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« Αναθήματα ζωών στα αρχαιά ελληνικά ιερά από την αρχαϊκή μέχρι και την ελληνιστική εποχή »

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Synthèse

Cette thèse traite des statues d'animaux dédiées dans les sanctuaires de Grèce continentale, des îles égéennes et de la côte d'Asie Mineure des périodes archaïque à hellénistique. Les statues, les bases de statues et les éventuelles informations épigraphiques découvertes dans des sanctuaires grecs sont rassemblées dans un catalogue archéologique. Les statues d'animaux mentionnées par les auteurs anciens dans leurs descriptions de sanctuaires font l'objet d'un second catalogue littéraire.

Une première partie introductive définit le vocabulaire de l'offrande et présente le thème de l'animal dans l'Antiquité.

La deuxième partie consiste en une étude contextuelle divisée en plusieurs chapitres, chacun dédié à une catégorie animale figurant au nombre des *anathemata* statuaires du catalogue archéologique ou littéraire. Chaque catégorie d'animaux a été analysée de manière systématique : l'étude s'intéresse d'abord aux caractéristiques des animaux vivants, leur existence à l'état sauvage ou domestique, leurs utilisations et fonctions au sein de la société et les interactions entre les humains et les animaux. La place des animaux de chaque catégorie dans la littérature ancienne et la mythologie est aussi étudiée, et les diverses représentations d'animaux dans les sanctuaires et dans d'autres contextes sont prises en compte.

Les entrées des catalogues archéologique et littéraire ainsi que matériel épigraphique sont présentés de manière typologique à la fin de chaque chapitre de l'analyse contextuelle. Une introduction aux sanctuaires où ont été offertes des statues animales accompagne la présentation des *anathemata*, et les offrandes sont classées par sanctuaire et par ordre chronologique. Chaque chapitre se clôt sur des interprétations sur le sens des offrandes de statues d'animaux de la catégorie traitée. Le dernier chapitre de l'analyse contextuelle présente brièvement les animaux qui sont souvent représentés dans les sanctuaires mais pas sous forme de statues individuelles – leur absence peut en effet aider à comprendre la présence des animaux représentés.

Une partie sur la sculpture suit l'analyse contextuelle et s'intéresse à l'esthétique des statues animales, aux matériaux utilisés, aux prix des *anathemata* statuaires, aux conditions pratiques de réalisation et d'acheminement, au coût du transport, ainsi qu'à l'identité et la spécialité des artistes qui les exécutaient.

Enfin, dans une quatrième et dernière partie, les données observées dans les deux catalogues sont présentées et analysées de manière systématique afin

d'en extraire des informations sur le sens des offrandes de statues animalières. Les liens entre les sanctuaires abritant des statues animales, les liens entre les offrandes animalières et les divinités honorées, les implications géographiques et les évolutions diachroniques sont analysés dans cette partie. La place physique des statues animales dans les sanctuaires et le choix des animaux représentés sont aussi étudiés. Les auteurs d'offrandes publiques et privées connus grâce aux inscriptions et sources écrites sont également présentés et comparés ; grâce à ces informations, les offrandes sont étudiées au-delà de leur portée religieuse. Les motivations politiques des offrandes publiques et les implications sociales des offrandes privées, qui varient selon la fortune, le genre et le statut des offrants, permettent de mieux comprendre les raisons implicites qui se cachent derrière les offrandes de statues animalières dans les sanctuaires grecs.

Περίληψη

Αυτή η διατριβή εστιάζει στα ανεξάρτητα αγάλματα ζώων που παρουσιάζονται ως προσφορές ή αναθήματα σε ελληνικά ιερά της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας, των νησιών του Αιγαίου και των παραλίων της Μικράς Ασίας από την Αρχαϊκή μέχρι την Ελληνιστική περίοδο. Τα εναπομείναντα αγάλματα που εντοπίστηκαν στα ιερά που βρίσκονται στο γεωγραφικό και χρονολογικό πλαίσιο που αναφέρθηκε, οι βάσεις πάνω στις οποίες στηρίζονταν αγάλματα ζώων καθώς επίσης και το επιγραφικό υλικό που σχετίζεται με αφιερώσεις ζωικών αγαλμάτων, συγκεντρώθηκαν σε έναν κατάλογο. Ένας δεύτερος κατάλογος απαριθμεί τα ζωικά αγάλματα που καταγράφονται από τους αρχαίους περιηγητές στις επισκέψεις τους στα ελληνικά ιερά.

Για να γίνει κατανοητός ο λόγος για τον οποίο τα ζώα αυτά επιλέχθηκαν να αναπαρασταθούν σε αγάλματα και να αφιερωθούν στους θεούς, θα πρέπει να πραγματοποιηθεί μια έρευνα για το πλαίσιο μέσα στο οποίο εντάσσεται κάθε κατηγορία ζώου που αποτελεί ανεξάρτητο ανάθημα, είτε σε αρχαιολογικές, είτε σε γραπτές πηγές. Έτσι, κάθε κατηγορία ζώων έχει συστηματικά ερευνηθεί και αναλυθεί: τα χαρακτηριστικά τους ως έμψυχα όντα, η ύπαρξή τους στην άγρια φύση ή ως κατοικίδια, η θέση και η αξία τους στην κοινωνία, η αλληλεπίδρασή τους με τον άνθρωπο. Η θέση των ζώων όπως εμφανίζεται στην αρχαία ελληνική γραμματεία και μυθολογία, καθώς και οι καλλιτεχνικές τους αναπαραστάσεις στα ιερά και σε αλλού, τίθενται επίσης υπό ανάλυση.

Οι καταχωρίσεις στον κατάλογο και η τυπολογία που αντιστοιχεί στα διασωθέντα και καταγεγραμμένα στις πηγές ελεύθερα αναθήματα κάθε κατηγορίας ζώων, παρουσιάζονται στο τέλος κάθε κεφαλαίου της ανάλυσης,

όπως επίσης και οι επιγραφές ή αφιερώσεις, όταν αυτές είναι γνωστές. Μια παρουσίαση των ιερών συνοδεύει την παρουσίαση των αναθημάτων, τα οποία έχουν κατηγοριοποιηθεί ανά χρονολογία και ιερό. Οι ερμηνείες για τη σημασία των προσφορών ζώων ανά κατηγορία εκτίθενται στο τέλος κάθε κεφαλιού της ανάλυσης. Το τελευταίο κεφάλαιο της αναλυτικής μελέτης παρέχει μια επισκόπηση των ζώων που συνήθως εκπροσωπούνται σε ιερά, αλλά εκλείπουν από τους καταλόγους -κι αυτό διότι η μνεία τους θα μπορούσε να βοηθήσει στην κατανόηση της σημασίας των ζώων που εκπροσωπούνται.

Ακολουθούν παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με την αρχαία γλυπτική, που επικεντρώνονται στην αισθητική των ζωικών αγαλμάτων, τα υλικά που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν, την τιμή των αναθημάτων, τα πρακτικά ζητήματα και το κόστος της μεταφοράς τους, καθώς και στην ταυτότητα και τις ιδιαιτερότητες των καλλιτεχνών που τα δημιούργησαν.

Τέλος, παρουσιάζονται δεδομένα από καταλόγους, τα οποία αναλύονται συστηματικά με σκοπό να προκύψουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με τη σημασία των προσφορών των ανεξάρτητων ζωικών αγαλμάτων σε ιερά. Ακόμα, αναλύονται οι δεσμοί μεταξύ των ιερών όπου τα ζώα προσφέρονταν, οι δεσμοί μεταξύ προσφερόμενων ζώων και θεοτήτων που τα δέχονταν, η γεωγραφική εφαρμογή τους και η διαχρονική εξέλιξη των αναθημάτων. Μελετώνται επίσης φυσικός χώρος των ζωικών αγαλμάτων μέσα στα ιερά και η επιλογή είδους ζώου. Οι δημόσιοι και ιδιώτες αφιέρωτες γνωστοί από επιγραφές ή γραπτές πηγές επίσης παρουσιάζονται και συγκρίνονται. Συ ζητώνται -πέραν της αφιέρωσης ως λατρευτικής πράξης- τα πολιτικά κίνητρα των αφιερώσεων. Ο πλούτος, το γένος, το φύλο και η κοινωνική θέση των ιδιωτών αφιερωτών συσχετίζεται με την κατανόηση των κοινωνικών εφαρμογών που συνδέονται με τις αφιερώσεις ζωικών αγαλμάτων.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the freestanding statues of animals set as offerings, or *anathemata*, in Greek sanctuaries of the mainland, the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. The surviving statues found in sanctuaries corresponding to the geographical and chronological frames are gathered in a catalogue, and so were the statue bases on which animal statues stood and the epigraphic material linked with freestanding animal dedications. A second catalogue lists the animal statues recorded by ancient travelers in their visits of Greek sanctuaries.

A contextual study on each of the animal categories recorded as freestanding *anathemata* in archaeological or written sources is a necessary step to understanding why these animals were chosen to be represented in statues offered to the gods. Each animal category was systematically analyzed.

Their characteristics as live animals, their existence in the wild or in a domestic context, their use and function in society, the existing interactions between humans and animals are addressed. The place of animals in ancient Greek literature and mythology is also studied, and so are their artistic representations, within sanctuaries and in other contexts.

The catalogue entries and typology corresponding to the surviving and literarily recorded freestanding anathemata of each animal category are presented at the end of each chapter of the contextual analysis, and so are their inscriptions and dedications, when known. A presentation of the receiving sanctuaries accompanies the presentation of the *anathemata*, which are classified by chronology and sanctuaries. Interpretations on the meaning of the offerings of animals per category comes at the end of each of the chapters of the contextual analysis. The last chapter of the contextual study gives an overview of the animals which are often represented in sanctuaries but absent from the present catalogues – as their absence might help understand the significance of the animals that are represented.

Observations on ancient sculpture follow the treatment of each animal per category and focus on the aesthetics of animal statues, the materials used, the price of the *anathemata*, the practicalities and cost of their transport, and the identity and specialties of the artists who made them.

Lastly, data drawn from the catalogues are presented and analyzed in a systematic manner in order to extract information about the significance of the offering of freestanding animal statues at sanctuaries. The links between the sanctuaries where animals were offered, the links between the dedication of animals and the receiving deities, the geographical implication and the diachronic evolution of the *anathemata* are analyzed. The physical place of the animal statues within the sanctuaries and the choice of animals are also studied. The public and private dedicators known through inscriptions and written sources are also presented and compared. Beyond the religious gesture, the political motives of public dedications are discussed. The wealth, gender and status of private dedicators enables the understanding of social implications connected to the dedication of animal statues.

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Introduction

The colossal stone lions offered on Delos by the Naxians are amongst the most striking surviving offerings of the ancient Greek world. But what motivated the dedicators to offer large-scale animal statues? How common were offerings of animal statues, and where else were they dedicated? Who made these statues, who dedicated them, to which deities and to what purpose? What were the social, political, economic and religious implications of these *anathemata*?

I. Project and methodology

1. Aims and method

To answer these questions, this dissertation focuses on the large-scale free-standing animal sculptures from Greek sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. The frame of my research includes the sanctuaries of mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, the Ionian islands and the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor. To be considered as statues rather than statuettes, and therefore included in this study, the sculptures need to be at least a third of life-size; except for animals measuring under 50 cm, in which case, only life-size and up will be included. Consequently, the minimal size of the statues under study vary depending on their species.

To be able to study the symbolic value of animal representations as votive statues, the roles of animals and their perception in Archaic to Hellenistic Greece needs to be understood. Animal studies are still limited when it comes to Greek antiquity; it was therefore essential to broaden the field of my research to the contextual background in which these statues were made.

Only 37 surviving statues of life-size or over-life-size animals were found at Greek sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, all of marble. To this scarce number of surviving statues were added 5 missing bronze statues that could be associated with surviving bases, and 37 statues mentioned in literary sources, and that could be dated to our chronological frame. These are the core of this study. However, a total of 91 statues will be taken into consideration in the study, as a few Roman offerings and offerings impossible to date found in literary sources were inventoried and used for comparative purposes. The association of a literary catalogue to the archeological one was

especially important because a significant amount of the *anathemata* was made of bronze or other materials less durable than marble, while only stone statues of freestanding animals survive. The interpretations about the meaning of the votive statues found in textual sources, even though they must be used with care as they were often not contemporaneous to the dedications, are also crucial to the building of theories on the significance of animal *anathemata*.

Statue bases were considered but taken with caution, especially those with attachments for a horse, as it is impossible to know if they had a rider on them: that is why only 5 bases, all for cattle sculptures, are counted as standing for missing statues.

Freestanding sculptural *anathemata* also need to be contextualized as artistic objects, requiring specific techniques and materials, the choice of an artist, transport costs, and other considerations relating to sculpture.

The surviving epigraphical dedications and literary indications on the dedicators were also gathered to understand who offered animal statues and why. The particularities of each sanctuary where animal statues were found or mentioned also was taken into scrutiny, as well as the deities honored in the receiving sanctuaries.

2. Structure

This dissertation is articulated into five main parts. The first part is this introduction, which aims to present the project and define the terms relating to sculptural offerings and give a general context. The second and main part is divided into eleven chapters: the animals represented on votive statues are divided into ten categories, corresponding to the ten first chapters of Part 2, while the eleventh deals with the animals that are not represented in free-standing statues but do have an importance in ancient Greek sculptural groups, as these animals have a rich context and their exclusion from freestanding offerings might have a significance. The 10 categories represented are cattle, sheep and goats, pigs and boars, birds, horses and other equids, dogs, lions, bears, wolves and tortoises.

Each of the 10 chapters of Part 2 treating of the animals represented in free-standing statues follows the same progression. It starts with a presentation of the live animals, with biological data, what is known of the animals' presence in the ancient Greek fauna, their domestication and their use in ancient Greek society. The second part of each chapter treats of the place of the animal in ancient Greek literature and mythology, to understand the perception and symbolism of the species in the eyes of the ancients, the association between each animal species and the Greek deities and in Greek religion. Follows a part

about artistic representations of the animal category under consideration, considering the supports on which the animals were represented, the presence of their representations in sanctuaries, in sculptural groups, in statues erected in other contexts, such as funerary monuments and their attitudes of the animals on these representations. Only then a typology of the free-standing statues from sanctuaries will be presented: the surviving statues will be presented in catalogue entries within the chapters together with their inscriptions at that stage, and followed with the cataloguing of statue bases with attachments for animals and literary references of freestanding animal *anathemata*. When possible, archaeological data was paired with literary references. The material will then be discussed, and classified by period and sanctuary: a description of the receiving sanctuaries will be presented, and the offerings will be studied in light of the time of their dedication, their place of dedication, receiving sanctuary, receiving deity and dedicator.

After the contextual study of each animal category in Part 2, including the presentation and discussion of the catalogue entries, Part 3 brings the focus on sculpture: it treats questions on the aesthetics of animal statues, the specialization of sculptors, the costs of material, workmanship and transport, and the geographical influences found in animal sculpture throughout Greek antiquity.

Part 4 merges the information gathered and presented in the previous part, to systematically analyze and interpret the collected data. It starts with an overview of both the archaeological and literary catalogue and proceeds to synoptically present the evidence through three prisms: it first focuses on sanctuaries and deities; then on the *anathemata* themselves as statues of animals with a place within a sacred space and, lastly, on the dedicators.

In Part 5, an overview of the possible significance of free-standing animal *anathemata* in Archaic to Hellenistic Greek sanctuaries through the prisms of religion, economy, society, gender and politics.

3. Translation of ancient sources

Literary sources play a crucial part in this study: the writings of ancient authors help recreate the imageries at play within the time frame of the study. A separate catalogue of free-standing animal sculptural offerings mentioned in ancient texts was added to the catalogue of archaeological data, but literary sources were also a useful tool to better understand the symbolism of each animal and its perception in the ancient mind.

All translations are my own, unless specified otherwise. When available, I have used the online versions of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, the Loeb Library and The Perseus Digital Library to consult the original texts.

Retranslating texts has been particularly useful because earlier translators were not necessarily focused on animal studies and were often more interested in making the translation flow than in respecting accuracies. [1]

4. Limitations

Smaller offerings, such as clay and bronze figurines and statuettes of animals, were abundant in most Greek sanctuaries and burials grounds throughout antiquity; they will be briefly addressed in the contextual part, but are not of a focal interest in this study, centered on large (at least close to life-size) statues. Other scholars have led extensive studies of small offerings in sanctuaries: one of the most recent work on the subject is Lene Os Johannessen's yet unpublished dissertation.[2] Elinor Bevan's study on *Representations of animals in sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian deities*[3] and Heilmeyer's publication[4] of animal figurines and statuettes found at Olympia, accompanied with excellent photographic tables by Gösta Hellner. Their contributions are very helpful in the understanding of smaller animal *anathemata* as part of a contextual study.

Funerary offerings are excluded from the catalogues and statistics, as my research focuses on sanctuaries and funerary monuments were not offerings to the gods. Funerary animal statues have been studied by other authors[5] and will only be sporadically mentioned in this dissertation to draw stylistic parallels with the statues offered at sanctuaries.

Statues of unknown origin are not included or succinctly referenced in the contextual part of the study, because they were more likely funerary statues than votive offerings.

Fantastic animals and hybrid creatures, such as sphinxes, sirens, griffins, tritons and hypalektrions, will be left out of this dissertation, which exclusively

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[1] For instance, the translation of the *Iliad* by T.A. Murray, 1929 which is used in the Loeb library, uses the generic term "pigs" rather than "sows" when the original Greek text uses the feminine, and uses the word "boar" to translate the masculine based on context when the Greek makes no distinction between the wild and the domesticated animal. Cf. chapter on Pigs and Boars.

[2] Dissertation accepted at the University of Oslo in 2016: Dr Johannessen graciously offered me her unpublished book in print.

[3] Bevan, 1986

[4] Heilmeyer, 1979

[5] Woysch-Méautis, 1982, for instance.

focuses on existing animals, even though there certainly was a scale of existence in the ancient mind. All the animals included in this study existed in Greece during the chronological frame or had existed in previous periods.

II. *Agalmata* as *anathemata*: definitions and context

1. Greek votive offerings: definitions

Votive offerings are object deposited for the gods to enjoy. The noun *anathema* (ἀνάθημα), "offering", comes from the verb "ἀνατίθημι", which means "to lay upon", "to set up and leave in a place". By extension and metaphorically, the verb was also widely used with the meaning "to dedicate", as in "*Φαλακρίων Ἀφροδίτει ἀνέθηκεν*"[6]. As the very word used for "dedicating" objects insist on their setting, their place within sanctuaries is an important aspect of the offerings.

Agalma (ἄγαλμα), the word most often used with the meaning of "statue", came from the verb "ἀγάλλω", "to glorify", "to exalt" and, by extension, "to pay honor to a god": the *agalma* was a pleasing gift for the gods and, while it is most often a synonym of sculpture, and sometimes of painting, it can also extend to other offerings, such as tripods[7] and even live animals offered in sacrifice[8], at the sight of which the gods rejoice. The term doesn't give indications as to the size of the object: no different words are used for statues and statuettes; the narrator can freely choose to add, or not, information about the size (for instance, Pausanias specifies that Kynisca's horses at Olympia were not as large as real ones[9]). The accent is always put on bringing pleasure to the receiver of an *agalma*. Often, statues mentioned in literary sources are not referred to as *agalmata*, and only the subject of the sculpture, often paired with the material used, is mentioned – *"χαλκοῦς ταῦρος"*[10], for instance.

Votive offerings can be divided in two large categories: durable (objects set in sanctuaries) and perishable (sacrifices of animals, of produce and libations), and several sub-categories, which can apply to both durable and perishable offerings. The free-standing animal statues in this study are durable offerings,

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[6] Inscription on the dove **(A03)** dedicated by Falakrion to Aphrodite at Daphni

[7] Herodotus, 5, 60

[8] Homer, *Odyssey*, 3, 437-438, of a heifer, prepared for sacrifice to Athena with gold on her horns: *"χρυσὸν ἔδωχ'· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα βοὸς κέρασιν περίχευεν / ἀσκήσας, ἵν' ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα."*

[9] Pausanias, 5, 12, 5

[10] Pausanias, 10, 9, 3

and should be put in parallel with the ephemeral offerings of live animals in the context of sacrifices.

