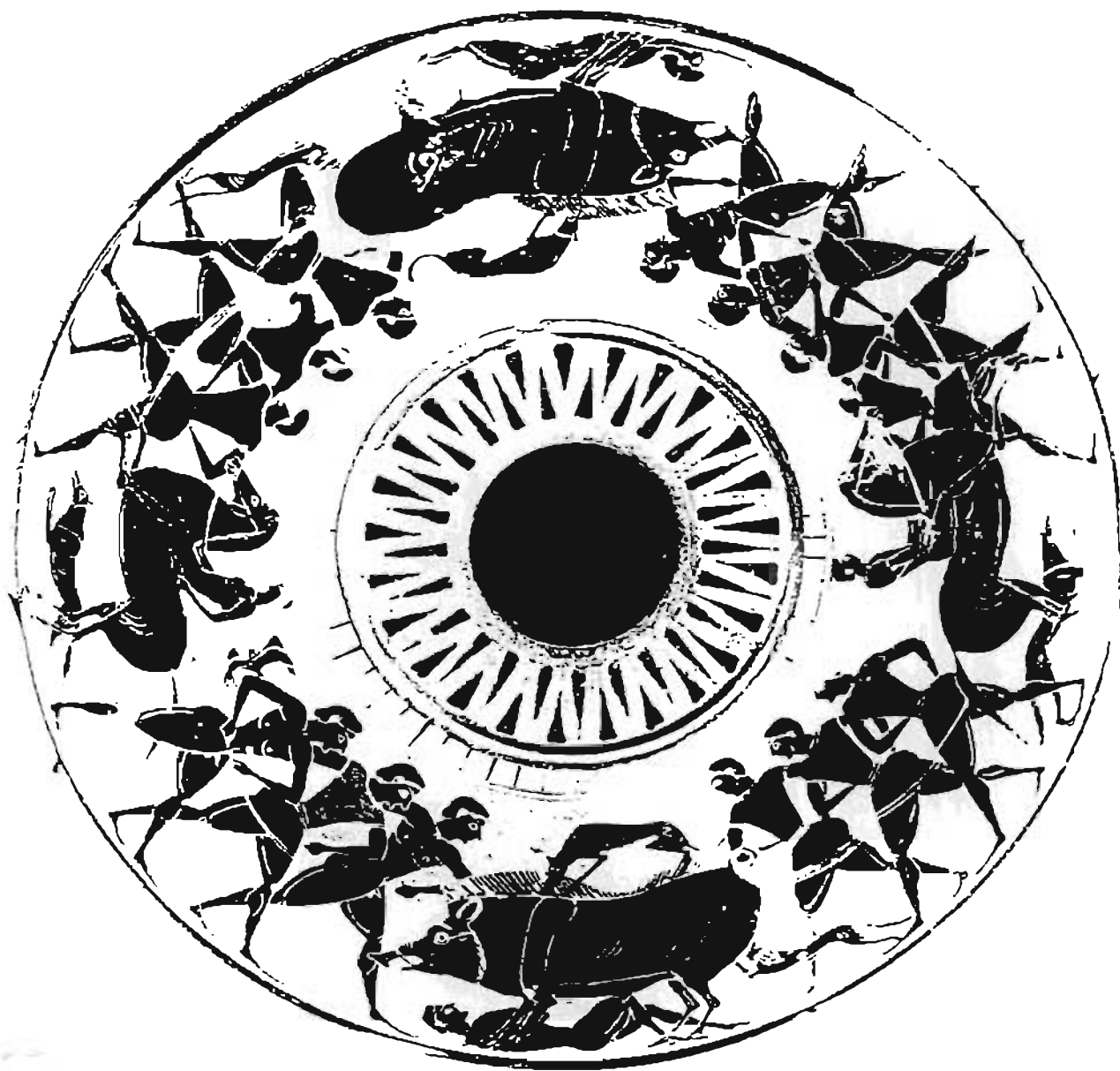


b



c

Plate 29





a



b



Detail of b



a



b