Ioanna Patera, who led the most complete recent research on Greek offerings[11], classifies the gifts to the gods into nine categories: ἀνάθημα, δῶρον, δεκάτη, ἀκροθίνιον, ἄγαλμα, ἀπαρχή, ἱερά, εὐχή and μνῆμα. The same object can fall under several of these categories, depending on the intentions of the giver and the eyes of the beholder. Indeed, while statues are *agalmata*, beautiful gifts, they can also be dedicated as μνῆμα, in commemoration of a sacrifice or another event; εὐχή, in hope of a divine intervention; δεκάτη, from the tithe of an income, particularly in the case of war spoils; ἀπαρχή, if their value represents a portion of an agricultural income, or simply δῶρον, when the emphasis is made on the giving. Most *anathemata* are also one or several of the other sub-categories of offerings: for instance, a beautiful statue of a bull given to the gods as a present to honor the gods, paid from the tithe of war spoils and commemorating a victory will be an *anathema*, an *agalma*, a *dekate*, a *doron* and a *mnema* all at once.

These various aspects of the offerings will be considered when studying their significance: all our statues might be *agalmata*, but weren't necessarily restricted to the gift of pleasing images.

2. Life-size and colossal statues as offerings

Votive offerings reflect "the dialectic situation between man and god within the religious practice of the ancient world."[12] Beyond this dialogue between human and divine, however, large sculptural offerings constitute a statement addressed to human viewers in the present and the future. The use of durable materials to build a visible monument was a way to reach eternity through fame, a very Greek notion.[13]

Indeed, while small and inexpensive offerings are the sign of a personal endeavor, large free-standing statues require the active involvement of several actors, for their creation, payment and transport. The expenses and efforts

[11] Patera, 2012, p. 17-50, details the meanings of each of these words, and shows that even though they were originally agricultural terms, even the ἀκροθίνιον and the ἀπαρχή can symbolically designate durable objects that have been financed with agricultural produce. Her work is the first major study on the subject since Rouse, 1902.

[12] Baumbach, 2004, p. 1

[13] The most famous illustration of this notion is Achilles: the archetype of the Greek hero, chooses to stay in Ilion even though his mother Thetis had informed him of the prophecy that he would die young but glorious if he fought the Trojan war, but would grow old and fameless if he returned to his native land. See Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 410-418.

deployed for the realization of the statues varied depending on the size, location, material and chronological context of each piece. This study only focuses on large (at least half of life-size for larger animals, like cattle, and life-size for smaller animals, like birds), but a half-of-life-size statue of a bull remains much more demanding than a life-size statue of a small bird. Statuettes were not included in this study, but one must keep in mind that "larger" bronze lost-wax cast cattle statuettes (ca. 30 cm high), even though they only represent a minor fraction of the animal size, are still more expensive and require more skill than life-size marble dove statues, which are included in the study. It will therefore be interesting to compare the proportions of large animal statues versus small animal statues, as well as the colossal statues: smaller animals could be represented in statues multiplying their proportions, making a luxurious offering out of the image of a small and inexpensive live animal – as was the case with the colossal doves from the Delian Heraion **(B01-B02)**. These choices will be discussed in parallel with the meanings of the offerings.

3. Dedicatory inscriptions

At times when sculptures were exclusively reserved to the religious, political and funerary spheres, free-standing statues offered in sanctuaries are an interesting indicator of the power relations at play between the dedicators and the visitors of the sanctuaries, or the devotion of an adorer and a receiving deity: when they survive, or are reported in literature, the inscriptions accompanying the sculpture were the most pertinent testimony of the intentions involved in the offering gesture. These inscriptions are often lost, but they accompanied most of the sculptural dedications made at sanctuaries, whether they were directly carved on the side of the statue itself, on its monolithic plinth, on the statue base, or on an element belonging to the same group in the case of an offering including several statues or a pair. They were supposedly addressed to the receiving god or goddess, but visible to the human visitors – and important enough to be re-carved, sometimes centuries later, when the original inscription was eroded.

Thanks to the inscriptions, one or several factors surrounding the offerings are sometimes known: the dedicators, the receiving deities, the artists and the reason of the dedication were sometimes indicated. The style of the inscriptions is also helpful in the dating of the dedications - or the subsequent restoration of the inscribed dedications. Even though reasons for the dedications are not usually written in the inscriptions, all pieces of information on the dedicators, when considered together with the object of the offering and the sanctuary where the statue was placed, are helpful clues when building conjectures about

the purposes of an offering. Indeed, inscriptions are what tell us if an offering was public or private, if it was made by a singular person or a group of people, if it was made by a man or a woman. The birthplace of the dedicator, sometimes indicated in inscriptions, also lets us know if the offering was made by a local, a Greek from another city or a foreigner. When these data on the dedicator are known, putting them in relation with the statue itself – the choice of animal represented, its size, material, facture, value – and with the receiving deity and sanctuary, animal free-standing statue offerings can be studied in a richer light and interpreted as a pious private offering, an ostentatious display of wealth or euergetism, a political message or another type of symbolical marker.

4. Sanctuaries and deities

This study is exclusively centered on animal statues offered in sanctuaries: the clearly religious offerings, even though animal statues were commonplace in cemeteries from the Classical period onward. Their placing in sanctuaries is essential to their status as votive offerings to the gods and goddesses of the ancient Pantheon. In cemeteries, they were offerings to the dead. Statues of animals appear to have been rare in secular public places, at least until the Hellenistic period, and found mostly in religious and funerary contexts. The *anathemata*, as mentioned earlier are, by essence, set up, or laid in a particular place, and their very place within the sanctuaries is what makes them available for the gods to enjoy. The inscriptions are visible to men, but, even without the presence of an inscription, the placing of the offerings in a sacred area confers them the status of gifts to its divine masters or mistresses.

The choice of the sanctuary was the most important criterion when it came to the reach of the message conveyed by the offering. Depending on the importance and geographical position of the sanctuaries where they were set, the offerings could benefit from a very wide audience, and dedications of larger and more magnificent statues had certainly higher chances of being read, displayed and renewed when eroded for a larger amount of time. On the contrary, offerings placed in local sanctuaries with lesser visibility could be the result of a more authentic religious gesture, but could also convey a social message within a smaller community. It is therefore primordial to study the sanctuaries in which the offerings were placed before making conjectures on their significance: in this study, a contextual background of each sanctuary where free-standing animal statues were archaeologically attested or mentioned in literature will be presented, and sanctuaries will also be given special attention in the data analysis.

The place of the offerings within the sanctuaries: inside the temple, in an open air *temenos*, at the gates or entrance of a sanctuary or temple, along a sacred way, on top of a votive column, etc., also had an importance and can help us understand more about the symbolic value of the statue, their function and their importance within the sacred space.

Ancient statues offered at sanctuaries were sometimes taken away from their original display area and retired to "treasures", storages, or buried in deposit pits when they were particularly damaged. When the corresponding data is available, the retirement space of a statue and the time when it occurred are interesting aspects about the importance of the statues: their afterlife, when they leave the main display-area, is linked with their material and religious value when they cease to be a pleasing object for the eyes.

The choice of specific themes for animal statues within sanctuaries also sheds some light on the connections between gods and animals. The receivers, who could be gods, goddesses, heroes, other divine entities, singular and plurals, are known through the inscriptions but also because of the place of worship where offerings were set. Considering animal free-standing statues in parallel with the receiving deities' known attributes and preferences as known from mythological sources, sacrificial rituals, smaller votive offerings featuring animals or animals in architectural sculpture or sculptural groups is indispensable: for this reason, a large part of the contextual study on each animal category will be reserved to these aspects of their place within the Ancient Greek religious sphere. Only thanks to these preliminary considerations will it be possible to better understand the underlying links between dedicators and receivers, and the place of animal free-standing sculptural offerings as a religious gesture.

In summary, a pertinent study of animal statues as offerings in Ancient Greece must include, for each statue, research on the sanctuary where it was offered (its size, geographical location, reach and religious importance), the deities to which it was addressed, its physical display within the sanctuary, its inscription (and through it, its dedicator, the artists involved, the time frame when the written dedication may have been renewed), its size, the quality of its materials and craftsmanship and pecuniary value. Existing definitions of sub-categories of offerings must also be considered when the religious, political and social implications of the offerings are treated. Each statue is analyzed accordingly and the *anathemata* are then regrouped in typological categories to consider their significance.

III. Animals in ancient landscape, life and religion

Studying free-standing statues of animals as offerings requires questioning the place of the animals that were represented in Ancient Greek symbolism, mythology and religion, but also in society's daily life and surroundings. For this reason, each of the chapters dedicated to the categories of animals represented in free-standing sculptures will start with a thorough study on the contextual reality of these animals in their natural context; their place in people's daily life, as working aids, food, sacrificial victims, pets and property convertible in currency; in Ancient society's imagery, myths, divine associations and literature; and their representations, on vase paintings, small offerings, votive reliefs, architectural programs, and other sculptural contexts. The animals represented on the statues must be replaced into their context: Ancient Greeks had a perception of animals differing from modern sensibilities, which is why this contextual study is necessary.

The perception of animals has evolved and transformed through the centuries, and today's notions can't be projected to another time and culture – there is room for more research on animal studies in the ancient world, despite a renewed scholarly interest in the question.[14] Here is a brief overview of themes which will be further detailed in the following chapters, and crucial to the understanding of the choice of animals represented in large free-standing votive statues.

1. Wild Greek fauna

Greece's climate, not very different in antiquity from today's, was favorable to the development of a rich flora and fauna, providing the ancient populations with abundant game and fish.[15]

Wild carnivores[16], especially bears and wolves, inhabited the mountainous areas, where lions and panthers, endemic to the land since prehistory, also dwelled, but became rarer during the Bronze Age and went almost extinct by the end of the Archaic period. Lynxes, foxes and jackals certainly came closer to human settlements, often unnoticed, in search for food waste. Wild boars, roe deer, wild goats, wild bulls and hares were choice game. Many other mammals[17] were native to Greece and present in the landscape even if they weren't hunted: many rodents, such as squirrels, rats, mice, dormice,

[14] *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, 2014, regroups articles from eminent scholars on the subject

[15] Lonsdale, 1979, p. 146

[16] Yannouli, 2003, p. 185-192

[17] Wilson and Reeder, 2005, searchable online, provides information on endemic Greek species in multiple entries

hedgehogs, small porcupines, shrews, moles, weasels, ferrets, badgers and bats.

Reptiles were also well represented and known to human populations, with several snake species, lizards, turtles and tortoises.

Many kinds of birds flew in the wild and around human settlements: owls, ducks, geese, pigeons, turtledoves, herons, swallows, sparrows, nightingales, partridges, pheasants, swans, storks… and the list goes on[18]; some of these birds were game, some others were known for their songs, or had a symbolic value. Frogs and toads were found in the wild but also enjoyed human cisterns.[19] Insects, such as flies, crickets, bees, wasps, ants and many others, were all part of the natural fauna but also found in in human settlements; the indigenous populations of Greece had learnt to extract honey very early on.

The marine fauna was also fascinating and sometimes mysterious for a civilization surrounded by waters – a people of sailors, but also one superstitious and afraid of the sea. Dolphins were often represented in Greek art; sea mammalians such as seals and wales were also known, and sea creatures such as urchins, seahorses, starfish and anemone inspired decorative marine paintings; and the many fish and seafood of the Mediterranean, such as tunas, dorados, rays, catfish, sardines, mackerels, soles, groupers, cod, cuttlefish and octopi were caught and eaten. Seashells were also consumed and used as decorations.

2. Domestic animals

Cattle and domesticated equids – the foreign horse, the native donkey and their sterile offspring, the mule, helped the farmers with their daily chores thanks to their drawing power. Cattle, along with sheep and goats, were also domesticated for their meat, milk and hides, and pigs for their fatty meat. Smaller animals, such as chicken, fowls, doves and rabbits were kept for easier and cheaper meat supplies; poultry were also kept for their eggs. All these domestic animals provided the necessary manure for cultivated fields.

Animals were also domesticated for other purposes than farm work and food: some were pets, solely kept for their master's pleasures, and others held various functions. Horses, famously bred in Thessaly and Laconia, were an instrument of victory in the context of games and a rich warrior's transport, but also companions. Dogs were used as shepherds, house guardians, hunting companions, but also kept as household pets, and bred differently depending

[18] Aristophanes parodies the long list of existing bird names with a plethora of invented names: *Birds*, 329 sq.

[19] Aristophanes's cacophonic chorus of the *Frogs* of the Styx reproduces a sound well known to the spectator's ears. To this day, the cistern frogs are the loudest dwellers of the quiet island of Delos.

on their intended function. Cats were a late import from Egypt and were very rare in Ancient Greece, but ferrets were kept as pets since the Mycenaean times. Snakes were also kept as pets since prehistory and fed milk and eggs outside the household: they might have had symbolical apotropaic functions and a real defense against mice and other pests menacing food storages. Doves and small birds could be kept for company, and tortoises were an inoffensive play-animal for children.

The line between pets, companions, and work animals could be blurred, and inhabitants of urban areas would be in daily contact with various animals: draft oxen helping with the transport material for construction, donkeys and mules carrying sacks of grain, vagrant and pet dogs, poultry and rabbits in the backyard, small birds in cages, a tame ferret, a tortoise venturing into the streets. Even though some houses had two or three stories, the landscape surrounding the cities was apparent, and urban dwellers could easily get a glimpse of the mountains, sea and forests around them. The natural flora around the towns meant that it was certainly common to fall asleep to the sound of cicadas and the cries of the various birds were easily heard. Many wild birds and mammals could venture close to human settlements to try and profit from man's food stocks and waste – and could be spied on in the process.

Because of this proximity between men and their surroundings, animals had an integral part in ancient society's daily life and habits, and, together with the flora, fauna was a major theme in the decorative repertoire of artists since the Bronze Age. Octopi are a favorite of the Minoan artists; wild goats and birds occupy the figurative fields between geometric motives in Geometric paintings, and when men start becoming the center of artistic representations in the Archaic period they are often accompanied by domestic animals, such as horses, or fighting wild beasts, such as boars or lions, and this will remain valid during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, when it will also be common to represent processions leading cattle, sheep, goats or pigs to sacrifice.

All these ideas will be further explored and detailed in the contextual study chapters organized by category of animals.

3. Animals in sanctuaries: live and figurative presence

Sacrifices have been the subject of many studies and are the best-known aspect of the place of animals in the Greek religious context. Animals were, however, present in several other ways: sanctuaries could include sacred woods, or have a farm officially belonging to the deity attached to them; they could also host animals sacred to the god or goddess they honored: live animals were, therefore, not an uncommon sight within a sanctuary.

The physical presence of live animals in spaces sacred to specific deities, and the choice of specific animals as sacrificial victims must be considered and put

in relation with the known connection between the gods and animals, as presented in literary sources and in animal depictions within sanctuaries to better understand the place of animals in Greek religion. The choice of animals represented in the various forms of art at sanctuaries, both as part of the sacred architecture, as companions of the god or goddess in their cult statues or throne ornaments, on paintings, votive reliefs, small offerings and sculptural groups must be questioned.

a. Live animals in sanctuaries: herds as income for the gods, animals under divine protection and prohibitions

Thanks to the epigraphical material, gathered by Chandezon in a wide study on herding[20], we know that sanctuaries often kept sacred herds as a source of income and profited from the sale of their produce: cheese, milk, eggs, and meat in the form of sacrificial victims for the pilgrims to buy and offer. On Delos and Rhenea, for instance, 12 out of 15 domains belonging to the sanctuary and inventoried in 250 BC had cow shelters (βουστάσεις, βοῶνες) and 11 had sheep or goat shelter (προβατῶνες).[21] The epigraphical material only indicates the presence of sacred herds and flocks at five sanctuaries[22], but it can be assumed that smaller religious centers had lesser herds, but some animals generating revenue nonetheless. When animals were kept as a source of income, animal husbandry at farms attached to the sanctuary was not very different from the culture of cereals fields belonging to the gods[23], and the money received in the process was not registered as gain for the priests, but also belonged to the deity who owned the place. The documents from Delos even suggest mixed-farming, combining the raising of livestock and culture at the same domains.[24] Grazing animals not belonging to the sanctuary had to be kept away from the sacred land, and decrees were made to that purpose[25] – exceptions could apply, when, for instance, animals were brought from outside in order to be sacrificed, they could be left to graze on the lands of the sanctuary;[26] violators of these sacred

[20] Chandezon, 2003, brings together epigraphical sources on herding in Greece from the end of the 5th century to the end of the 1st century provide a valuable corpus of information on the animal herds raised at sanctuaries and the income they generated.
[21] Chandezon, 2003, p. 278
[22] Tegea, Delphi, Morrylos, Delos and Ilion: Chandezon, 2003, p. 286
[23] For instance, Apollo receives an income of 440 drachmas from the produce of one of one large domain he owned on Delos. Chandezon, 2003, p. 275, no. 16; *IG*, XI 2, 142, 1, 7 and 11.
[24] Chandezon, 2003, p. 280; Isager and Skydsgaard, 1992, p. 196-198
[25] Chandezon, 2003, p. 295
[26] It was the case on a field pertaining to the sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea, Chandezon, 2003, p. 297

laws could incur fines, or even confiscation of their animals.[27] Keeping large pieces of sacred land around sanctuaries could probably help fighting off concurrence from independent farmers selling their animals at a cheaper price than the amount set by the clergy the sanctuaries' own animals.

Sacred mares at Ilion[28] are also included in the registers and these animals were probably not destined to be sacrificed, but the sign that live animals kept on the deity's property could participate in the income of the sacred farms without necessarily entailing the use of the animals as sacrificial victims. Pigs are never included in the records of sacred animals.

Even though the keeping of herds is connected to the economy of the sanctuary, mythology presents gods who show partiality and emotions for the ownership of herds – Hermes is moved to steal Apollo's cows and eat one of them, and Apollo is depicted as maddened and grieved at that loss: the flocks generating income for the sanctuaries might therefore have combined financial practicalities and religious endeavor by registering to the god's name flocks and herds of sacred animals (ἱερά)[29] not only for their produce, but also for the pleasure of the god.

Live animals sacred to a deity could also be kept at sanctuaries for purely religious reasons. The sacred doves kept at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias fall in this category[30]: the goddess' birds were respected and no harm should come to them. Dogs were sacred to Asklepios at Epidaurus[31], sacred snakes were also kept both at Epidaurus[32] and, on Athenian Acropolis, the sacred snake (*οἰκουρός ὄφις*) of Athena Polias was fed cakes by her priestess.[33]

Animals living in sacred woods[34] were probably also sacred to the divine masters of the area and were not to be hunted: mythological punishments menace those who consider killing sacred beasts, such as Artemis' bear.

Animals could also be prohibited from entering some sacred spaces: these interdictions and could be limited in time (for instance, at the temple of Apollo

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[27] Chandezon, 2003, p. 298 for fines and p. 299 on confiscation, the punitive measure adopted in Delphi, where the plain of Kirrha belonged to Apollo and could only serve as pasturage for sacred animals.

[28] Chandezon, 2003, p. 293

[29] For instance, the *ἱερά πρόβατα* at Tegea, Chanderzon, 2003, no. 6, 1.15, p. 287

[30] Brody, 2001, p. 99

[31] Simoons, 1994, p. 236

[32] Pausanias, 2, 28, 1

[33] Herodotus, 8, 41; Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 10

[34] Sacred woods could be part of a *temenos* and protected by sacred laws, like woods of Apollo Koropaios, Sokolowski, LSCG, 84, l. 4-14 and the woods of Hera at Samos, Sokolowski, *LSCG Supp*., 81, l. 2-9; on the marker of sacred territory, see "Horoi, boundary stones as markers of a sacred territory", Horster, 2010, p. 440

Koropaios[35], it was forbidden to station animals within the sanctuary only while the oracle was working, and only for non-locals).

Interdiction to enter a sanctuary imposed for religious reasons to specific categories of animals appear to be rarer: while flocks were warded off sanctuary for practical and financial reasons, certain categories of animals could be banned from entering the sacred space for religious reasons in sanctuary-specific rules. Purity rules could vary depending on the deity and the place of worship. They might be rare and only one occurrence was found in epigraphy: at Ialysos, for instance, it was forbidden to enter the sanctuary with equids, or with shoes made of swine leather[36] – which leads one to think that pigs were not welcome either. The other known interdictions related to purity issues were found in literature: Plutarch reports that dogs were forbidden on the Acropolis of Athens.[37]

Overall, while the presence of live animals is richly attested, their prohibition is rare. The sanctity of the temple needed to be respected and kept clean from dejections, as well as the sacred springs and basins – for instance, except in the context of sacrifice, *perrirhanteria* shouldn't be approached by animals as they were not allowed to drink from them. However, despite animal presence and movement was being controlled and limited, sanctuaries can't be imagined as the aseptic and silent places that modern religious cultic places tend to be. Ancient Greek sanctuaries were surrounded by nature, and animals found a place in them: pilgrims could come to temples riding their horse or their donkey, sometimes bringing themselves victims to sacrifice, other times buying animals on the spot; birds chirping could certainly be seen and heard at most open-air sanctuaries; and the animals of predilection of the Greek deities were welcome and sacred in their space of worship in function on their individual divine preferences.

b. Sacrifices and meat consumption

Sacrifices were the most common type of offerings. They are also tightly linked with meat consumption in the ancient world: most of the meat consumed was derived from animal sacrifices[38]. The *thysia*, in the context of

[35] Chandezon, 2003, no. 19, l. 79; p. 299
[36] Chandezon, 2003, p. 299
[37] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 379D. Outside of Greece, Strabo that swine were forbidden to enter the sanctuary of the goddess Ma at Comana in Pontus or even the town next to it. Strabo, 12, 8, 9
[38] Jameson, 1988, p. 87; not all the meat, however, as some modern scholars have pointed out: Ekroth, 2007, observes that not all meat can be called sacrificial, and

which the meat was shared, was the more common mode of sacrifice[39]. Participating in sacrifices was a right and a duty[40] that came with citizenship: sharing these communal meals was one of the most important factors of social cohesion in ancient Greek life. Jameson[41], in his very thorough article on animal husbandry in relation to sacrifice, shows how the statistics of sacrifice reflect the reality of animal husbandry: most of the domestic mammals were females and castrated males; males were often sacrificed and consumed very young and uncastrated males were rare. In her gender study[42] based on the four best preserved sacrificial calendars from Attica from around 450 to 350 BC, from the demes of Thorikos[43], Marathon[44] and Erchia[45] and the *genos* of the Salaminioi[46], Ekroth finds that out of 172 animals mentioned, only 4% are uncastrated male victims. Pregnant females[47] were also less commonly sacrificed as their loss negatively affects the growth of the herd. The sacrificial calendars[48] also show that the victims sacrificed often correspond to the seasonal supply[49] and geographical factors[50] at stake. Rosivach[51], based on his epigraphical analysis, estimates that the typical Athenian had the opportunity to partake in a sacrifice (and eat meat) "in the range of forty to forty-five different occasions every year, or, on an average, once every eight or nine day". Mikalson[52] shows how the deme of Erchia is a good example of a mid-size deme in Attica; he estimates its population between 2000 and 3000 residents. Their calendar shows that during their annual 25 days of sacrifice, they sacrificed 59 animals, of which 31 were sheep, 11 goats and 10 pigs. No cows, well above the budget of a smaller community – Mikalson converts the ancient price of a cow into 4000 to 9000 USD to help us put ancient prices in drachmas into a more accessible

Naiden, 2013, agrees with her, as the meat of the sacrifice often couldn't suffice to feed all citizens in large cities.

[39] Jameson, 1988, p. 88

[40] Burkert, 2003, p. 55-59; Ekroth, 2007, p. 251; Whitehead, 1986, p. 205-208

[41] Jameson, 1988

[42] Ekroth, 2014, p. 155

[43] SEG 33, 147

[44] Sokolowski, *LS* 20

[45] Sokolowski, *LS* 18

[46] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19

[47] Ekroth, 2014;

[48] SEG 33; Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10; *LS* 18; *LS* 20; *LSS* 19; Ekroth, 2002; Ekroth, 2014; Van Straten, 1995

[49] Jameson, 1988, p. 106

[50] Jameson, 1988, p. 95

[51] Rosivach, 1994, p. 66

[52] Mikalson, 2005, p. 138 in the chapter on "Religion in the Greek Family and Village"

perspective[53]. Ekroth[54], in her study on meat in Ancient Greece, however, considers the possibility of butchers having slaughtered animals themselves – although that would not have been the case within our time frame but in later periods, when Christianity began to surface and pagan traditions started to disappear.

Other rarer types of sacrifices did not involve meat consumption: *sphagia*, sacrifices involving the killing of a victim but not the sharing of its meat were reserved to the chthonian deities, or to celebrate the dead. The victim could be buried or left to rot in a votive pit until retrieval, as was the case with piglets at the Eleusinian Thesmophoria, in honor of Demeter. A complete combustion – a holocaust, was sometimes prescribed. Other rare sacrifices required the drowning of the victim: the Argive drowned horses for Poseidon. Other types of sacrifices yet belonged to the sphere of popular magic and witchcraft, and are very little known, except from some osteological evidence, like grilled snake portions in a well just outside of a sanctuary in Poros. Sacrifices ranged wildly in price and number of attendants: with hecatombs at the upper end of the spectrum to modest family-sized poultry sacrifices at the other end.

Each category and sub-category of animal (gender, color, age, etc.) was better suited for specific types of sacrifices and receiving deities: these specificities will be detailed in subsequent chapters, organized per animal category.

c. Animal representations in sanctuaries and connections with deities

Animals were an important artistic theme at Greek sanctuaries: they were represented in small votive offerings, but also in architectural sculpture, furniture, as attributes to the gods in their cult statues.

In Archaic pediments, lions and panthers are given a place of honor, often felling weaker animals, such as bull calves. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, animals become part of programs putting men at the center: riding warriors, sacrificial processions with cattle, sheep, goats and swine victims or Herakles and other heroes fight mythologically renowned animals, such as the lion of Nemea, the bull of Marathon, or flesh-eating mares and birds, for instance. Boars and lions were represented as formidable adversaries to human warriors, emphasizing the heroic prowess of the fighting men, especially in Hellenistic friezes, where fighting wild beasts is a major theme. Ferocious lion heads are also a common shape for water spouts since the Archaic period and

[53] Mikalson, 2005, uses an interesting comparison between the ancient drachma and the modern dollar, to help the reader realize the amounts at stake: He equals the 547 drachmas spent on sacrifices in a year to a budget of 54 700 USD, while he reminds us a cow would cost the equivalent of 4000 to 9000 USD.

[54] Ekroth, 2007, p. 254-255

are found at several important sanctuaries, such as Delphi, Olympia, Delos and Samos. Furniture, both sculptural and wooden, was often decorated with animal motives – particularly lion paws for the feet of chairs, tables and couches. Archaic *perirrhanteria*, where the purifying water was kept, were often decorated with maiden standing, and holding lions in a leash or by their tails.

Since Bronze Age Greece, inexpensive animal statuettes and figurines, especially cattle, sheep, goats, birds and horses, less commonly pigs, tortoises and other animals were the most common offering at sanctuaries: their numbers decrease after the end of the Geometric period, but they remain a very common offering through all the periods of antiquity; larger bronze statuettes are sometimes offered in Archaic Greece, followed with a few sophisticated lost-wax bronze cast statuettes, especially of cattle and horses, in Classical times.

Animals are also present in the paintings of ceramic tableware offered at sanctuaries: birds and goats appear as important decorative motives in the Geometric period, and, when humans start being pictured too, they are often accompanied with horses. In the Archaic period, heroes are fighting wild beasts, and, when mythological and sacrificial scenes become popular in Classical Greece, animals have a large part in representations as they do in the Greek imagery found in literature. They also have an important and symbolic place in seals, since the Mycenaean period, and animal motives decorate many other small offerings: animal heads and paws decorate the handle of bronze vessels, spoons deposited as offerings to goddesses have the shape of birds, some vases are animal shaped, and animals appear on the figurative field of various types of offerings.

Cult statues often included animals as most gods and goddesses had one or several animal attributes. Many known examples include snakes on statues of Asklepios, and a dog laid at his feet on his cult statue at Epidauros. A snake also accompanied the statue of Athena Polias, who held an owl in her right hand. Aphrodite Ourania is representing stepping on a tortoise. Eagles are often represented on Zeus' scepter or throne. There were geese on a Delian throne, probably for Leto. Cybele is characterized by two lions flanking her throne – or one lion on her lap. Hermes could be represented as a *kriophoros*. Artemis was often represented with her dog or with a deer. Dolphins were represented as companions of Poseidon and Amphitrite or ridden by Palemon or Eros. Dionysos was accompanied by his panther and Pan by a goat.

Statuettes and vase paintings also show intricate connections between gods and animals than the less flexible connections that can be found in cult statues. Artemis, the main Greek heiress of the *Potnia Theron*, is often represented with various animals. At Brauron, for instance, statuettes of

Artemis represent the goddess with several animals: guarded by lions, riding a bull, holding a deer. The connections shown by the offerings between several goddesses and animals reveal inherited aspects of the older mistress in different feminine deities such as Hera, Aphrodite and Leto. In Syria, the Great Goddess equivalent of the *Potnia Theron* evolved into the great Syrian goddess, Atargatis, a mistress of lions, honored in Hellenistic Greece as Hagne or *Syria Thea* and assimilated with Aphrodite.

Unlike Egyptian gods, Greek deities are exclusively anthropomorphic; however, the possibility of an influence of foreign or locally predating theramorphic deities can't be excluded. Indeed, the frequent metamorphoses of Greek gods and goddesses into animals establish animal shapes as a valid manifestation of deities. For instance, Zeus and Poseidon often turn into bulls, and Zeus took many more animal shapes to fulfill his gallant undertakings; both Poseidon and Demeter turned into horses, and Kronos was fooled when Rhea presented him a foal to swallow instead of Zeus. These transformations might be a legacy from earlier beliefs. The exact type of connections between animals and gods therefore needs to be analyzed to better understand the significance of animal *anathemata* depending on the choice of animal represented in the statues.

Cattle

I. Cattle in Ancient Greece

1. General context - Morphology

Domesticated cattle (*bos taurus*) is attested in Neolithic Greece as early as 8500 BC in Argissa Magoula in Thessaly[1]. Even though a Neolithic auroch (*bos primigenius*)[2], ancestor of domestic cattle, could reach 1.55 m in height, a domesticated male adult of the Bronze Age would rarely exceed 1.23 m.[3] The Sphakia type of cattle, an indigenous breed still surviving in modern Greece, stands between 1.10 and 1.25 m at the shoulder.[4] Ruminants graze at night: keeping them in closed pen and only have them graze freely when herded out is probably the reason why domestic animals in antiquity were smaller than their wild ancestors. In the smaller modern breeds of cattle, weaning occurs when the calves are between eight to eleven months; young bulls can be fertile as young as seven months old even though they only reach their full adult size when they are about three years-of-age. Sphakia cattle can reach an adult weight of up to 300 kg for males and 250 kg for females[5] while newborns weigh about 25 kg.

The bison (*bison bonassus*), or Paeonian bull[6] still exists in Antiquity and is believed to come from the district of Bistonis[7] in Thrace or from Paeonia, a region that stretches north and east beyond Greece[8], hence its name. Pausanias[9] claims to have seen the beasts and describes them as shaggy all over, especially about the chest and lower jaw. It should not be confused with the now extinct species of wild bulls (bos urus): Pliny[10] distinguishes the two species.

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[1] Reed, 2009, p. 372
[2] McCarter, 2007, p. 71
[3] McInerney, 2010, p. 22
[4] McInerney, 2010, p. 48
[5] McInerney, 2010, p. 48
[6] Pausanias, 10, 13, 1
[7] Oppian, *Cyn*egetica,II, 159-175
[8] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II, 96 and Herodotus, V, 1, 1 for the location of Paeonia
[9] Pausanias, 9, 21, 2
[10] Pliny, *Natural History*, 8, 38

Ancient references to wild bulls most probably refer to the *bos primigenius*, and maybe also to the now extinct *bos urus* – although Caesar[11] is the first to mention the species now extinct and ancient Greek sources up the Hellenistic period don't point at differences between wild bulls found in Greece, the bison being the only exception. It is also possible that some bulls belonging the domesticated species *bos taurus* but returned to wilderness would have been considered wild animals.

In consequence, there were no major morphological differences between domesticated cattle and wild bulls: the wild individual of the species *bos primigenius* only stood bigger, and zoo-archaeologists differentiate the species based on bone size[12].

2. Wild bull hunt

Hunting wild bulls has its place in Greek imagery since mythological times with events such as Herakles' seventh labor: the capturing of the Cretan Bull, the same bull that Pasiphae had fallen in love with (see the part on mythology later in this chapter). After the hero managed to capture the bull bare-handed with Minos' permission[13] and to bring it back alive to Tiryns, Eurystheus wants to sacrifice the bull to Hera, who refuses the sacrifice as it would reflect on Herakles' glory. The same bull, set free after Hera's refusal of the sacrifice, then wanders into Marathon and becomes known as the Marathonian Bull[14]. Before setting sail towards Crete, Theseus went against that same bull, which was causing damage to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis[15] (Marathon). Like Herakles, Theseus captures the bull alive; he then drags it to Athens for everyone to see and there, he sacrifices the beast to the Delphinian Apollo[16]. It is interesting to note that in these two mythological captures of the same highly valuable bull, the prey was destined to be sacrificed and was captured alive; beasts killed in the hunt could have their spoils offered to a god but weren't fit for sacrifice. As we will see later in this chapter, the act of sacrifice required a ritual killing involving the victim's consent, while hunting, on the other hand, was the revealer of a warrior or a hero's strength against a beast unwilling to be captured or killed.

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[11] Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*, VI, C, 5
[12] Glotz, 1996, p. 166
[13] Pseudo Apollodorus, II, 5, 7
[14] Pseudo Apollodorus, II, 5, 7
[15] Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 14
[16] Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 14

Pausanias describes in great detail[17] the techniques used in the hunt of the Paeonian bull, or bison, when mentioning the offering of a bronze head of one of these beasts at Delphi, dedicated by the Paeonian king Dropion, son of Leon. Even though the bison wasn't the same animal as the domesticated cattle, it is interesting that the offering of a bronze head was made at Delphi of an animal that was hunted rather than sacrificed.

In Hellenistic Greece, King Philip of Macedon was believed to have slain a wild bull at Arbela, whose horns and skin he consecrated to Herakles[18]. This anecdote tells us that hunting down a wild bull was a feat fit for a king and the trophies of such a hunt a suitable offering for a god who incarnate sheer masculine strength. Hunt remains a theme of bravery in later Mediterranean iconography: a very well preserved mosaic[19] in the House of Dionysus at Paphos, in Roman 3rd century AD Roman Cyprus, shows a bull fight along with other hunting scenes including lion hunt.

3. Farming

Cattle was a luxury in the ancient Greek world[20]. If modest families or villages could own pigs, sheep and goats quite easily, herds of cows were rarer.

As for the other domestic animals, when herding cattle, fewer males than females are needed and most of the males are killed before becoming mature or castrated[21] in order to have tamer animals and fattier meat, which was often preferred in antiquity[22]. The uncastrated bull's only function in a herd was reproduction. The main reason to castrate oxen was their use in farming: while the heifers would be useful for their childbearing and, maybe and to a much lesser extent[23], for their milk, oxen were stronger yet docile and of much use in farms for ploughing[24] and pulling carriages with heavy loads to transport raw material for constructions for instance. Galen, all in favor of castration, also reports that the meat of bulls is unwholesome and bitter[25].

Ekroth[26], in her recent study on castration in cults and agriculture, has made

[17] Pausanias, 10, 13, 1-3
[18] *Greek Anthology,* 6, 114-116
[19] Michaelides, 1992, p. 34
[20] Ekroth, 2007; Jameson, 1988
[21] Ekroth, 2014, p. 153; Taylor 2002, p. 166-169
[22] Ekroth, 2014, p. 153; Warris, 2010, p. 91-93
[23] Chanderzon, 2003, p. 19
[24] Galen, 3, 6
[25] Gallen, 3, 1
[26] Ekroth, 2014

a summarized analysis of the generic terms used in inscriptions and ancient literature for cattle:

"*βοῦς*, which can be masculine or feminine. A *bous* can be specified as *ἄρσην* or *ἄρρην*, male, and these terms presumably refer to an ox rather than a bull because there is the term *ταῦρος*, which indisputably refers to a full male, though in Homer there is even a *ταῦρος βοῦς*. A term like *θῆλυς*, female, identifies the *bous* as a cow, so does *δάμαλις*, while a *βοῦς κυοῦσα* is a pregnant heifer. Calves, *μόσχοι*, are occasionally mentioned."[27]

Castration methods have been described in ancient sources and two methods appear to have been in use: the lower part of the scrotum could cut away, the testicles squeezed out, and then the roots of the scrotum pushed as far as possible into the body[28]; the other method consisted in crushing the testes of young calves, thus not creating an open wound[29]. In either case, the esthetical result was very little or no scrotum visible between the legs. Because the difference between a bull and an ox was easily visible, and the presence or absence of the scrotum on animal statues tells us which of the two the artist depicted, unless the sculptor purposefully chose not to reveal the genitals of its subject.

4. Sacrifice and meat consumption

a. Proportion of cattle sacrificed in comparison to other domesticated mammals, gender and age of the victims

Bovine sacrifice is probably the oldest form of Greek animal sacrifice: after all, it was an ox that Prometheus[30] used for the first sacrifice, when he tricked the gods into accepting the inedible parts of the animal while saving the best of the meat for the men.

After the Dark Ages[31], however, cattle became the rarest offering in Greece. Throughout Greek antiquity, a bull, an ox or a heifer was too expensive to be expected as a sacrifice from a single person: the most common offering from lower classes was usually a rooster[32]. Only 15% of the identified bones of

[27] Ekroth, 2014, p. 155
[28] Ekroth, 2014, p. 154; Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 632a; Columella, *Res Rustica*, 6.26.2; 7.11,1
[29] Ekroth, 2014, p. 154; Columella, *Res Rustica*, 6.26.1
[30] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 555-557
[31] Jameson, 1988, p. 94
[32] Herodas, 4, 15

sacrificed mammals dating to the Classical Period came from cattle[33]. The sacrifice of cattle, the noblest group of sacrificial animals[34], was an important one, and a suitable offering from larger groups of people.

In Van Straten's[35] statistics on sacrificed animals based on 5 sacrificial calendars dating from the 5th and 4th centuries BC: the sacrificial calendar of the deme of Thorikos[36] (ca. 440-420 BC), the fragmentary Athenian law code associated with Nikomachos[37] (ca. 403-339 BC), the cultural calendar of the deme Erchia[38] (1st half of 4th century BC), the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis[39] (4th century BC) and the sacrificial calendar of the *genos* of the Salaminioi[40] (363 BC), recording more than 200 occasions of animal sacrifices (each occasion including one or multiple victims), shows that bovine sacrifices represented only 3.5% of these sacrifices (or 7.4% if multiple sacrifices on the same occasion are taken into account).

Ekroth, in a study[41] of the same documents minus the Athenian law code, notes that these inscriptions reflect sacrifices at the level of demes or *genoi*, and not at state levels, which can explain the scarcity of cattle sacrifices as these were the most expensive victims and were rarely offered in contexts other than state sacrifices[42]. Her study also shows how rare the bulls were: out of 7 cattle offerings, only one is of a bull (uncastrated male); the offering of a pregnant heifer also stands out as one a different status than the rest. Other of Ekroth's figures, based on the bulk of surviving inscriptions from Greece and Asia Minor[43], show only 5 bulls for 429 inscriptions, underlining even further the rarity of uncastrated male cattle sacrifice; and we have a total of 20 bull sacrifices mentioned in epigraphy if we add the previous numbers the remaining inscription of the PHI database[44].

It is also interesting to note that in the four sacrificial lists under study in

[33] Van Straten, 1995, p. 55; Schmaltz, 1980
[34] Burkert, 2003, p. 56
[35] Van Straten, 1995, p. 171-173
[36] SEG 33, 1983
[37] Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10
[38] Sokolowski, *LS* 18
[39] Sokolowski, *LS* 20
[40] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19
[41] Ekroth, 2014, p. 155
[42] Ekroth, 2014, p. 155
[43] Ekroth, 2014, p. 156, bases her statistics on the 429 inscriptions mentioning sacrificial victims in all three of Sokolowski's volumes (*LS, LSS, LSA*) and Lupu's *Greek sacred law*
[44] PHI epigraphy database online, http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions; Ekroth, 2014, p. 156

Hiera Kala[45], multiple sacrifices occur in a significant amount (52.7 % of occurrences) only for the cattle: only singular pig sacrifices are listed, and a 2.4 % of the sheep sacrifice are multiple[46].

All these statistics based on inscriptions thus clearly show that cattle were the least sacrificed animals at the sub-polis level, and bulls were the rarest of the cattle offerings, while, most of the times, no distinction was made as to the sex of the animal when a castrated male or a female was sacrificed.