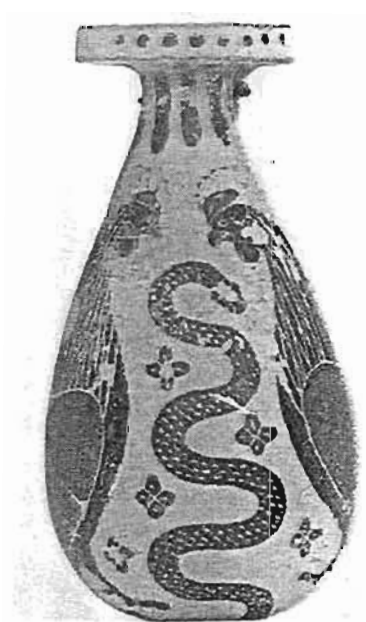
Plate 32



a

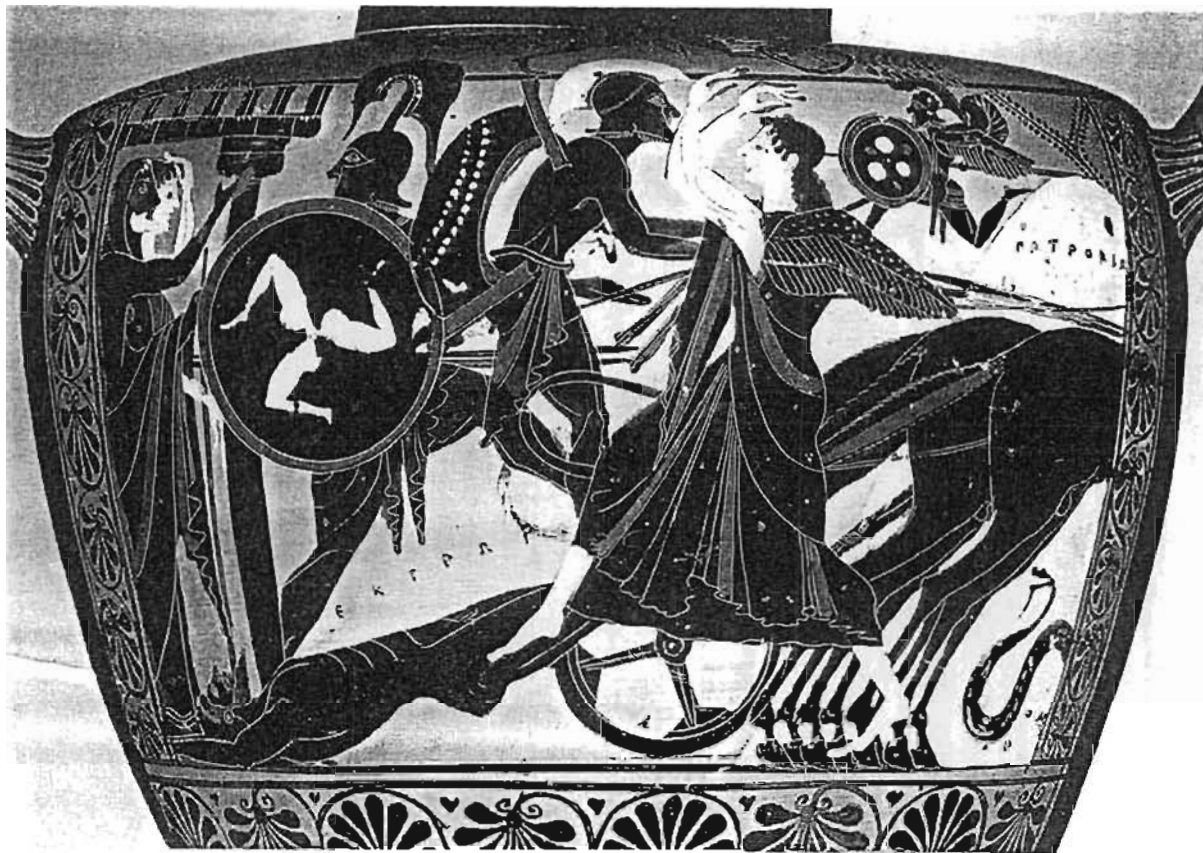


b