The figures drawn from the sacrificial calendars reflect on the religious practices of small to medium sized communities as all sacrificial calendars refer to communal sacrifices made by a polis, a group of demes, a single deme or a *genos*[47]. Therefore, they do not contain the large numbers of cattle heads sacrificed at state level: other inscriptions are an indication of the size of the lavish hecatombs organized with the help of the whole state. For instance, account records made by the treasurers of Athena[48] report that 5114 drachmas were made available for the hecatomb at the Greater Panathenaia in 410-409 BC; and on top of this, each of Athens' colonies and the member states of the Delian leagues would also contribute to one cow to the Greater Panathenaia[49]. An amount of 4100 drachmas was made available for the hecatomb of the Lesser Panathenaia that occurred sometime between 335 and 329 BC[50]; and we know from the regulations of the Lesser Panathenaia that the animals sacrificed to Athena had to be specifically female[51].

The amounts of money indicated the *Dermatikon* accounts[52], to which we will come back when considering the value of the animals sacrificed, imply the sacrifice of large numbers of animals, almost certainly oxen on most occasions, by the Athenian *polis*. These events included several *epithetoi heortai*, where meat was distributed to Athenian citizens at large[53], which Rosivach interprets as newer kinds of festivals in the 4th century; he contrasts these to the older sacrifices, *patroioi thysiai*, mentioned in the Athenian law code of

[45] Van Straten, 1995, p. 171-173
[46] Calculations based on Van Straten's figures: Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[47] Van Straten, 1995, p. 178
[48] IG I³ 375, 7-8;
[49] Van Straten, 1995, p. 178; Meiggs, 1972, p. 292; IG I³ 34; IG I³ 46; IG I³ 73
[50] Van Straten, 1995, p. 178; IG II² 334; Sokolowski, LS 33
[51] IG II² 334; Brulé, 2007, 231-254
[52] IG 2² 1496
[53] Rosivach, 1994, p. 55

Nikomachos[54]. On top of these, Aristotle[55] mentions six quadrennial festivals: the mission to Delos, the Brauronia, the Herakleia, the Eleusinia, the Panathenaia, and the Hephaistia, that have been added during the archonship of Cephisophon (in 329/8[56]). Aristotle also mentions in the same paragraph another mission to Delos, led every six years. Epigraphical evidence[57] shows that such a large number of oxen were purchased to be brought to Delos by the Athenians and sacrificed to the island (109 oxen in 375/4), that the Athenian government charged an export tax to the mission[58]. The Bauronia, Herakleia and Hephaistia do not appear on the *Dermatikon* account and there is no evidence[59] of large scale sacrifices for these occasions, but no reason why there wouldn't have been many victims on festivals that Aristotle places on the same level as the others, for which the accounts show many sacrificed heads of cattle.

b. Monetary value of live cattle and derivate products

Oxen were valuable enough to have been used as a currency before a coinage system was set in place: Pausanias refers to a time when trade was made with oxen, slaves and uncoined silver and gold[60]. In the same passage, he mentions the fact that the former house of the king Polydorus, in Lacedaemonia, was bought from his widow in oxen – he doesn't specify how many. Once coinage was in use, the price of oxen became measurable in money. The sacrificial calendars[61] don't only list the victims of the sacrifices but also their price, and are an excellent source of information regarding the economy of cattle as well as their social and political importance in the context of a sacrifice.

The price of a cow and the price of an ox appear to be equivalent; even the pregnant heifer costs the same as another adult castrated male or female: on the 4th century BC Marathon calendar[62], while the price of a pregnant ewe (16

[54] Sokolowski, LSS 9-10
[55] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 54, 7
[56] Rosivach, 1994, p. 60
[57] IG 2² 1635, 38
[58] Rosivach, 1994, p. 60, note 134
[59] Rosivach, 1994, p. 61; Rosivach considers all the festivals mentioned by Aristotle to be penteteric, but they were quadrennial as stated in Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 54, 7
[60] Pausanias, 3, 12, 3
[61] SEG 33; Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10; *LS* 18; *LS* 20; *LSS* 19
[62] Sokolowski, *LS* 20; Ekroth, 2002, table 27

drachmas) is 4 drachmas higher than the price of a sheep or ewe (11 drachmas), the sacrifices of a pregnant cow, of a cow or of an ox each cost 90 drachmas. On the same calendar, a piglet costs 3 drachmas and a pregnant pig 20 drachmas. This gives us a general idea of the proportional price of cattle compared to other domesticated mammals

Two more of the five calendars aforementioned include the value of cattle and prices varied between 40 and 90 drachmas for adult cattle[63]; the calendar of Thorikos[64], from 440-420 BC, shows sacrifices of oxen costing between 40 and 50 drachmas and the calendar of the Salaminioi[65] fixes the price of a bull at 70 drachmas.

Oxen offered as victory prizes at the Panathenaia[66] around 400-350 BC were listed at 100 drachmas each[67] and would certainly cost more than the average animal, while another inscription[68] records a purchase of 109 cattle victims at a date between 377 and 374 BC for an amount of 8419 drachmas: that is 77.24 drachmas per animal; on the same inscription, a little more than 125 drachmas was spent on gold leaf and salary for the gilder, most likely in order to gild the horns of the sacrificed animals[69].

As listed on the Athenian law code[70] from 403-399 BC, a calf was only worth 25 drachmas, which was still twice more expensive than the sheep from the same fragment.

The value of the hides should also be taken into consideration to understand the general cost of the animals: the *Dermatikon* Accounts[71] details the income issued of the sale of the hides of the victims from several major festivals[72]. From the amounts gained at each occasion, and what we know from the other calendars of the price of animals, Rosivach[73] estimates an ox hide to be worth between 4 and 10 drachma. As the accounts show, the sale of cattle hides generates a high income for the sanctuary at the occasion of major *polis* festivals where many victims are sacrificed.

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[63] Rosivach, 1994; Jameson, 1988; Ekroth, 2002
[64] SEG 33, 147
[65] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19
[66] Rosivach, 1994
[67] IG II² 2311, 71 ff; Van Straten, 1995, p. 177
[68] IG II² 1635, 33-37; Van Straten, 1995, p. 177
[69] Van Straten, 1995, p. 177
[70] Sokolowski, *LSS* 10
[71] IG 2² 1496
[72] IG 2² 1496, 68-151; Rosivach, 1994, studies in detail the part of the Dermatikon concerning the sale of the victim's hides: p. 48-67
[73] Rosivach, 1994, p. 63

c. Selective criteria and individual divine preferences: the repartition of the victims

The very first rule for picking proper sacrificial victims was that the animal has to be perfect. Of course, perfection was also a matter of judgement[74]: in his Athenian irony, Plato[75] accuses the Lacedaemonians, even though their wealth was comparable to that of the Athenians, to be as neglectful towards the gods as to offer victims that he qualifies of *ἀνάπηρα*. Working cattle[76] is excluded from sacrifice, unless there was a particular reason to it, but it is probable that even though not preferred, old, sick and weak animals were still sometimes sacrificed[77]. The color of the victim also played a part in the choice: generally, lighter colors were preferred[78] for the Olympian *thysia*, the most common form of sacrifice, and dark victims were reserved for chthonian sacrifices.

Bulls were most suitable offerings for **Zeus and Poseidon**[79]. We will see later in this chapter that very large numbers of clay and bronze figurines from the Late Geometric period from Olympia and Isthmia confirm the association between these gods and offerings of bulls.

Apollo's mythological love for cattle will be treated in the part on cattle in mythology further in this chapter. The sun god also appreciated this noble offering: as seen earlier in this section, Athenians would buy considerable numbers of oxen to transport and sacrifice on Delos, Apollo's island, every four years[80]. Cattle sacrifice was also common at Delphi, the site of Apollo's oracle.

Usually (and we will see that there were exceptions to this rule), goddesses seem to have preferred the sacrifice of female victims while gods preferred receiving male victims[81]. For instance, as we have mentioned previously, **Athena** preferred to receive only cows rather than oxen or bulls at her

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[74] Jameson, 1988, p. 87
[75] Plato, Alcibiades, II, 149a
[76] Aeolian, *Varia Historia*, 5, 14
[77] Jameson, 1988, p. 87
[78] Larson, 2007, p. 12
[79] Pausanias, 10, 9, 3 speaks of the bull sacrifice that was made to Poseidon following the Delphic oracle's recommendations in order to catch tunas that would previously escape their nets: it is from the tithe of this miraculous fishing that two bronze bulls were offered: one at Olympia and the other at Delphi, thus honoring all three gods, Poseidon, Zeus and Apollo.
[80] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 54, 7
[81] Rosivach, 1994, p. 15, note 20

Panathenaia[82].

Despite the normal attribution of female victims to female goddesses, the sacrifice of male oxen was also suitable for **Artemis**: when a father begs her to deliver his daughters from their madness and promises to offer her twenty unyoked brown oxen ("θύσω δέ τοι εἴκοσι βοῦς / ἄζυγας φοινικότριχας")[83], the goddess listened to his plight.

Hera might have benefitted from some of the small cattle offerings from Olympia at the side of her husband. The goddess has, indeed, a pre-Homeric association with the ox[84]. Before Zeus took interest in her, the girl was the priestess and key-keeper of Hera[85]. In Aeschylus' version[86] of the myth, it is she who changes the girl into a cow to avoid Zeus seducing her, but the god changes himself into a bull and impregnates her anyways. Priestesses of Hera were knows as "cows"[87]; her association with cows is emphasized in Homer with her epithet *βοῶπις* (see the section on mythology in this chapter). In his study on Hera, O'Brien[88] studies in detail the myths of the Argive Hekatombia, in which the goddess' bovine associations are clear. It was made of a set of rituals, later also called the Heraia[89], during the course of which the old year would end and the New Year start[90]. For the occasion, a hundred oxen (or cows)[91] were sacrificed to the goddess and this multiple sacrifice gave its name to the first month of the year.

Another mark of Hera's bovine associations is to be found in the legend of Argos, Hera's all-seeing herdsman and the eponym hero of the city where Hera had one of her main temples: the hero's main feat was the slaying of the bull that ravaged Arcadia and he then dressed in its skin.[92]

Pausanias[93] describes the Heraean games that were held at the stadium in the

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[82] IG II² 334 gives a record of the rules for the Lesser Panathenaia (400-350 BC); Brulé, 2007, 231-254

[83] Bacchilydes, *Ode 11*, 105

[84] O'Brien, 1993

[85] Aeschylus, *Supplicants*, 292

[86] Aeschylus, Supplicants, 291-235

[87] Cook, 1914, p. 441; O'Brien, 1993, p. 144

[88] O'Brien, 1993, p. 144

[89] Amandry, 1983, p. 627 writes that the festivals were called Hekatomboia from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC, the Heraia in the 2nd and 1st, and Aspis from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD

[90] Burkert, 1983, p. 162, n. 4

[91] Herodotus, 1.31.1-5, sets a story during the annual festival and proceeds to describe the ritual

[92] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2, 1, 2; Euripides, *Phoenicians*, 1116

[93] Pausanias, 5, 16, 1-4

sanctuary of Olympia every four years. The games organized by sixteen Elean women: young girls would race each other by age groups with their hair untied and dressed in short tunics; the winners won crowns of olives and a portion of the cows sacrificed to Hera. Détienne[94] considers that the right to the meat in this context is an extension of male values usually associated with speed. Indeed, sacrifices were most of the times a men's affair, but this occurrence also shows a display of female strength associated with a strong goddess and the sacrifice of a strong female animal.

Dionysos also has a strong association with bulls[95]; he is sometimes represented as a horned god[96] and literary mentions are made of bovine sacrifice[97] to the god, even though, as expected with this foreign god, these sacrifices take more esoteric forms than our classic sacrifice. In some versions[98] of his mythical birth, his mother, Semele, was a priestess of Zeus and was swimming in the Asopos to cleanse herself of the blood after she had sacrificed a bull to Zeus when the Olympian king first saw her and fell in love with his servant. In the context of Dionysian cults, the caring for a pregnant cow followed with the sacrifice of the newborn calf[99] can even refer to the sacrifice of the god himself as a child to recreate the eating of the young god by the titans before his resurrection[100]. He also received the sacrifice of a calf in hunting boots on the island of Tenedos[101].

As an agrarian goddess, the association of **Demeter** with bovines is very natural: ploughing oxen are part of her realm. The yearly summer festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione is described by Pausanias[102] as the successful sacrifices of four cows by four old women. Aelian[103] points out that the biggest animals of the herds were brought for the ritual of Demeter Chthonia and followed gently the priestess to the altar. Persephone and Hades could naturally be associated.

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[94] Vernant & Détienne, 1979: "Violentes "eugénies"", p. 189
[95] Kerényi, 1976
[96] Nonnos, 6, 165
[97] Pausanias, 8, 19, 2 mentions men carrying a bull to the sanctuary at a yearly winter festival to Dionysos at the Arcadian village of Kynaithai
[98] Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, 7, 110 - 8, 177
[99] Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 12, 34
[100] Détienne, *Dionysos mis à mort*, Paris, 1977
[101] Kerényi, 1976, p. 270
[102] Pausanias, 2, 35, 5-7
[103] Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 11, 4; Aelian quotes Aristoteles to reinforce his argument.

Heroes, often associated with strong bovines as were Herakles or Argos, would also appreciate the valuable offering of bulls or oxen. Ekroth's study[104] on sacrifices in hero-cults within our time frame shows a rather fair repartition of cattle sacrifices between gods and heroes in the sub-polis sacrificial calendars she studies. These proportions can also be understood through the importance of the hero figure at a local level for middle-sized communities when they could afford a large victim.

Insight from osteological analyses of bones found in sanctuaries:

Unfortunately, osteo-archaeology is still very lacking in researches on Ancient Greek sanctuaries and made more difficult as the largest sanctuaries have been excavated before the development of modern techniques for a scientific and systematic study of the bones found. The work that has been done on bones found in several sanctuaries can however shed some light as to the presence or absence of cattle bones and their proportions compared to other species in these sanctuaries.

Artemis: Bone analysis for remains found at the Artemision at Ephesos between the 7th and 4th century shows that 13.6 %[105] of the 59 identified individual victims were cattle, both male and female[106].

Even if most bones found at Olympia have been discarded in the course of older excavations, Heiden[107] gives us statistics on the bones found at the altar of Artemis at the South-East of the sanctuary of Olympia: out of the 1380 bones under study, 17,5% were identified as cattle (for 71,1% sheep or goat, 3,6% swine, 0,3% dog, and only 3 bones from wild hares).

Demeter: In the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos[108], while there are 16.7% of cattle victims found in the bones from the Late Geometric period, no or insignificant amounts of cattle bones were found for the period going from the late 5th century BC to the 2nd century AD.

On Xombourgo hill, on the island of Tinos, a significant number of cattle bones was found in the Hellenistic sanctuary of Demeter[109].

Heroes: An osteological study of finds from the Kabeiron[110] identifies an overall 15-20% of victims as cattle from Classical to Roman times but doesn't distinguish the sex of the animals.

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[104] Ekroth, 2002
[105] Jameson, 1988, p. 92 reports "cattle 8, sheep 6, goat 39, pig 6"
[106] Wolff, 1978
[107] Heiden, 2012, p. 146
[108] Jameson, 1988, p. 92; Jarman, 1973
[109] Personal communication from prof. Nota Kourou
[110] Boessneck, 1973; Jameson, 1988, p. 90

Absence of cattle bones: No cattle bones were found at the altar of Aphrodite Ourania[111], at the Agora of Athens, while the remains of at least 79 sheep/goats have been identified there.

More surprisingly, no cattle bones were found at the Temple of Apollo Halieis[112], in Argolid. In that temple, horns of at least 23 adult goats are present, as well as remains of at least 12 young sheep/goats and at least 49 piglets. These numbers show that the temple had been frequently used for sacrifices, and as we know from literary sources, Apollo does enjoy cattle. This calls for the consideration of the rarity of cattle in the region.

d. Apparatus

The animal chosen for sacrifice was adorned with crowns[113], entwined with ribbons, with its horns gilded[114]. The money invested in the gold[115] increased the pomp of an already rich sacrifice and this custom underlines the religious and social aspect of the custom of sacrifice: the decorum made it clear to the participant that the ceremony wasn't only about sharing the meat. The victim was preferably docile and willing to be sacrificed[116]. Before the sacrifice, the animal was sprinkled with water and expected to move its head in a movement considered as a nod of assent – "κατανεύειν"[117].

In a few vase paintings[118], a sacrificial bull was given water before a

[111] Jameson, 1988, p. 93; Reese, 1989

[112] Jameson, 1988, p. 93 personally got his information from John Watson who led the study

[113] Pausanias, 8, 7, 6, reports the oracle given to Philip at Delphi: "The bull is crowned; the consummation is at hand; the sacrifice is ready". The bull is here a metaphor for the king but the phrasing shows crowns as a common apparel for a bull about to be sacrificed.

[114] Burkert, 2003, p. 56; Van Straten, 1995, p. 177, n. 53

[115] IG² 1635, 35-37: the salary of the gilder is mentioned in the record of a purchase of 109 heads of cattle to the amount of 8419 drachmas – he receives 125 drachmas for the gold leaf and his craftsmanship, that is almost as much as the value of two cows.

[116] Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1292: the choros compares the knowing Cassandra still boldly marching to her sinister fate to an ox walking to the altar pushed by the gods – "πῶς θεηλάτου / βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς"; cf. Burkert, GRBS 7, 1966, p. 107, n. 43 for more extensive references on the victim's own initiative.

[117] Porphyry, *De Abstinentia ab Esu Animalium*, II, 9: the 3rd century AD philosopher, in his apology of vegetarianism, quotes an oracle rendered in Delphi in which it was stated that the offspring of prophets, that is to say the inspector of sacred rites, is not allowed to kill a sheep by force but with washed hands and that it is lawful to kill a sheep that dies voluntarily.

[118] For instance, a 3rd quarter of the 5th century BC stamnos showing a bull drinking from a basin in which a feminine figure that Van Straten interprets as Nike pours water

sacrifice[119], maybe as a way to have the animal bow its head[120], adding to its compliant attitude.

Bucrania[121], the skull and horns of the bovine sacrificed (or sometimes of other species), could be kept in the shrine to commemorate the sacrifice. They are seen as elements of architectural decoration of sanctuaries. They are represented on temple friezes[122] and even on statue bases[123] as well as a decoration hung high behind the officiant on vases[124] painted with scenes of sacrifice. In most of these instances, they are decorated with garlands: the skulls therefore unmistakably belong to sacrificed animals. Therefore, gilding the horns of a victim might not only have been a display of wealth for the sacrifice itself, but also an investment for the more durable *bucrania* made with the victims' skulls to remind any visitor of the grandeur of past sacrifices. It is also very possible that the flower garlands, made imperishable on relief or vase representations, were changed regularly or for special occasion on the *bucrania* made from actual skulls of animals that were hanging in the sanctuary.

e. Mode of consumption of the sacrificial meat and butcheries

As seen in our previous overview on the meat and sacrifice of domesticated animals, the *thysia* was the most common mode of sacrifice. When it comes to cattle, it seems to have been the only mode of sacrifice. Such expensive animals were normally not a choice for esoteric rites requiring the full destruction of the animal. The sacrificial calendars mention very few animals offered in *holocaust* (the complete burning of the animal with no meat consumption) and none of them were cattle. This makes complete sense considering the expense of cattle herding. When a head of cattle was offered, a consequent amount of money was spent, and, even though religious factors cannot be neglected, many of the attendants probably came in large part for eating the meat: it is common in ancient sources to describe a meal made of sacrificial victims without making

[Munich 2412], or a stamnos from the beginning of the 5th century BC depicting a bull drinking from a large basin while a young man holds its horn [Louvre C 10.754]

[119] Van Straten, 1995, p. 45 and associated figures for the related iconography

[120] Burkert, 2003, p. 56

[121] Naiden, 2013, p. 123

[122] In the Samothrace temple complex for instance

[123] The base of an archaic *kouros* from Delos, is decorated with ram skulls adorned with garlands

[124] Van Straten, 1995, figs. 27, 32, 34, 43, 117

any mention of the religious sacrifice itself[125].

When cattle were sacrificed, according to the rules of the *thysia*[126], mostly bones[127] and very few usable parts of the animal[128] were destroyed in the fire. The prime cuts were grilled, boiled, or both[129] and were then shared at the feast accompanying the sacrifice and butchers bought sacrificial meat that had remained unused to resell it in their shops[130]. The Erchia calendar[131] has several mentions of "*οὐ φορά*"[132], which probably was an indication that for the specified occasion, the meat should only be consumed within the sanctuary and not be taken away. This also means that meat was possibly taken away on other occasion.