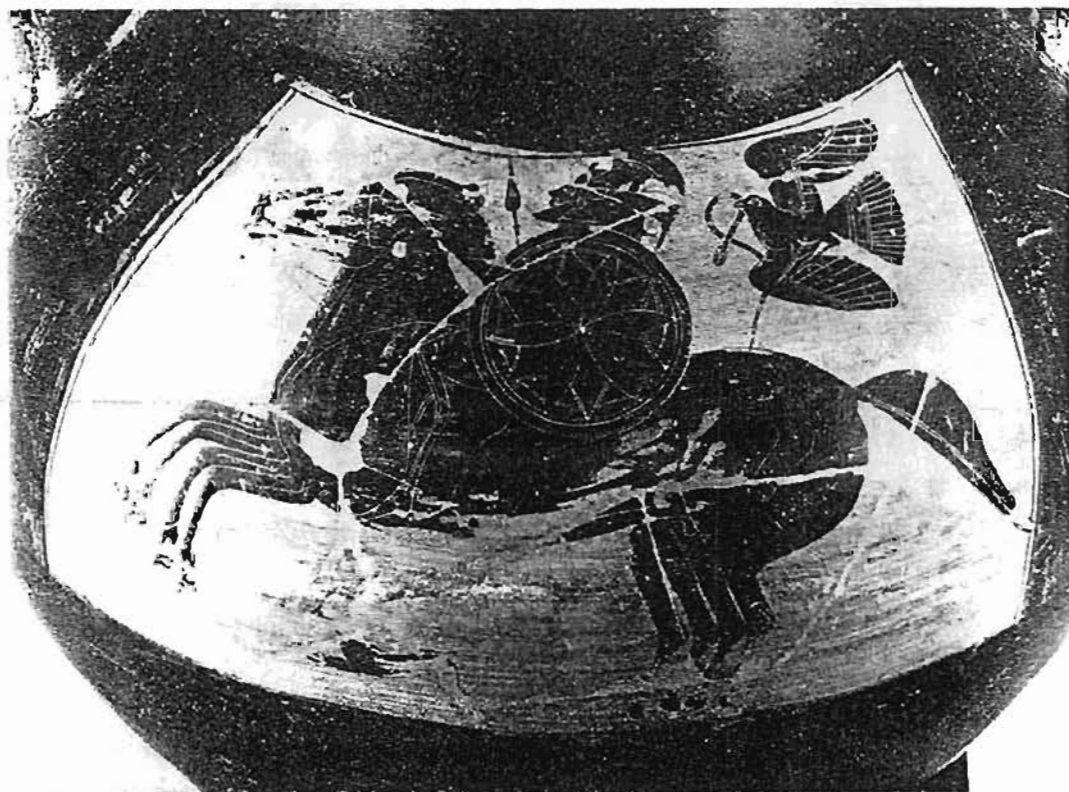


c

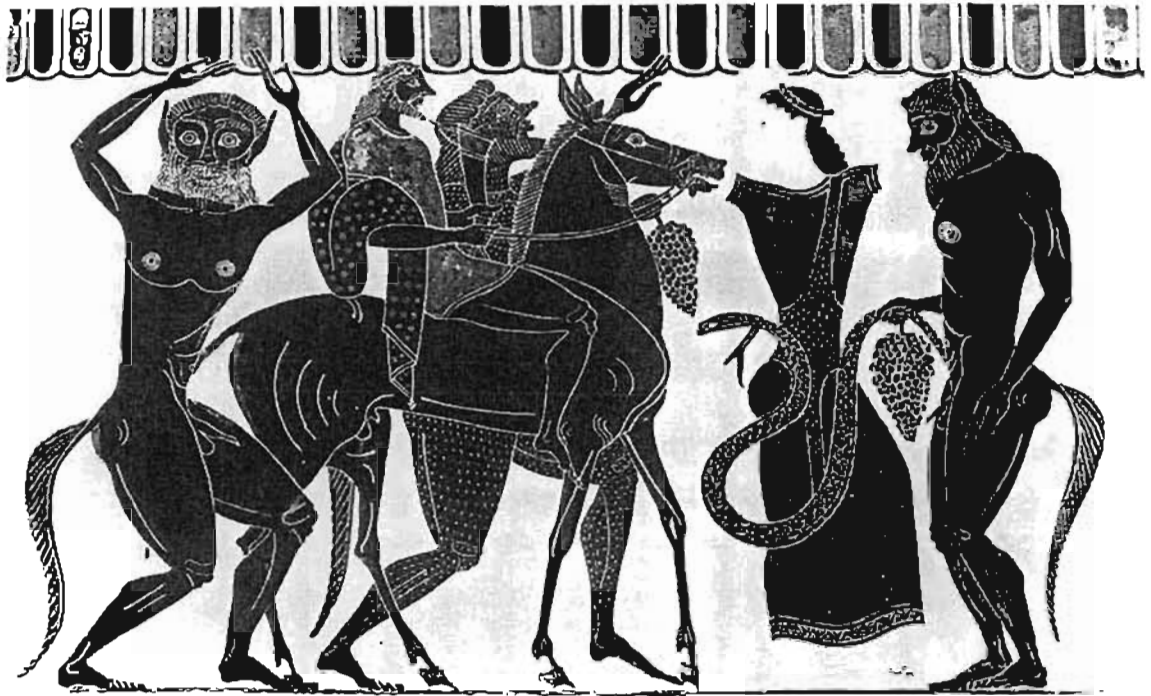
Plate 33



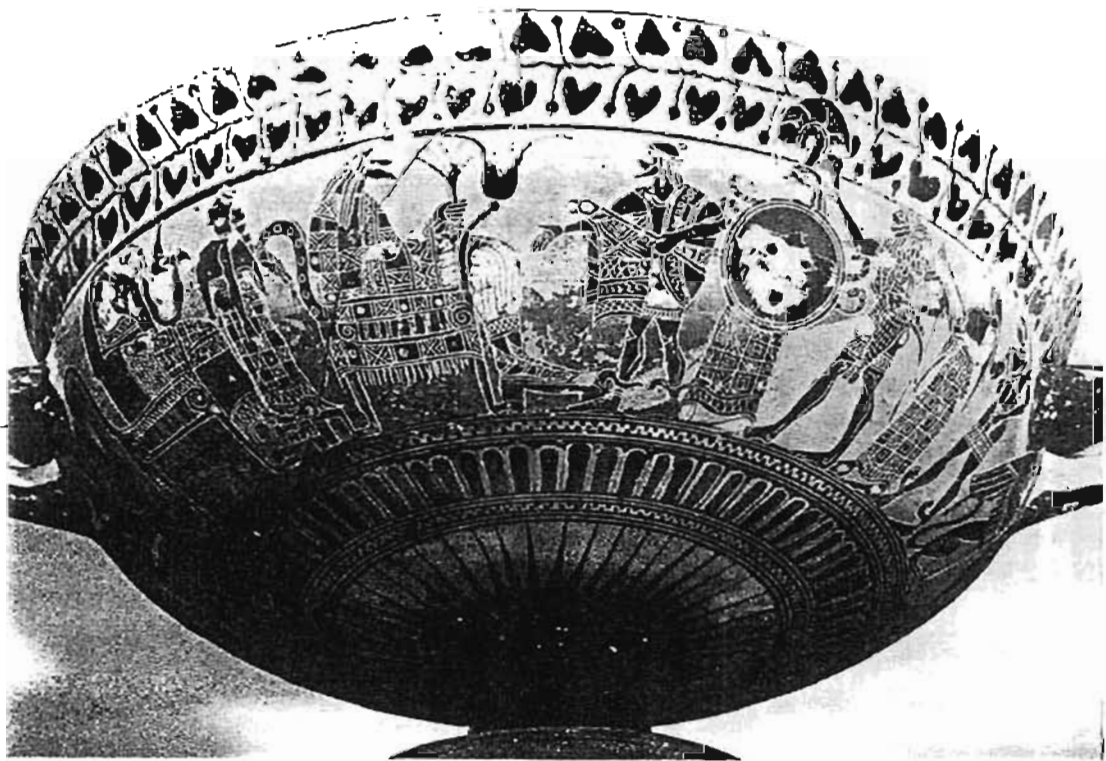