In the sacrificial calendar of the *genos* of the Salaminioi[133], there is also mention of meat distributed raw, but only on certain conditions: indeed, there is a mention of a sacrifice for which the meat bought with public funds is cooked and consumed on the spot (mention is made of the purchase of burning wood for the cooking[134]) but in the case of another sacrifice, shares purchased with the funds of the *ôskophoroi* and *deipnophoroi*[135] was to be distributed raw.

It is also important to note that only the ones who fund a sacrifice or are invited to it can share its meat. For instance, the meat of the oxen bought by the Athenians and sacrificed on Delos (see above) was only shared with fellow Athenians also on Delos[136], and not with other pilgrims and locals. It was following the same idea that the members of the Delian League who came to the Panathenaia were required to bring their own ox to sacrifice[137]: the Athenians were not fond of the idea of sharing the food paid with their taxes with non-Athenians.

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[125] Rosivach, 1994, note 5; Plato, *Laws*, 782C; Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 2, 9; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1321a, 35-37
[126] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 535-612
[127] Ekroth, 2007, p. 250
[128] Jameson, 1988, p. 88
[129] Rosivach, 1994, p. 3; Ekroth, 2007, p. 251
[130] Jameson, 1988, p. 88; Rosivach, 1994, p. 87
[131] Sokolowski, *LS* 18
[132] Rosivach, 1994, p. 18
[133] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19
[134] Rosivach, 1994, p. 43-44
[135] Rosivach, 1994, p. 44
[136] IG 2^2 1635, 35-36; Rosivach, 1994, p. 60
[137] IG I^3 34, 41-42

Citizens were always invited to the events of their polis because they were part of the tax system: this ensured the redistribution on the goods unequally taken depending on the citizens' riches in equal parts of meat for all. In pre-democratic societies, a single wealthy figure would offer in sacrifice a cow or an ox and gain prestige from offering meat to his subordinates, but in the democracy, all citizens felt equal and the prestige went to the *polis* as a general entity rather than to the ones who had contributed more than the others through a higher taxation. Cattle had become too expensive for most citizen to have for themselves, but they could access its meat though the community, and these richer meals shared with co-citizens also helped weaving a convivial social structure.

II. Cattle in Ancient Greek literature and art

1. The importance of the bull and cattle herds in Ancient Greek mythology

Greek mythology often brings its mythical bulls from Crete, as we will see in this section. As we consider cattle in Ancient Greece, we can't forget the importance of the bull in Minoan Crete[138] and its heritage. A stroll through the museum of Heraklion shows the importance of the bull in Cretan religion[139]. Frescoes, ceramics and even an ivory figurine, all from Knossos and kept in Heraklion, shows us the importance of that ritual, which was also a display of grace and acrobatics. The horns of the Cretan bulls on these representations indicate that these animals were most probably aurochs (the *bos primogenus* mentioned in the introductory section on morphology of the present study) – that was also the wild bull hunted in the mythological memories of hunts[140].

a. Herds cherished by the gods

The high value and relative rarity of cattle in Ancient Greece also makes cattle herds a precious possession for the gods themselves. Helios had seven herds of fifty immortal heads of cattle, described in the *Odyssey* as *ἄριστος*, *εύρυμέτωπος* and *ὀρθόκραιρος*[141]; his animals were so precious that they are

[138] Hogan, 2007
[139] Marinatos, 1993
[140] See the capture of the Cretan Bull, later known as the Marathonian Bull, in the section on Hunt of this study
[141] Homer, *Odyssey*, XII, 262, 348 and 363

kept by the god's own daughter, and Helios was so upset when Odysseus' companions took them to their ship, sacrificed them and ate them, that he convinced Zeus to destroy their boat least he would go and shine in the Hades.[142]

This was not the sole episode during which the gods unleashed their anger over their beloved cattle. When Hermes steals fifty cows[143] from Apollo's herd and conceals them, Apollo soon understands that his mischievous half-brother is responsible and calls upon Zeus' justice. Hermes went unpunished managed to smooth Apollo's wrath by giving his new-made lyre to Apollo and he soon became the herdsman of the gods instead of Apollo. One of the reasons why Hermes was forgiven was that he offered two of the cows as a burnt sacrifice in twelve shares for the twelve gods[144], and even if one share was to himself, as he considered himself as the twelfth god, he refrained from eating any of it, even though he felt tempted[145].

In fact, Apollo enjoyed keeping cattle herds so much that he had even accepted to keep the cows of the mortal Laomedon for a wage[146], before being cheated in the arrangement and unpaid.

b. Beautiful-eyed cows from Egyptian Hathor to bucolic romance

Cows were considered to be a beautiful and graceful animal; as a matter of fact, even before Greek Antiquity, cows have been connected to a very positive imagery. In Ancient Egypt, a cow was the incarnation chosen by no other than the goddess of love and harmony, Hathor. The goddess, who also bears the title of "eye of Re"[147] (the sun eye), was represented as a beautiful cow in many sanctuaries.

Fig. 1 - Faces of Hathor at Dendera

At Hathor's large hospital-sanctuary complex at Dendera,

[142] Homer, *Odyssey*, XII, 380-384
[143] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 75
[144] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 125-130
[145] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 134
[146] Homer, *Iliad*, 444
[147] Bleeker, 1973

for instance, many column chapters were decorated on both sides with her harmonious face **(Fig. 1)**[148], half woman half cow: big almond eyes and cow ears associated with human nose and mouth, and long thick hair or headdress. In the Speos of Hathor in the Hatshepsu's sanctuary complex at Dahr El-Bahri[149], she was represented fully as a cow, carrying the sun disk between her horns: there, numerous graphic associations were made between the goddess and the female pharaoh – for instance, the cow goddess is shown suckling a boy with the hieroglyphs for Hatshepsu inscribed as his name[150].

Homer uses the adjective *βοῶπις*[151], cow-eyed, as a common and positive recurring epithet for Hera. It could have been either for her pretty cow eyes, for her mythical association with oxen (O'Brien is fond of this interpretation and translates the epithet as "having the look of an ox")[152], or for both. Other than Hera, only a few other deities are given that epithet: the Nereid Halie[153], the Oceanid Plouto[154] and the mother of Helios, Euphraessa[155]. In the context of these three cases, the adjective *βοῶπις* seems to characterize a soft or tender look. In the 2nd century AD, the cow remain an animal used for positive comparisons; in the bucolic romance *Daphnis and Chloe*[156], Daphnis notices that Chloe's eyes are big, like a cow's eyes.

c. Symbol of masculinity: godly metamorphoses and other stories

The most masculine and powerful of the gods, Zeus and Poseidon, show a preference for the bull in their metamorphosis and in the stories of their transformations, the animals appears as a symbol of fertility and sheer power.

A very large part of the bull-related Greek myths was inherited from Minoan Crete where the bull was at the center of the art and mythology: Zeus turns into a tame bull[157] and abducts on his back the virgin Phoenician princess Europa, daughter of Agenor, and takes her, from her native Sidon, across the sea and onto the island of Crete. Moschos[158] gives a synesthetic description of the

[148] Photo: Linda Talatas; detail of column chapters at Hathor's temple, Dendera
[149] Naville, 1894, p. 20
[150] Naville, 1894, p. 15
[151] Windekens, 1958, p. 309-311
[152] O'Brien, 1993, p. 136
[153] Homer, *Iliad*, 18, 40
[154] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 355
[155] *Homeric Hymn to Helios*, 2
[156] *Daphnis and Chloe*, I, 17
[157] Pseudo Apollodorus, III, 1, 1
[158] Moschos, *Europa*, 89

seduction of the maiden by the divine bull. Three sons were born from their union and were adopted by the sterile Asterion, king of Crete, when he married Europa. One of them was Minos, who became in turn king of Crete.

It certainly wasn't just a coincidence that Europe was descended from Io, a beautiful maiden who served as a priestess of Hera. The girl was loved by Zeus, who then transformed her into a heifer to conceal her from Hera[159]. The transformation didn't save Io from Hera's wrath – the goddess sent a gad-fly to torment her and make her wander far away[160] – but, while in the shape of a cow, she gave birth to Zeus' son and Europa's forefather, Epaphos[161].

d. Fantastic creations

Connecting Minoan and Ancient Greek mythology and in the same genealogic line as the myths of Io and Europa, the myth of the Minotaur establishes a bridge between Crete and Athens through the heroic figure of Theseus. Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, and king of Crete, asks a bull to Poseidon that he promises to sacrifice to the god; the prayer is answered but, when Minos decides to keep the animal for himself, Poseidon made the animal wild and inspired in Minos' wife a lust for the bull[162]. On the instructions of the immortal queen Pasiphae, daughter of Helios and wife of Minos, Daidalos devised a wooden cow in which Pasiphae placed herself in order to mate with the wild bull, thus conceiving the infamous Minotaur, a monster with a human body and a bull's head[163]. It is Theseus who as the famous legend goes, defeats the monster: Plutarch notes that, before embarking on that mission, Theseus dedicated a bough from the sacred olive-tree to the Delphinian Apollo (to whom he also had sacrificed the Cretan Bull earlier on[164]) in supplication: the god listens to his plight and advises the hero to make Aphrodite his guide.[165] The sacrifice of the Cretan Bull and Theseus' supplication were both addressed to Delphinian Apollo, which further confirms the association between the solar god and cattle.

[159] Pseudo Apollodorus, II, 1, 3
[160] Aeeschylus, Prometheus Bound, 590
[161] Pseudo Apollodorus, II, 1, 4
[162] Pseudo Apollodorus, III, 1, 4
[163] Diodorus of Sicily, IV, 77, 1
[164] Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 14
[165] Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 19

2. Cattle in Ancient Greek art

a. Cattle sacrifice on vase paintings and votive reliefs

Representations of cattle sacrifice on both vase paintings and votive reliefs are an indicator of the cattle's desirability as an offering. The merchant value of the live animals brings no limitations to its representation on vases or votive reliefs: unlike life-size statues, the representation of any animal would cost an equivalent price, since the subject's size was relative to the support rather than the contrary. In other words, it is more expensive to make a life-size statue of an ox than of a pig, but it costs the same to represent either on a stele of a predetermined size or on a vase.

Van Straten[166] establishes statistics for both materials in the Classical Period (in his study, most of the vase paintings with representations of animal sacrifice date to the 5th century and are Attic works while the votive reliefs with similar subjects are mostly datable to the 4th century or later and come from various places in mainland Greece): his tables show that cattle represent 54.8% of the animal sacrifices represented on the 115 vases studied (67.7 % if the multiple sacrifices are taken into account), but only 7.9 % (or 10.1% with the multiple sacrifices) of the animal sacrifices represented on votive reliefs.

The much higher proportion of cattle representations on vases than on votive reliefs is puzzling. The proportional presence of cattle on these two supports is however still much higher than observed in actual sacrifices, on the base of the sacrificial figures previously studied in this chapter.

This most probably indicates the different purposes of vases and votive reliefs: one can assume that vases were often made outside of a religious context – they were not necessarily offerings – and aimed to represent a fantasized opulence not consistent with reality. It is also rather safe to assume that an impressive and meaningful sacrifice could have been represented several times on different vases, as was the case for mythological sacrifices.

[166] Van Straten, 1995, p. 175

b. Small cattle offerings: bronze and clay figurines and statuettes

The countless small late Geometric bronze cattle figurines from Olympia[167] **(Fig. 2)**[168] can easily be interpreted as direct allusions to sacrificial victims: Neer interprets them as "permanent versions of the transitory act of killing and eating"[169].

Fig. 2– Some of the many small cattle offerings at the Olympia museum

The bronzes are stylized and represent perfect individuals, with no trace of blemish or imperfections. Many excellent picture plates by Gösta Hellner[170] illustrate the bulk of the published bronze cattle offerings (about a fourth remains unpublished): most of the individuals are male, characterized with a penis – except in very few cases, the statues are too stylized for a scrotum to appear – the male individuals could therefore be either bulls or oxen; all bovines have horns, a few also have ears. A few rare cases also show a dew-lap. Females are not characterized otherwise than with a lack of genitalia: the small Geometric bronzes from Olympia don't show any cow with utters, while some sexless individuals have a dew-lap, which can naturally appear both in male and female animals. The bronze figurines that aren't clearly identified as male could thus be either male or female. The bronze figurines from Olympia are made in many different workshops and, overall, bulls and/or oxen seem to be the most significant animal. Many cheaper terracotta figurines were also found in the sanctuary.

This preference confirms a strong association between Zeus and bulls since the earlier stages of the god's sanctuary in Olympia, and maybe also the old association of Hera with oxen as previously seen in this chapter.

Bronze figurines from other locations are less prolific but sometimes more detailed: for instance, at least 6 small bronzes from the temple of Poseidon at

[167] Heilmeyer, 1979; Furtwängler, 1890
[168] Photo: Linda Talatas
[169] Neer, 2012
[170] In Heilmeyer, 1979

Isthmia out of 7 cattle statuettes[171] are clearly bull and display a full set of male genitalia – and the seventh is also probably a bull. No cows are represented and bulls are clearly the most popular animal for figurine offerings: other than these 7 bulls, only two bronze dolphins[172] and a lead scallop shell[173] have been found. This could confirm Poseidon's preference for bulls over other victims.

Bulls are also clearly the preferred theme for metal figurines at the Theban *Kabeiron*, where about 400 bulls have been identified[174], half of them bronze and the other half lead.

Terracotta cattle figurines are a very wildly spread offering in the Iron Age; clay was cheap and easily accessible to anyone, so we could imagine that dedicators could even make their own little offering. Bronze, on the other hand, required technique and would be bought from a workshop. Apart from being interpreted as representations of victims and of their sacrifice, cattle figurines also have been seen as an indicator of the importance of herding in earlier periods[175], before cities gained in surface area and density.

We can easily imagine that the owner of a smaller herd or just a couple of working oxen could offer a cheap likeness of his animals to asks the gods for protection or thank them for it. In which case, it would make sense to present these offerings to a god connected with bulls, such as Zeus or Poseidon, associated to oxen as Hera seemed to be, or involved with agriculture, like Demeter and Kore.

Aside from the numerous small bovine figurines found all over Greece, an unpublished group of clay bulls dating from the 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD is exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Chania[176] **(Fig. 3)**[177]. They were found at an open-air sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon in the area of Tsiskiana and their size varies. From a simple observation, the

Fig. 3 – Ceramic bull statuettes from Tsiskiana, Crete

[171] Raubitschek, 1998: cat. 1-7; the predominance of bulls is discussed p. 1
[172] Raubitschek, 1998, cat. 34 and 35
[173] Raubitschek, 1998, cat. 39, notes that this offering is suitable to Demeter.
[174] Schmaltz, 1980
[175] Snodgrass, 1987, p. 205-207; Rolley, 1986
[176] http://chaniamuseum.culture.gr/museum
[177] Photo: Linda Talatas

four biggest pieces are not larger than 1/5 of life size, and therefore wouldn't categorize as monumental offerings, but they are nonetheless an important group to keep in mind while studying larger bovine votive offerings. At least 50 smaller painted ceramic bulls/oxen completed that group, confirming the importance of the animal as an offering to Poseidon.

Larger bronze animal statuettes with a quality finish, rarer and more valuable than the small figurines commonly dedicated, usually feature cattle, and, less often, horses. Their relatively small size made them much less expensive and easier to transport than large scale statues and allowed the artists to use the hollow-cast technique for their fabrication, could also reach a much higher degree in artistry, making them *agalmata*, pleasing images for the gods. The reference to twelve bronze cows offered at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly **(Ba9)**, presented in the literary cattle catalogue and further studied later in this chapter, could have been an offering of twelve of these statuettes as their size is not mentioned but bronze cast statuettes could have been considered as aesthetically pleasing enough to be praised in an epigram.

c. Cattle in votive sculptural groups

Unlike many other animals, cattle do not appear as the animal-attribute for any Greek deity even though their sacrifice was appreciated by all the gods and goddesses: on smaller statuettes, bulls can be ridden, to represent the abduction of Europe where the bull really is Zeus, or to carry a deity: several statuettes depict Artemis riding a bull in Brauron.

When included in larger sculptural free-standing sculptural groups, their presence appears to be exclusively related to sacrifice, a role that they already occupied in votive slabs and architectural friezes. Additionally, testimonies of life-size groups including bulls are rare. Pausanias mentions two such statues, both from Athens and offered in a votive context: a bronze ox[178] that was led as if to sacrifice in front of a temple where a statue of Triptolemos was kept, within the Eleusinion at Athens: "*πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος*". The declension of the adjective *ἀγόμενος* makes us think that the animal was male.

The other one, known as the Marathonian bull[179], was showing Theseus leading the wild bull that had come to Crete across the sea, ravaged the land on its way through the Peloponnese and had ventured across the Isthmus of

[178] Pausanias, 1, 14, 4
[179] Pausanias, 1, 27, 9-10

Corinth into Attica. The Athenian hero managed to catch the bull at Marathon and drove it alive to the Acropolis of Athens where he sacrificed the beast to Athena.[180]

d. Cattle statues in other contexts: funerary bulls

The other attested context for cattle statues in Greek antiquity is funerary art: bulls were an appropriate grave marker, illustrating the wealth and strength of the deceased, or as a last and eternal sacrifice to the memory of the tomb owner. Two well preserved examples were found: one at the Athenian Kerameikos **(Fig. 4)**[181], dating ca. 345 BC, in the enclosure of Dionysos Kollytos, who died single and had served as a treasurer at the Samian Heraion; the other was found offshore at Oreoi, in Euboia **(Fig. 5)** [182], also dating from the 4th century BC, but no dedication was found with it.

Fig. 4 – Funerary bull from Kerameikos

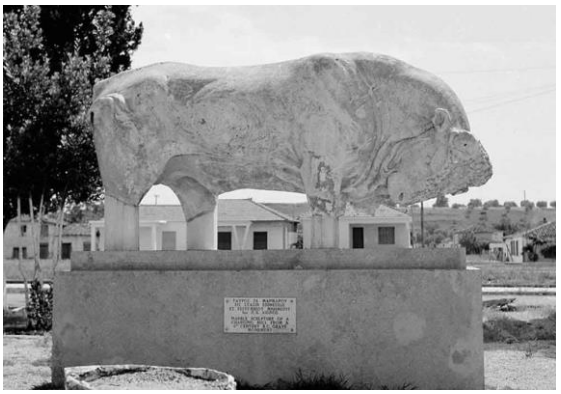

Fig. 5 – Funerary bull from Oreoi

Both bulls are over life-size: the one at Kerameikos is 1.9 m long, while the one on Euboia is 3.28 m long. The animals are both standing in a similar attitude. Their head is bent, in a charging position. Their tail curls up and rests againsts the right thigh; the left legs are put advancing forward. The lower legs of the Oreoi bull are missing, but the right front hoof of the bull from the Kerameikos is set on a little prominence raising out of the rest of the plinth.

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[180] Shapiro H.A., 1988, p. 372-382, considers that the Marathonian bull was a free-standing statue standing next to another free-standing statue depicting Theseus. Based my reading of Pausanias, I believe that both statues were part of the sculptural group.

[181] Photo: Tilemahos Efthimiadis, Creative Commons CC BY 2.0; statue kept in the inner yard of the Kerameikos museum.

[182] Photo: Peter Fraser photographic archives, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* online (LGPN); the statue was found offshore at Oreoi harbor and was erected on a pedestal at the main square of the town of Isthia in 1966, a year after its discovery, and is now protected by a shed.

III. Typology of the offerings of monumental statues of cattle in sanctuaries – catalogue of archaeological finds and additions from literary sources

This section starts with the catalogue entries of the four surviving monumental bovine statues found in Greek sanctuaries (**B1** to **B4)** from the Archaic to the Roman period.

A detailed commentary on each of these statues follows: the sanctuaries where they were offered, their divine receiver, a detailed analysis of each statue and their context of discovery, as well as their dedication and dedicator when known are all crucial to the better understanding of the offerings.

Thankfully, literary sources (**Ba1** to **Ba10**), mainly Pausanias' travel reports (**Ba1**-**Ba6 and Ba8**), three statue bases (**Bb1** to **Bb3**) and two bronze fragments (**Bc1** and **Bc2**) complete an otherwise scarce catalogue. They are also listed and discussed here: the bases and fragments all have possible associations with literary mentions and will therefore be studied together with the literary fragments they appear to match with.

At end this section, an overview in the shape of a table **(Tab. 1)** summarizes the main characteristics of the offerings from the archaeological catalogue as well as from literary sources. This table facilitates the access to useful data in order to be able to discuss the meaning of these bovine statue offerings in the next section.

Item	**B1 Bull**
Category	Cattle
Sanctuary	**Delphi - Hiera Odos**
Location	**Delphi - 534**
Datation	**600-550 BC**
Material	**Silver, Copper, Gold, Wood**
Size	**L: 2.59 m (formerly ca. 2.30 m)** **H: 1.46 m (formerly ca. 1.25 m)** **Life-size**

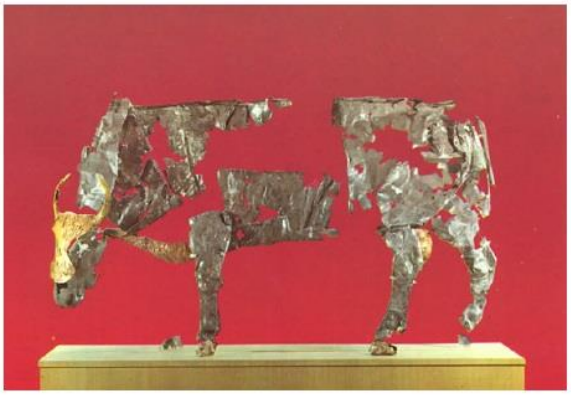

Photo: uark.edu (Creative Commons)

Description

Found in 1939 in a pit next to the **Sacred Way at Delphi**. Restored by Vassilis Petracos from 1971 to 1973.

The statue is fragmentary: parts of the body are missing, as well as the right leg (only the hoof remains).

The statue was made with several sheets of almost pure silver, linked together with a framework of 12 cm wide and 3.5 cm thick silver-plated copper bands. It is one of the rare surviving votive statues made using the *sphyrelaton* technique.

Two ranks of circular-headed silver nails (diameter: 2mm, length: 2 cm) kept the bronze bands and the silver sheets together with intervals of 6 to 7 cm between then (cf. Amandry, fig. 3 and 4). At regular intervals, 2.5 cm long copper nails were substituted to the silver nails.

Several parts of the bull were gold-plated: its horns, dewlap, genitals, hoofs, and probably the tip of the tail.

The inner filling of the bull was made of wood, and some burnt pieces have remained at their original place: particularly inside the legs and along the spine (these pieces haven't been saved, but were visible at the time of discovery).

The bull was standing and its exact position is only conjectural but it seems that its head was turned three-quarters to the left in a peaceful way.

Sources

Bommelaer, 1991, fig. 11-13
Amandry, 1977, p. 273-293

Item	**B2 Calf**
Category	Cattle
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.32**
Datation	**350-300 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 43.18 cm** **About 2/5 of life-size**

Photo: © British Museum

Description

Found in the winter of 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and the Infernal Deities at Knidos**.

The calf is standing, its body is facing forward and its head turned to the left; the tail is curling up on the left thigh. The shoulders are very muscular. The lower part of the legs is missing. The marble hasn't been worked between the legs - no genitals are represented. Small curls of hair are sculpted on the top of the head.

It almost certainly formed a pair with the other calf kept at the British Museum - 1859,1226.33, that was found at the same location.

Sources

BM Sculpture 1309
www.britishmuseum.org
Smith, 1900, p. 207, n°1309

Item	**B3 Calf**
Category	Cattle
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.33**
Datation	**350-300 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 54.61 cm** **About 2/5 of life-size**

Photo: © British Museum

Description

Found in the winter of 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and the Infernal Deities at Knidos**.

The calf is standing, its body is facing forward and its head turned to the right; the tail is curling up on the right thigh. The shoulders are very muscular. The lower part of the front legs is missing. The marble hasn't been worked between the legs - no genitals are represented. Small curls of hair are sculpted on the top of the head.

It formed a pair with the other calf kept at the British Museum - 1859,1226.32, that was found at the same location.

Sources

BM Sculpture 1310
www.britishmuseum.org
Smith, 1900, p. 207, n°1310

Item	**B4 Bull**
Category	Cattle
Sanctuary	**Olympia - Nymphaion**
Location	**Olympia - L 164**
Datation	**ca. 153 AD**
Material	**Pentelic marble**
Size	**L: 1.60 m** **H: 1.06 m** **Lifesize**

Photo: vroma.org (Creative Commons)

Description

Inscription:
ΡΙΓΙΛΛΑΙΕΡΕΙΑ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΔΩΡ
ΚΑΙΤΑΠΕΡΙΤΟΥΔΩΡΤΩΔΙ
"Regilla, priestess of Demeter, dedicates the water and the things around it to Zeus"

The statue was found in 1878 in the middle of the lower tank of the *nymphaion*.
It was an offering made by Regilla, priestess of Demeter Chamyne and wife of Herodes Atticus, to Zeus. It was the center piece of the *nymphaion* (otherwise known as "exedra of Herodes Atticus") built right next to the temple of Hera in the sanctuary of Olympia.
The *nymphaion* displayed two ranges of statues: on the lower level, members of the Roman imperial family were depicted, while on the uppper level stood the statues of Regilla, Herodes Atticus and their children. The whole structure was about 33 m wide and 13 m high.
The bull is standing, its horns pointed forward, ready to charge. The statue of the bull is rather naturalistic and it is about life size. A circular support was placed under the belly of the animal to assure its stability.
The inscription is carved in big letters on three lines over the whole right flank of the bull and clearly dedicated the whole *nymphaion* to Zeus in the name of Regilla.

Sources

Nasrallah, 2010
Pomeroy, 2007
Smith, 1998, p.340-341
Bol, 1984

1. Offering of monumental bull statue in Delphi (B1) during the Archaic period

a. Introduction to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi

Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi was a particularly – if not the most – significant place of cult for the Greeks. It was in fact the *omphalos*, the navel of the earth[183], where the two eagles of Zeus had met when the king of the Olympians had asked them to meet in the center of the world. In the 7th century, Hesiod[184] already describes Delphi as a rich land and the great home of Phoebus Apollo. The sanctuary was also where the new gods were met and replaced by the new: it is where Apollo killed the chthonic serpent divinity, Python, son of Gaïa[185], referred to in the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo as the female dragon Telphusa[186] who used to be the guardian of the *omphalos* of the world and replaced it with his solar presence. The *Pythia*, the woman carrying the god's words – and therefore, really, the center of Apollo's cult at Delphi since the oracle was the main attraction for pilgrims in search for political or personal advice –, was believed to have gotten her name from the rotting of the serpentine corpse (from the Greek *πύθειν*).[187] Even though the name of the *Pythia* might have come from the rotting of Apollo's original enemy, it is also the reminder of the old within the new, of the feminine chthonic power of a woman prophetess at the service of the cult of a male god of the sun. Many representations of stone *omphaloi* at Delphi represent a serpent curling around the navel in a protective embrace, suggesting that popular versions of the myth had put the older divinity at the service of the new rather than having it destroyed.

These myths help us understand the most ancient influence of the Parnassian sanctuary in the Greek world: it had been set as an important place of worship in every Greek citizen, who had heard, since childhood, the songs of Homer and Hesiod. Gaining an immense fame and power from early on, the sanctuary, since archaic times, wasn't only operating as the most influent oracle in the Greek world, but a safe neutral place where wealthy cities entrusted their treasures – making Delphi a bank of sorts, as well as an important political

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[183] Voegelin, 2000, p. 31
[184] Hesiod, *Hymn to Artemis*, 14
[185] Fonterose, 1980, who believes that Gaïa was the original deity behind the oracle at Delphi
[186] *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, 379
[187] *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, 363-369

center where decisions were taken after consulting the god's advice through the voice of the Pythian seeress and Apollo's priests' interpretations of it.

Aside from its oracle, the Pythian Games also attracted a large gathering from all the Greek cities: just like the Olympic Games, they were celebrated every four years (while the two other Panhellenic games, at Nemea and Isthmia, were celebrated every two years).

Its centrality in the religious and political life of Greece made Delphi the place of cult that received the most lavish offerings through the whole Hellenic world. Many of these offerings were clear *ex-votos*, given to the god in wishful devotion or gratitude for his help, for victory at war or in the games. Statues were an expensive and very fitting offering for offerings made from spoils of wars by cities: they were not only a way to thank the gods for victory but also a display of their power and glory for all Greeks to see. It was in this state of mind that the Athenians offered 13 bronze statues[188] by Phidias to thank Apollo for their victory over the Persians at the battle of Marathon, and that, later, the Spartans offered 37 bronze statues[189] right next to these following their victory over the Athenians at the battle of Aegospotami in 404 BC. This shows not only the importance of the sanctuary, but of course, the political game and the use of the Panhellenic sanctuary as a place of interaction between cities. The Charioteer[190], one of the very few bronzes that survived, commemorated the victory of the tyrant Polyzalos of Gela, Sicily at Pythian Games of 478/474 BC. A very few but famous and very rich offerings were also made by foreigners – namely kings: the golden throne[191] that Midas, king of Phrygia, had sent to the sanctuary in the 7th century, for instance, or the solid gold lion[192] standing on a pedestal offered by the king Croesus of Lydia in the 6th century. These two wealthy kings' offerings make even clearer the incontestable exposure of the sanctuary in the ancient Mediterranean, even beyond the Greek lands.

The Treasuries built by various city-states or Greek tyrants[193] along Delphi's sacred way were definitely a way to show their power to the other cities: even though the treasuries were themselves offerings, dedicated to the god, they contained the offerings made by the city who dedicated the treasury: instead of simply placing their precious contributions in the main temple, the dedicators made sure to keep their riches together in a way that would make

[188] Mattusch, 1996, p. 46
[189] Pausanias, 10, 9, 9
[190] Delphi Cat. 3485, 3520, 3540; Stewart, 1990, p. 38
[191] Herodotus, 1, 14
[192] Cf. chapter on "Lions"; Herodotus, 1, 46-51; Pausanias, 10, 5, 13
[193] Bommelaer, 1991, p. 59

their financial power obvious to any visitor, to whom a faraway city could otherwise have remained anonymous.

b. The silver bull B1

The attitude of the silver bull *sphyrelaton* from Delphi (**B1**)[194] dating from the first half of the 6th century, is very similar to the posture expected of a perfect sacrificial victim: it seems to be keeping its head down in a docile attitude. Its gilded horns and forehead are an unmistakable reference to sacrifice. As previously discussed in this chapter, the horns of a bovine victim would often be gilded, and gilded *bucrania* made of the sacrificed animals' skulls hung to the walls of the sanctuary. On this silver bull, the whole part of the head that would normally remain if it were reduced to bones is gilded and a remnant of *bucrania*. The gold on his dewlap, genitals and hoofs gives him an even richer rendering, and the gilding of the genitals underlines the importance of its masculinity and affirms the animal as a bull rather than an ox.

Unfortunately, the dedication of this statue has been lost. Because of its rare technique of execution and the precious materials used for its completion, this piece was certainly one of a kind. It is easy to imagine that the shape of the bull had already been damaged by the time when Pausanias visited Delphi, and the statue had possibly been put to the rebuke (the bull was indeed found in a pit and it seems that most of the wood that used to be used as the inside structure of the animal had been burnt); otherwise, this large bull would certainly have been worthy the traveler's attention.

The absence of an inscription or of literary mentions concerning this statue or any similar one reduces us to mere conjunctions on the context of its offering. Because of its sacrificial attitude and its early date of creation – close to the time when such sacrifices were made by rich particulars, it is possible to imagine that this silver bull was a gift made from a wealthy individual rather than by a community: it could have been the commemoration of a sacrifice and been offered as an *ex-voto* to Apollo after the completion of the dedicator's wish for instance. Pausanias makes no mention of any other full-size statue of silver: he only speaks of a few small silver statuettes[195] kept at the *Tholos* on the Agora at Athens. Pausanias does, however, mention the plunder of silver object at the sites of sanctuaries[196]and, if there used to be more silver

[194] Sources: Amandry, 1977, p. 273-293, writes a very complete article on the silver bull entitled "Statue de taureau en argent"; Jacquemin, 1999, n°534

[195] Pausanias, 1, 5, 1

[196] Pausanias, 1, 29, 16

sphyrelata in Greek temples in the Archaic period, they probably had been damaged and stored out or sight or been melted before it became in fashion for ancient travelers to describe what they saw at sanctuaries.

2. Offerings of monumental calves in the sanctuary of Knidos in Classical times (B2 and B3)

a. Overview of the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Knidos

The sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Knidos was established around 350[197], soon after the establishment of the Doric colony in Caria, around 360[198]. The sanctuary consisted of a long platform terraced into the flank of a natural acropolis, overlooking the city and the sea. All the animal statues coming from Knidos in this study were found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, where the famous cult statue of Demeter of Knidos[199] was found, all dated between 350 and 300: four swine figures, studied in my chapter on "Pigs and Boars", and a pair of bull calves.

b. The pair of calves (B2 and B3)

The two bull calves are almost certainly a pair, and this possibly means that they were placed in the entrance of the sanctuary. This is the only pair of cattle figures found in Greece. Their genitalia are not represented but their strong muscular shoulders and lack of udders suggest that they are young bulls rather than heifers. While bull statues were rather popular, especially in funeral art[200] representation of bull calves in Ancient Greece sculpture is extremely rare. The only other sculptural example of calf is the animal carried on the shoulders of the Moscophoros (Acropolis of Athens, inv. 624) as a sacrifice.

This pair of calves can also refer to sacrifice, but their young strength can also refer to the power of life, and be a symbol of fertility associated a taurine aspect of Demeter. Moreover, these calves seem older than the one carried as a sacrifice by the Moschophoros and are pre-adult animals. They are about half the size of the silver bull of Delphi (**B1**) or the bull offered by Regilla in Olympia

[197] Bruns-Özgan, 2004
[198] Spivey, 2013
[199] BM 1859,1226.26
[200] For instance, the charging bull that stood on the funeral monument of Dionysos Kollitos, now kept in the Kerameikos museum or the 4th century recumbent bull from the Dipylon (BM 1885,1014.1)

(B4) and they were probably about 2/3 of life-size representations. As guardians of her sanctuary, they could be associated with the goddess in the same way the lions and lionesses of Delos were associated with Leto and Artemis, or the dog that probably came from a pair on the Acropolis of Athens, with Artemis Brauronia. However, these bull calves show a very peaceful attitude, and do not carry the apotropaic character the lions or dogs could have. They would rather welcome the visitor, and maybe bestowed blessings related to fertility and prosper agriculture upon those who entered the *temenos*.

No dedication was found for the bull calves, and their plinth or base is missing. There is therefore no way of knowing if they were a public or a private offering. One of the swine statues **(P5)** offered at the same temple was dedicated by an individual woman; however, the price of a smaller swine statue cannot be compared to the price of this monumental pair of calves.

3. Regilla's offering of monumental bull statue in the *nymphaion* of Olympia at the beginning of the Roman period (B4) and its dedication

a. Introduction to the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia

The Peloponnesian sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, set in a green valley by the river Alpheios and at the foot of mount Kronios, was, together with Delphi, a most popular center of cult in the ancient Greek world. The sanctuary hosted the Olympic Games every four years and that made it one of the only four official platforms for Panhellenic gatherings. The sanctuary was, in consequence, a place of exchange, where cities came together to affirm their belonging to a whole, but also to try and affirm their superiority over one another through their athletic feats but also through the display of rich offerings in the sanctuary, to be seen by all.

Already used in Neolithic cults since the 4th millennium BC, the cult of Zeus was more properly established at Olympia during the 10th and 9th century BC within the Altis – a walled sacred enclosure, full of trees, which only contained sacrificial altars and the Pelopion, an older *tumulus*, and the offerings. The Olympic Games as they were known through antiquity were revived from games already existing on an unofficial basis before the Doric invasion and institutionalized by Iphitos, king of Elis, Kleosthenis of Pisa, Elis and Lykourgos of Sparta in 776 BC in honor of Zeus, as a way offered by the oracle of Delphi to end a great plague and incessant wars amongst the Greeks[201]. However obscure

[201] Jacoby, 1957, *FGrH* 257 F1, reports a fragment by Phlegon of Tralles

this story, the Olympic truce did contribute to the peace and unification of the Greek cities[202].

The sanctuary knew a considerable development through the Archaic and Classical periods; while already hosting a lot of clay offerings during the Geometric times, richer and more numerous offerings kept filling the place. The magnificent temple of Zeus, completed in 456 BC, was built by the Eleans who used for that purpose the spoils taken from neighboring towns, were the cult of Hera was dominant and who were resisting to the adoption of the cult of Zeus as the main divinity in the region[203]. Apart from the Great Altar of Zeus and Zeus' temple, the original Altis also hosted a temple and an altar for Hera, a temple and an altar for Rhea, and outside the Altis, but very close to it were an altar of Demeter Chamyne by the side of the stadium, at the foot of the Kronos hill, and an altar of Artemis to the south-west.

The sanctuary also hosted Treasuries along the wall of the Altis: like in Delphi, they hosted riches and made the visitor conscious of the wealth of the city-states that erected them.

b. The marble bull (B4): centerpiece offering in a monumental *nymphaion*

The life-size bull **(B4)** offered at Olympia is slightly posterior to our general time frame of interest but included in this study because of its importance as an offering made in a major sanctuary by a famous[204] social and religious figure, and even though the chronological limits of my research have been stretched to include this statue, its presence in the present catalogue is crucial to the better understanding of the rest of the offerings. Indeed, the dedications are often lost or incomplete and the exact position of the offerings within the sanctuary is often not verified with certainty. In this particular case, we do not only have a very well preserved dedication, but also a very accurate archaeological context for both the offering, as well as rich historical data on the dedicator.

The bull **(B4)** was the centerpiece of a magnificent *nymphaion*[205], which was an offering in itself. The fountain stood at the west end of the series of Treasuries, on the northern side of the Altis and was flanked by two small

[202] Swaddling, 2015, p. 10; Spivey, 2004, p. 229
[203] Swaddling, 2015, p. 17
[204] Pomeroy, 2007; Taliaferro Boatwright, 1991
[205] Bol, 1984

naiskoi at the ends of the basin[206]. The building, erected around a magnificent a semi-circular water basin, was about 33 m long and 13 m high. The fountain was decorated with the statues[207] of Regilla, the dedicator herself, her close family, her imperial relatives and statues of two statues of Zeus, on both central niches. Regilla's imperial family was represented on the lower level while, on the upper level, there were statues of herself, her parents, her parents-in-law, her grandfather and her children. The statues are identified through inscriptions[208] at their base.

A large aqueduct built by Herodes Atticus[209] brought drinking water to the fountain from a spring located 4 km away across the Kronos hill.

The bull's attitude seems, at first, to be a charging position that increases its masculinity, but this is subject to interpretations: it could also be argued that it was bowing its head as if agreeing to be the complacent victim of a metaphorical sacrifice to the king of the Olympian gods. Or it could represent Zeus in his metamorphic shape as a fertility god.

c. The dedication and the dedicator

The right flank of the bull **(B4)** displays a dedication in big archaizing letters and informs the passerby that the whole monument was Regilla's offer to Zeus.

ΡΗΓΙΛΛΑΙΕΡΕΙΑ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣΤΟΥΔΩΡ
ΚΑΙΤΑΠΕΡΙΤΟΥΔΩΡΤΩΔΙΙ

"Regilla, priestess of Demeter, consecrates the water and the things around the water to Zeus"[210]

The three lines of large letters were carved to be seen from afar from the front of the monument (the bull had its head turned towards the right of the fountain). That way, any visitor who would come to the sacred fountain would notice the generous offering given by Regilla. The whole inscription uses Greek letters, including the dedicator's name, spelled "Ρηγιλλα" in its Greek form.

The inscription makes clear than all of the elements of the *nymphaion* are offerings, and the fact that the bull is the element carrying the inscription increases its votive status.

Scholars have insisted in calling the monument *nymphaion* / exedra /

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[206] Rossiter, 1981, p. 342
[207] Smith, 1998, p. 340-341
[208] Bol, 1973, pl. 4
[209] Rossiter, 1981, p. 342; Pritchett, 1989, p. 86
[210] Epigraphical restitution and translation by the author

fountain of Herodes Atticus[211], Regilla's rich and powerful husband. The dedication, however, makes it very clear that it would be fairer to call it "the *nymphaion* of Regilla" regardless of her husband possible contribution to the project, financially or otherwise. Herodes' contribution to the monument was clearly the aqueduct and not the fountain itself, and the energy between the aqueduct and the fountain also participated to the symbolism of a masculine power nourishing a feminine artful piece.

The archaizing style of the inscription was probably intended to place the offering in a more traditional context, and reaffirm its belonging to a Hellenic tradition even if the dedicator was of Roman birth and had set statues of the Roman imperial family on the upper part of her fountain: even though her importance comes from her Roman eugenic roots, her inscription, written in Greek and using the Greek spelling of her Roman name, was destined to be seen by Greeks and making her part of their society and history. One should also keep in mind that Regilla lived in a period that could be considered a "Greek Renaissance"[212], during which the classical period was a model for artists and intellectuals.