a



b



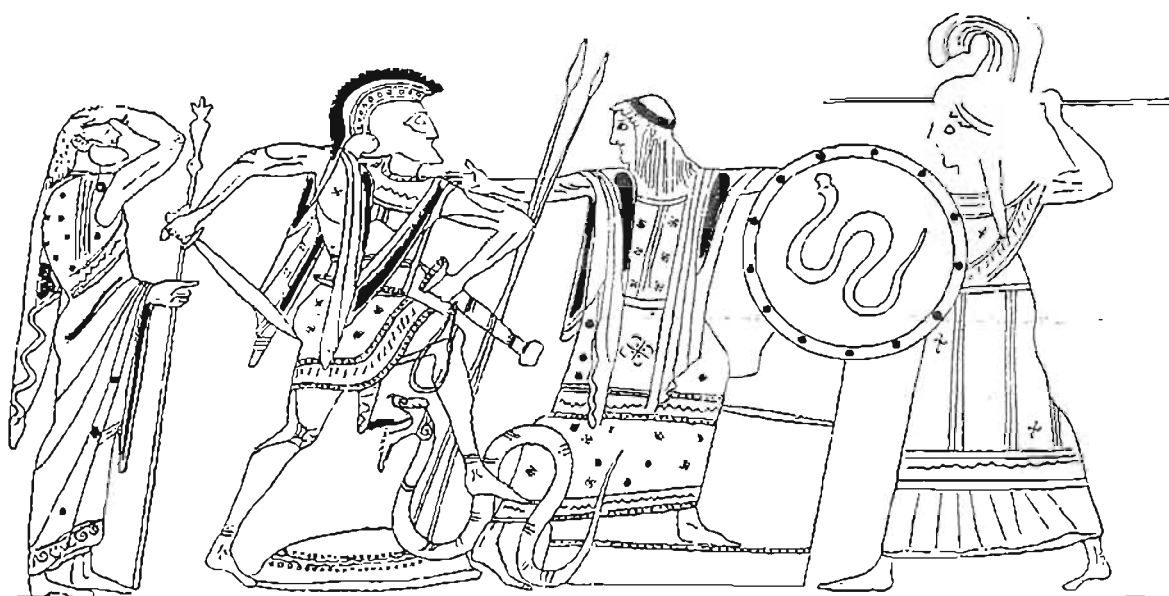
a



b



a



b

Plate 36



a



b