Regilla's singular position as the priestess of Demeter Chamyne[213] made her the only woman allowed to watch the Olympic Games and had her accepted in the highest circles of Greek society. Pausanias evokes the ban of women from the Games: "It is a law of Elis that any woman caught coming to the Olympics or even crossing the Alpheios during these days will be thrown down from [the mountain named Typaeon]"[214], even if he admits that no woman has ever been caught, or maybe only one who ended up going unpunished as a mark of respect to her athletic male relatives[215].

Even though she chooses to make her dedication to Zeus, the mightiest of the gods and one whose associations to bulls was undeniable, the fact that Regilla indicates her status as a priestess of Demeter inside her dedication is not only a reminder of a social status, but also underline the association between the god and the goddess through the bovine figure, and reaffirms the importance of the presence of Demeter within Zeus' territory – and of her own office. Demeter was, indeed, one of the other four other deities to whom known statues of cattle had been dedicated, and bovine metamorphoses are

[211] Bol, 1984; Smith, 1998; Rossiter, 1981; Schleif, 1944, p. 53-82
[212] Pomeroy, 2007, p. 9; Bowie, 1974 on the tendency in the Roman period to imitate conventions and attitudes from Classical Greece
[213] Connelly, 2007, p. 213
[214] Pausanias, 5, 6, 7, my translation
[215] Pausanias, 5, 6, 8

part of her mythological association with Zeus: it is possibly in this shape that they conceived Persephone. This bull offering also carries a symbolism of fertility, which makes complete sense in the context of water offering.

Regilla's full name was Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla[216]: it carried her noble past and never changed as it was not customary for Roman women to change their name to their husband's. Born around 125 AD, she first she came to Greece around 143 AD, soon after her marriage in to Herodes Atticus, 26 years her elder. She might have spent most of her life in Greece but remained a Roman, while her husband, who had acquired Roman citizenship and raised to the rank of consul, was nonetheless a Greek, born in Athens and raised with Greek customs. That made her status as a woman very particular, because of the difference of treatment of woman in the Greek and the Roman worlds. As a noble Roman woman, she had the chance to move with much more freedom in the Greek society than it a Greek woman would. Her aristocratic background included distant relations with the imperial family, which are emphasized by her offering of the *nymphaion* at Olympia.

Religious careers were very coveted amongst women of high birth in Rome while they also were honorable in Greece: for a woman like Regilla, who evolved in social spheres rather than remaining secluded at home, priesthood was a very natural inclination. Regilla became the first priestess of Tyche in Athens: a statue had been offered to her by the Areopagus at the Tyche temple that Herodotus had built to the west of the stadium when entered in her new function.[217] Later on, she obtained the very high-end position of priestess of Demeter Chamyne at Olympia in 153. Of course, she probably first came to Olympia to follow her husband in his orations, but it is also very probable that she earned the honor for herself[218] and not solely based on her husband's immense fortune. Pomeroy[219] shows how Regilla probably had used her own influence and wealth for the building of her *nymphaion*. Which leads to think that the bull was really Regilla's offering rather than one from Herodes in disguise.

Regilla's memory also survived because of the tragic and suspicious conditions of her untimely death while she was pregnant with her sixth child.[220] It appears likely that she died at the hand of her husband in a case of domestic

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[216] SIG³, 857

[217] The dedication of the statue brings these elements of information: Graindor, 1930, p. 84; SIG³, 856

[218] Graindor, 1930, p. 85

[219] Pomeroy, 2007

[220] Pomeroy, 2007

violence, even though the blame was put on Herodes' freedman. That would be a way of explaining the lavish monuments Herodes Atticus erected in her memory after her passing, to either honor his beloved wife or wash the soil that the murder case had brought to his name. In either case, his ostentatious generosity in the name of Regilla after her death doesn't change the fact that she could have made her own offering at Olympia during her life.

d. Euergetism in Regilla's offering

The bull offering cannot be dissociated from the entirety of the nymphaion. And to the ancient visitors, before being a grandiose artistic masterpiece and the sign of Regilla's high birth, the fountain was the one place in the sanctuary where they could access fresh and potable water: the nearby river had troubled waters. Thanks to Herodes' long aqueduct, the fountain provided spring water. The fountain was really a much-needed improvement: in the 1st century AD, before the construction of the *nymphaion*, the Stoic Epictetus[221] noted how unpleasant Olympia could be because of the heat, the crowd and the poor bathing facilities.

Because of her Roman birth and the fact that she was the only woman amongst many men, especially at the time of the Olympic Games, when she wasn't able to keep her female attendants with her in the sanctuary, Regilla would have been particularly aware of the lack of water and the necessity of building a fountain. Her offering was not only one made to the god; it was also a sponsored gift destined to all and any visitors at Olympia during her time and for the generations to come.

4. Catalogue and chronology of monumental free-standing cattle sculptural offerings reported in ancient literary sources

a. Catalogue of offerings known from literary sources

For an easier reading, I have labelled the statues mentioned in literature from **Ba1** to **Ba10** and (while the surviving bovine statues in my catalogue are **B1** to **B4**). **Bb1** and **Bb2** are two statue bases found in Delphi – one of them surely connected to one of Pausanias' mentions, and the other less certainly so. Both bases will be treated within this part of the chapter, in (discussed) association with Pausanias' references. The base **Bb3** from Olympia and the

[221] Epictetus, 1, 6, 23-29

fragments **Bc1** and **Bc2** are clearly connected to the statue **Ba6** described by Pausanias. It is essential to present a detailed catalogue of the offerings of cattle statues mentioned by ancient authors:

Ba1

A bull was dedicated by the Boule of the Areopagus on the Athenian Acropolis[222] Pausanias hints at the fact that this offering can have several political interpretations about which he doesn't care enough to make further conjectures: "*ἔστι δὲ καὶ* ***ταῦρος ἀνάθημα*** *τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή: πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζοι*".

Ba2 & Ba3

Two bronze bulls offered by the Corcyreans[223]: one, made by Theopropos of Aegina, in Delphi **(Ba2)** and one at Olympia[224] **(Ba3)**: ***"βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν*** *ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου: καὶ ἀνθ᾽ ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τόν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίασιν αὐτῶν ἀναθήματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἤκουσα".* Pausanias even tells us about the anecdotal story of this offering: "***χαλκοῦς ταῦρος*** *τέχνη μὲν Θεοπρόπου ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου, Κορκυραίων δὲ ἀνάθημα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ταῦρος ἐν τῇ Κορκύρᾳ καταλιπὼν τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς κατερχόμενος ἐμυκᾶτο ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ: γινομένου δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρᾳ πάσῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ εἶδεν ἰχθύων τῶν θύννων ἀτέκμαρτόν τι ἀριθμῷ πλῆθος*". One of their bulls had left their herd to go pasture alone close to the shore, showing to the herdsman a bountiful place full of tunas: failing to catch the fish at first and after consultation of the Delphic oracle, the Corcyrean sacrificed their bull to Poseidon and were finally able to catch the fish. Both of their offerings were made with the tithe of their catch. The context makes it clear that both offerings are bulls because Pausanias insists on the parallel between the offerings and even though he uses the generic term *bous* for both statues in a paragraph, he specifies that the subject of Theopropos' statue is a bull, *tavros*.

Pausanias provides an anecdote about **(Ba3)** offered at Olympia: a little boy, who was sitting and playing under the bronze animal, suddenly raised his head, hit it against the statue, and died a few days later. Because of this episode, the Eleans considered removing the offering from the Altis, as they thought that an object culpable of bloodshed didn't have its place within the sacred area.

[222] Pausanias, 1, 24, 2
[223] Pausanias, 10, 9, 3
[224] Pausanias, 5, 27, 9

However, Apollo gave an oracle that they were to let the offering stay where it was after the purification rites that were customary among the Greeks for unintentional shedding of blood were performed: *"Ἠλεῖοι μὲν δὴ **τὸν βοῦν** ἅτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτεως: ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἐᾶν τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὁπόσα Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν"*. [225] This anecdote is interesting as it shows the belief according to which the god gives importance to the offering he received and manifests his desire to keep it despite the accident. Apollo, who abhorred death and bloodshed, cherishes the statue he received enough for wanting the equivalent statue offered to Zeus at Olympia to be cleansed through a ritual rather than removed.

Bb1[226] – the possible base of the Corcyrean bull at Delphi

The base of the bull (Delphi – inv. 3085) offered by the Corcyreans and mentioned by Pausanias **(Ba2)** may have been found in 1894[227] and includes a dedication (inv. 2718) to Apollo as well as the signature of the sculptor Theopropos of Aegina[228]; both are in the Aeginetan alphabet and date from the early 5th century[229]. The limestone base, dating from the 1t half of the 5th century, had been restored in the 4th century; it measured ca. 2.6 x 6 m for a height of about 3 m; the measurements of the inscription are as follows: height: 0,29 m; preserved length: 0,74 m; preserved depth: 0,59 m)[230]. This base has been the subject of a full analysis by Amandry[231], who discussed its topography within the sanctuary.

The base was found in front of the altar of Chios and below the *ex-voto* of the Tarentinians[232], right at the entrance of the sanctuary, and advancing on the Sacred Way, possibly because behind it was a retaining wall that prevented the builders of the base to leave more space in front of it. The original location of the base has been debated[233] but, following

[225] Pausanias, 5, 27, 9

[226] Sources: Jacquemin, 1999, n°122; Bommelaer, 1984, p. 853-856, p. 885; Bourguet, 1932, p. 342-512, fig. 55; Amandry, 1950, p. 10-21; Vatin, 1981, p. 440-449 ; Lacroix, 1992, p. 159-161

[227] Homolle, 1894, p. 186

[228] SEG 1158

[229] Fouilles de Delphes, III, 1, no 2; SIG, 3, 18

[230] Jacquemin, 1999, n°122

[231] Amandry, 1950, p. 10-21

[232] Amandry, 1950, p. 11

[233] There have been various discussions and hypothesis as to a different original setting for the base, especially because of the fact that, at the location where it was found,

the hypothesis that it was already in antiquity where it is now, the body of the bull would have been parallel to the Sacred Way and its head could have been facing the front or turned to the left, towards the path. The inscription, at the west of the block, wasn't obvious from the Sacred Way but not impossible to read either for any curious visitor who would care to take a look to the side of the base, especially because there was a path to the west of the base, leading towards the Arcadian and Lacedaemonian offerings.

The dedication is written on two lines that seem to be exactly aligned to each other even though 8 to 10 letters from the upper left are missing. The inscription reads:

"[…] ΤΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ:ΑΝΕΘΕΝ
[Θ]ΕΟΠΡΟΠΟΣ:ΕΠΟΙΕ:ΑΙΓΙΝΑΤΑΣ"

The name of the artist and his city of origin appear as reported in Pausanias; the offering is dedicated to Apollo. The missing part probably accommodated easily a mention of the Corcyreans as dedicators.

It is difficult to know the size of the bull because the surface of the base is damaged, but it is almost twice the size of the base found at Olympia **(Bb3)**, which carried an animal whose horn measured about 50 cm. The size of the Corcyrean bull at Delphi was consequently ranging from the size of the Eretrian bull at Olympia to the double of it. If this base was indeed the one of the Corcyrean bull, its monumentality would have made it impossible to miss, and the questions raised by the orientation of its inscription would therefore be of lesser importance.

Ba4

A bronze ox offered to Apollo at Delphi by the Euboeans of Karystos[234] from spoils taken in the Persian wars: "*Καρύστιοι δὲ οἱ Εὐβοεῖς* ***βοῦν*** *καὶ οὗτοι* ***χαλκοῦν*** *παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔστησαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Μηδικοῦ*".

This statue has been associated by several scholars[235] to the statue base **Bb2**[236], but I do not agree with this associations for reasons which detailed in the individual catalogue entry for that base, which is treated as a lone statue base.

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the dedication faced towards the west even though it was the southern side of the foundation that was turned towards the Sacred Way. The discussions are not conclusive and it seems improbable: some monuments were moved in Delphi, but none of such a considerable size.

See Amandry, 1950; Pomtow, 1889; Bourguet, 1932

[234] Pausanias, X, 16, 6

[235] Jacquemin, 1999, n°318; Courby, 1927; Vatin, 1981; Gauer, 1968, p. 113-115

[236] Treated later in this chapter as a lone base.

Ba5[237]

An ox offered at Delphi by the Plataeans[238] when they took part, together with other Greeks, to the defense of their own land against the Persian Mardonius, son of Gobryas: "*Πλαταιέων δὲ **βοῦς** ἑστιν, ἡνίκα ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ οὗτοι Μαρδόνιον τὸν Γωβρύου μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠμύναντο ἄλλων*".

This public offering would have been made after 479 BC, when the Battle of Plataea, in Beotia, took place.

Ba6

A bronze bull or ox offered at Olympia by the Eretrians and made by Philesios of Eretria and seen by Pausanias: "*βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου*".[239] Pausanias appears to attribute both **Ba3** and **Ba6** to Philesios of Eretria: both statues were likely placed close to each other.

Bb3[240] **– the base the bull (Ba7) offered by the Eretrians at Olympia** has been discovered *in situ* and identified thanks to its inscription[241]. Still visible on the ancient site, it is located about 32 m to the east of the NE corner of Zeus' temple and measures 3.06 m long, 1.18 m wide, and 0.28 m thick. The base is made of two marble blocks juxtaposed on a local stone foundation. On the upper surface of the marble base, a surviving joint is still filled with lead. The inscription is carved in large (5 cm high) archaizing letters on two lines at the top of the east end of the northern marble block, parallel to length of the base. The fact that the dedication was inscribed on the horizontal surface of the base, rather than on a vertical side can easily be explained by the low height of the base: the visitor would have to look down to read the inscription. Four traces on the surface indicate that the base carried bronze a bull that was walking or running northwards.

The dedication "**ΦΙΛΕΣΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ / ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΣ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ**", indicates the name of the artist, Philesios, the dedicators, the Eretrians, and the receiving deity, Zeus: this makes the base correspond perfectly with the statue **(Ba6)** mentioned by Pausanias.

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[237] Jacquemin, 1999, n°412; Vatin, 1981, p. 450-453

[238] Pausanias, 10, 15, 1

[239] Pausanias, 5, 27, 9

[240] Sources: Loewy, 1885, n° 26; Walker, 2004, p. 149, 262, 269;

[241] Olympia, inscription n° 248: Dittenberger, 1896, n°248

Bc1 & Bc2[242] **(Fig. 6)**[243]**, two fragments of the statue (Ba7) were found on the base,** both in excellent condition. **The monumental horn (Bc1)** is about 50 cm long and weights almost 10 kg; the very far end of its tip is broken off but its curve is preserved; a neat circular rim followed with a depression close to the place of the cut indicates that a decorative element of another material was probably placed on the tip of the horn.

Fig. 6 – Horn and ear of the Eretrian bull at Olympia (Bc1 & Bc2)

The ear (Bc2) is preserved from its base, and shows a very graceful and naturalistic execution: the part attached to the head was made of a circular ring, at the top of which discrete and detailed locks of hair sprout. The outer surface is very smooth, while the inner surface shows the natural folds that the thin skin of the live animal would have made on the cartilage. These two fragments show the mastery of Philesios and suggest a very high cost for the statue.

Even though Pausanias unsurprisingly proves to be the best reference when it comes to the description of offerings displayed in Ancient Greek sanctuaries, Athenaeus[244], quoting a treatise by Polemon Periegetes on the *Offerings at Lacedaemon*, also reports a bovine statue offering:

Ba7

A bronze cow offered at Sparta by a very famous courtesan named Cottina:
"ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀναθημάτων, εἰκών ἐστι τῆς διαβοήτου ἑταίρας Κοττίνας, ἣν φησιν καὶ ***βοῦν*** *ἀναθεῖναι* ***χαλκῆν****, γράφων οὕτως: 'καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας εἰκόνιον, ἧς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴκημά τι λέγεται καὶ νῦν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς*

[242] Displayed together at the Arch. Museum of Olympia; Walker, 2004, p. 261, fig. 8.8
[243] Photos: Robert H. Consoli (CC)
[244] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, XIII, 574c-d

Κολώνης, ἵνα τὸ Διονύσιόν ἐστιν, ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀνάθημα δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ***βοίδιόν τι χαλκοῦν*** *καὶ τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον.᾽᾽*

Polemon reports that Cottina's legacy was a brothel that still bore her name and stood near the hill where the temple of Dionysos stood, as well as many well-known objects through the city (his paraphrase possibly refers to phallic stelae). She had made the offerings of her own portrait as well as the bronze statue of a cow or ox beyond Athena Χαλκιοίκια.

We know of the important Lacedaemonian sanctuary of Athena Chalcoikia through Pausanias[245]: its function was to protect the city and, even though the sanctuary was older, both the temple and the image of Athena were made of bronze in the Doric order by Gitiadas of Sparta[246]. No mention is made of the size of this offering: it being quoted as a statue by Polemon would make us think that it was an offering of consequence, but it wasn't necessarily as large as the rest of the statues we are studying. The ending of the adjective *χαλκῆν* used with the noun it modifies *βοῦν*, at least in Athenaeus' report, lets us think the animal in question was female.

Ba8

An ox, "βοῦς", was also offered at the sanctuary of the Muses on Mount Helikon between the son of Herakles, Telephus, suckling on a deer and an image of Priapus. [247] Pausanias doesn't comment further on this ox: the dedicator and material remain unknown.

Ba9

Twelve bronze cows offered at to Athenia Itonia in Thessaly and made by Phradmon are mentioned by Theodoridas[248] and Columella[249]. They were made from spoils taken from the Ilyrians and can be dated to the classical period, because of their mention in a 3rd century epigram and their artistic attribution to Phradmon, and their association with a victory of the Thessalians against the Ilyrians, which can historically be placed ca. 350-335 BC.

"Θεσσαλαὶ αἱ βόες αἵδε: παρὰ προθύροισι δ᾽ Ἀθάνας
ἑστᾶσιν, καλὸν δῶρον, Ἰτωνιάδος:

[245] Pausanias, 3, 17, 3sq
[246] Around 500 BC
[247] Pausanias, 9, 31, 2
[248] *Greek Anthology*, 9, 743: epigram by Theodoridas of Syracuse, who flourished in the second half of the 3rd century BC
[249] Columella, *Res Rustica*, 10, 30

πᾶσαι χάλκειαι, δυοκαίδεκα, Φράδμονος ἔργον,
καὶ πᾶσαι γυμνῶν σκῦλον ἀπ᾽ Ἰλλυριῶν."[250]

The size of these offerings, however, is unknown: because of their quantity, they might have been statuettes rather than life-size or close to life-size statues: they will therefore be treated with care in the statistics. Even though Athena Itonia was worshipped in several places, the most famous of which were Amorgos and Kos, the sanctuary where the twelve bronze cows were offered was situated in Thessaly in the epigram and likely situated in a town called Itonos in the neighboring area of the modern Philia.[251]

Ba10

Myron's bronze heifer, "*δάμαλις" / "χαλκῆ βοῦς"*, was made famous by no less than 36 epigrams.[252] Myron is also well-known to Pliny, which is how the cow can be dated to the early 5th century.[253] The epigrams mention that it was originally placed on the Athenian Agora, but nothing is said of its dedication, and, even though the heifer was likely a votive offering, no proof survives to confirm this status. The heifer was said to be so life-like that bulls would be aroused at its sights and calves would try to suckle its milk. The epigrams were all largely posterior to the date of creation of the statue, Pliny has suggested that the heifer might have been famous for the sake of being famous. The statue was taken from Athens to Rome and exposed by Vespasian at the Templum Pacis in Rome.[254]

Because of its unsure classification as an offering, this most famous of Greek heifers must, however, be left out of the statistical data.

Ba11

Croesus offered many golden cows set on votive columns at Ephesos. The series of offering is mentioned by Herodotus: *"Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα[...] ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἵ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί."* [255]

Even though these offerings were likely statuettes rather than large freestanding anathemata, and therefore are excluded from statistical data, they are included in the catalogue for their high value and therefore significance.

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[250] Theodoridas, *Greek Anthology*, 9, 743

[251] Mili M., 2015, p. 230-233, discusses the location of Itonos in Thessaly, where Athena had an important worship center.

[252] *Greek Anthology*, 9, 713-742

[253] Pliny, 36, 19

[254] Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum*, 4, 21

[255] Herodotus, 1, 92

b. Chronology of the offerings known from literary sources

The two bronze bulls dedicated by the Corcyreans were presented as grateful offerings following the same episode narrated by Pausanias. Since a base found at Delphi (Inv. 3085) was clearly identified as the base of the bronze ox mentioned by Pausanias, and dated to the early 5th century, it is safe to assume that the other bronze bull, offered at Olympia by the Corcyreans, was also dated from the Classical period.

The bronze ox offered at Delphi by the Euboeans of Karystos was offered as a part of the spoils taken during a Persian War, and it can consequently also be considered as a dating from the Classical period. For the same reason, we can assume that the ox offered by the Plataeans was also a Classical work, as it was offered after the defensive victory against Mardonius, son of Gobryas: it is a reference to the famous battle of Plataea of 479 BC, during which Mardonius was killed[256]. The victory obtained at Plataea, where the unified Greek city-states affronted an incredible number of Persians – Herodotus' numbers are not usually very reliable, but his count of 300 000 Persians against 50 000 Greeks[257] gives, if nothing else, the psychological feelings the Greeks had against an overwhelming Persian force. Many Spartans, Tegeans and Athenians, participated in this battle, and the victory was a huge one for all of the Greeks. But for the Plataeans, it was not only the Greek unified victory that was won, but also the freedom of their own land on which the battle took place.

The derogatory tone of Pausanias regarding the bull statue offered by the Council of the Areopagus could mean it wasn't a very old offering at the time of Pausanias: it could be a Hellenistic or a Roman work.

Pausanias states clearly that the bronze bull offered by the Eretrians at Olympia was made by Philesios of Eretria; the other bronze bull statue at Olympia, offered by the Corcyreans, might however be by the same artist – Pausanias' phrasing isn't very clear as to this: *"ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου*." [258] If both were made by the same sculptor, it could mean that Philesios of Eretria had a workshop at Olympia and took commands from visitors desirous to make a bronze statue offering to the sanctuary.

The bronze cow or ox offered by Cottina[259] at the sanctuary of Athena Chalcoikia at Sparta is to be dated between around 500 BC, when the bronze

[256] Herodotus, 9, 63-64
[257] Herodotus, 9, 32
[258] Pausanias, 5, 27, 9
[259] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 13, 574c-d

temple was built by the renowned Lacedaemonian artist Gitiades of Sparta[260] and the 2nd century BC. Indeed, the text suggests that, when Polemon Periegetes visited Sparta and made the observations on Cottina's offerings quoted in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, Cottina had either passed away or retired from her career as an entertainer: she was already a legend and had left her legacy. Athenaeus informs us through Polemon Periegetes, also known as Polemon of Athens, as a contemporary of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Ptolemy Epiphanes[261], which enables us to place him as a sophist of the 2nd century BC. Cottina's offering of a bronze cow was therefore either Classical or Hellenistic.

5. Lone statue bases of cattle statues

Statue bases showing attaches for cattle statues could sometimes be associated with statues in the catalogue of statues mentioned in literature (**Bb1** and **Bb3**): they have been treated together with the statues to which they appear to have been associated: respectively, **Ba2** and **Ba6**. Five bases, however, appear to have belonged to free-standing statues of cows which haven't survived. It is the case for **Bb2**, which was treated earlier in this chapter, together with the statue **Ba4**, to which it had been attributed: as detailed earlier, I disagree with the association of Bb2 and Ba4.

Bb2

I**nscribed base for a bronze statue of a cow and suckling calf offered by the Karystians at Dephi** – (H. 0.343 m; L. 1.20m; W. 0.718m).

This limestone base (Delphi, inv. 638) **(Fig. 7)**[262] was found by Bourguet to the west of the southern terrace at Delphi, close to the altar. The cuttings on its upper surface still contain traces of bronze and indicate that they probably were the points of attachment for a missing statue of a cow nursing and her calf (indeed, the hoof prints of the smaller animal are directed towards the middle of the bigger animal; the spacing between the cuttings indicate a life-size cow and calf rather than smaller livestock). An inscription[263] was carved on the top of the front side and was remade in the back: both inscriptions are very

[260] Pausanias, 9, 18, 5, places Gitiades as a contemporary artist of Kallon the Aeginetan
[261] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 6, 234
[262] Figure: Courby, 1927, fig. 253 : "Bloc d'une offrande de Karystos"
[263] Courby, 1927, p. 310-311, fig. 235

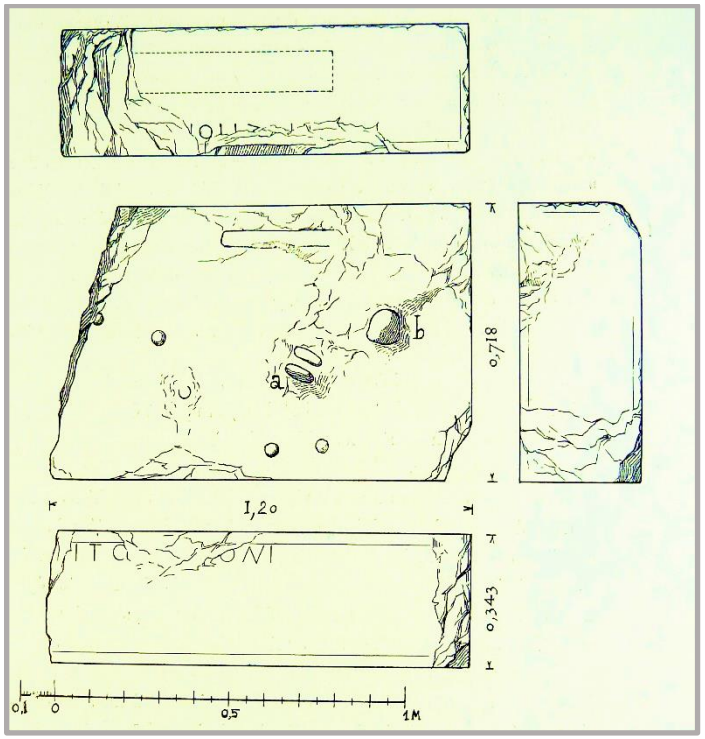

Fig. 7 – Base of a cow and calf (Bb2) offered at Delphi by the Karystians

fragmentary but show that offering was made by the Karystians. The first inscription dates from the first third of the 5th century while the letters of the second inscription would rather suggest the 3rd century. Several scholars, such as Jacquemin[264], Courby[265] and Vatin[266], desirous to connect the statue bases found at Delphi with the offerings mentioned by Pausanias, associated this base with the statue of an ox **(Ba4)** mentioned by Pausanias, offered by the Karystians at the occasion of the Persian Wars. It has even been suggested by Gauer[267] that the calf may have disappeared before the time when Pausanias visited the sanctuary. The main reason of the scholarly association between **(Ba4)** and **(Bb2)** was the fact that the group of a cow and her calf that the prints on the base suggests was also the monetary emblem that the city of Karystos minted on their coins and, since dates matches between the offering mentioned by Pausanias and the base, Anne Jacquemin and others have considered that it would be easy to just replace Pausanias' "*χαλκοῦν*" by "χαλκῆν".[268] Even though this theory might be correct, I prefer to proceed with more caution in this case: Pausanias easily omitted offerings – several of the statues and bases preserved to this day and preceding Pausanias' time were not mentioned in his reports. It is thus very possible that the Karystians offered separately a statue of a bull for the Persian Wars – comparable to the offering of the Plataeans – and another statue of the

[264] Jacquemin, 1999, n°318
[265] Courby, 1927
[266] Vatin, 1981
[267] Gauer, 1968, p. 113-115
[268] Anne Jacquemin kindly gave me her personal advice on the question when I enquired as why she considered Pausanias' mention to be associated with the cow and calf base in her volume on monumental offerings at Delphi; see also Jacquemin, 1999, p. 208, n. 397

Fig. 8 – Silver didrachma from Karystos

emblematic cow and calf of Karystos within the same quarter of century: the motive is represented on Classical Karystian coinage **(Fig. 8)**[269], which is why **Bb2** is considered as a separate catalogue entry, rather than in association with **Ba4** in the statistics made based on archaeological data.

Bb4, Bb5, Bb6 and Bb7

Four inscribed limestone bases for cow statues[270] **(fig. 9)**[271] of similar proportions were found on the coast of Hermione, at the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia. Three of them, **Bb4**, **Bb5** and **Bb7** were placed next to each other and built into the face of the west wall of a Venetian tower. The fourth, **Bb6**, was built into the wall of a chapel 150 m away to the northeast from the other bases. They clearly appear to have belonged to slightly over life-size bronze cattle

The position of the attachments indicate that they carried over life-size cattle statues. Their presence can also be linked to the important local ritual of the Chthonia, which brought fame to the sanctuary of Demeter at Hermione in

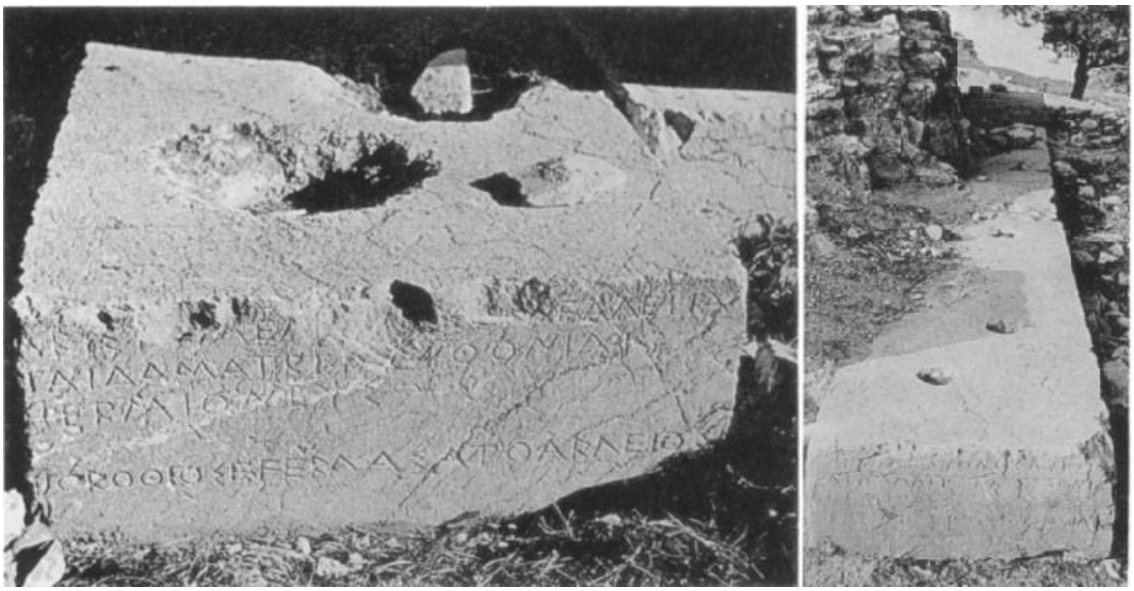

Fig. 9 – Bb4 (L) and Bb5, Bb7, Bb4 (R)

[269] Silver Didrachm from Karystos, Euboia, ca. 350 BC, representing a cow and suckling calf to the left and a cock to the right. Photo: vcoins.com; Refs.: Robinson, Carystus 19, BCD 570, SNG Copenhagen 415, Sear 2504; B.M.C. 8.6,7; SNG Lockett 1782.

[270] Jameson, 1953, p. 148-154, pl. 50; Keesling, 2004, p. 79-91

[271] Photos: Jameson, 1953, pl. 50, No. 1 (Left) and Nos. 2, 4, 1 (Right); in the second picture, **Bb5** is the one in the foreground, **Bb7** in the middle and **Bb4** at the back.

antiquity. The specifics of the sanctuary, known from literary sources, must be presented before each base is treated as a catalogue entry.

a. Overview of the sanctuary of Demeter at Hermione

The yearly summer festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione is described by Pausanias[272]: it involves four old women successfully sacrificing four cows. The procession was led by the priests of all the local gods, the annual magistrates, and men, women and children alike. Attendants were dressed in white and wearing wreaths of *kosmosandalon* flowers, described by Pausanias as looking like hyacinth flowers (often associated with the modern iris) and bearing the same letters of mourning on their petals – as Greeks saw "AI" these flowers, connected to the death of Hyacinth.[273] The cows are led by ropes while driven by the procession, and acting wild in their gate, are released one by one into the temple and the doors are closed after each entry while the first of the four old women inside who would manage to do the killing performed the sacrifice with a sickle, *drepanon*. The ritual might have evolved from the Classical period to Pausanias' observation of it, but would nonetheless have kept its most characteristic aspects. Pausanias reports that what was really worshipped in the temple was secret to both foreigners and locals – it was therefore a mystery cult.

Aelian[274] also refers to the sacrifice of cows for Demeter Chthonia and adds that the biggest animals of the herds were brought for the occasion and followed gently the priestess to the altar. There was therefore an important ritual association between the local cult of Demeter at Hermione and the sacrifice of cows by older female priestesses, and the accent is put on the willingness of the victim despite the physical inferiority of the performer.

As the local epithet of the goddess, and the eponymous name of the festival, the sacrifice of the cows at Hermione was a chthonian mystery cult, performed inside a dark temple with closed doors, with an agricultural tool which is found in no other sacrificial context[275] and associated with signs of mourning

[272] Pausanias, 2, 35, 5-7

[273] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10, 162 sq.

[274] Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 11, 4; Aelian quotes Aristokles to reinforce his argument, and uses the masculine form for the animal, but with a feminine adjective, which suggests that the animal was indeed a female as Sarah Iles Johnston, 2012, p. 223 points out. He also only mentions one old woman leading the complacent cow to sacrifice, and interprets the sacrifice as a prayer for Demeter to allow every farm of Hermione to prosper.

[275] Iles Johnston, 2012, p. 217, on the use of the sickle in the Hermionian sacrifice.

displayed in the choice of flowers for the wreaths. No mention if made of the presence or absence of a sacrificial meal, but even though Pausanias uses twice the verb *katergazomai*, implying a violence in the ritual[276], he does refer to it as *thysia*, which could mean the cows were consumed – an uncommon practice in the context of chthonian sacrifices.

b. The four cow bases from Hermione: Bb4, Bb5, Bb6 and Bb7

Bb4[277]

Statue base of a cow (H. 0.32 m; W. 0.76 m; L. 2.20 m) with inscription[278]:

Ἀριστομένες ἀνέθε[κ]ε Ἀλεξία
τᾶι Δάματρι τᾶι Χθονίαι
***h*ερμιονεύς**
Δορόθεος ἐϝεργάσατο Ἀργεῖος

The dedication indicates that the offering **(Fig. 9)** was made by Aristomenes, son of Alexias, and addressed to Demeter Chthonia of Hermione. The statue was made by Dorotheos of Argos. Jameson notes that the style of the letters used in the line of signature contrasts with the three other lines: the beginning of the dedication is made in the alphabet used in the Argolic Akte while the signature is made in the alphabet of Argos, where the sculptor is from. Based on the style of the inscription, the base can be dated to the mid-5th century.[279]

Bb5[280]

Statue base of a cow (H. 0.32 m; W. 0.73 m; L. 2.02 m) with inscription[281]:

Ἀλεξίας Λύονος ἀνέθε[κε]
τᾶι Δάματρι τᾶι Χθονία[ι]
***h*ερμιονεύς**
Κρεσίλας ἐποίεσε Κυδονιάτ[α]ς

The dedication **(Fig. 10)**[282] indicates that the statue was offered by Alexias, son of Lyon, to Demeter Chthonia of Hermione and made by Kresilas of Kydonia.

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[276] Iles Johnston, 2012, p. 218

[277] Jameson, 1953, p. 148, no. 1, pl. 50

[278] *IG*, 4, 684; *SEG*, 11, 1950, 397. See illustration of the inscription in Keesling, 2004, p. 91 fig. 3, after, Peek, 1934, p. 46. Read by Jameson, who also uses Peek's reading from 1934, and letters read by Fourmont in 1909 but lost by the time of Peek's study.

[279] Keesling, 2004, p. 86

[280] Jameson, 1953, p. 149, no. 2, pl. 50

[281] IG, 4, 683; SEG, 11, 1950, 378. See illustration of the inscription in Keesling, 2004, p. 91, fig. 4. after Peek, 1934, p. 46.

[282] Photo: Jameson, 1953, pl. 50, no. 2

Jameson notes that all lines are written in the same alphabet, which he identifies as Hermionian with influences from the Aeginitan alphabet, used in the Cretan city of Kydonia – the birth place of the artist, which had been colonized by Aeginitans in 515 BC. He also suggests that the whole inscription was written by the artists, unlike the dedication of **Bb4**, which makes the spelling "Χ" instead of "ΧΣ" for the "ξ" of "Ἀλεξίας" more understandable. [283]

Based on the inscription, **Bb5** appears later than **Bb4**; it can be dated to the second half of the 5th century, between 440 and 400 BC.[284] All agree that the two bases, Bb4 and Bb5 are not likely to be more than twenty years apart.[285]

Fig. 10 – Bb5

Bb6[286]

Statue base of a cow (H. 0.30 m; W. 0.93 m; L. hidden) with inscription[287]:

Κλενάγορος Λύωνος
Δάματρι Ἑρμιονέυς
Πολυκλῆς Ἀνδροκύδης Ἀργεῖοι
ἐποίσαν

The dedication indicates that the statue was offered by Kenagoros son of Lyon to Demeter of Hermione, and made by Polykles and Androkydes, both of Argos. The block is built into the wall of a chapel, which made it impossible to measure the length. Marcadé had interpreted it as a base for an equestrian statue, but the similitude of the base dimensions with the three other bases, on which the spacing of the hoofs clearly show an association with cattle statues, makes it more probable that it carried also a bronze cow. Jameson notes that the letters are well cut and made in the Ionic alphabet and that the style is comparable to the attributed to a non-Attic Polykles mentioned by Pliny, who also makes mention of another different sculptor, the Athenian Polykles.[288] Based on the

[283] Jameson, 1953, p. 149
[284] Keesling, 2004, p. 89
[285] Keesling, 2004, p. 86; Jameson, 1953, p. 151; Habicht, 1984, p. 49
[286] Jameson, 1953, p. 150, no. 3, pl. 50
[287] Inscription rendered by Jameson
[288] Pliny, 34, 50 and 52

style of the inscription, the base can be dated to the 4th century.

Bb7[289]

Statue base of a cow (H. 0.36 m; W. 0.76 m; L. 2.07 m) with inscription[290]:

Εὔφορος Λύωνος
Δάματρι Ἑρμιονεύς

This base only had three hoof holes, which suggests that the front hoof was raised; it was found between **Bb4** and **Bb5**, and its front was placed orthogonally to the length of the two other blocks, its inscription visible between the two other bases. Based on the style of the inscription, the base can be dated to the 4th century.

c. Comparative remarks on the chronology and display of the missing statues of Bb4, Bb5, Bb6 and Bb7

According to Jameson, the base **Ba6** was taken away from its original place to be built into the wall of a chapel, but although they might have been moved to the spot chosen for the Venetian bases, three other bases might also have been left at their original place: the inscriptions of all three bases placed together, **Bb4**, **Bb5** and **Bb7** are all visible.

The attachments on the upper surface of the blocks seem to indicate that the head of the animal was towards the side of the inscription. **Bb1** and **Bb2** have attachments for four hoofs, with a parallelogram disposition and both right feet advanced. **Bb7** only three attachments for hoofs: both left feet are set forward and the front right is raised. **Bb6** cannot be entirely examined as the length of the base is built into a chapel wall.

The style of the inscriptions of **Bb1** and **Bb2** suggest that these two statues were contemporary, possibly dedicated during the same decade, in the middle of the second half of the 5th century BC, ca 420 BC[291]; the fact that all four hoofs were safely attached to the base confirms a 5th century dating. **Bb1** might have been earlier than **Bb2** because of two small cuttings behind the rear hoofs, which can be interpreted as a support for the low-hanging tail of a cow.[292]

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[289] Jameson, 1953, p. 150, no. 4; Marcadé, 1949, p. 537, fig. 18

[290] Inscription read identically by Marcadé and Jameson

[291] Jameson, 1953, p. 151 rightly rejects the later date offered by Peek, who places **Bb4** ca. 400 BC and **Bb5** ca. 420 BC while their styles suggest a closer chronological proximity of the two statues. Raubitcheck, 1949, p. 512-513, places Kresilas as a younger contemporary of Perikles: the artist could therefore have been working as a master in the middle of the 5th century, and a couple of decades over it, but not later.

[292] Jameson, 1953, p. 153, no. 15

Tab. 1 – Overview of freestanding cattle *anathemata*: archaeological data and written sources

Subject	Material	Sanctuary	Deity	Dedicator	Artist	Motive	Date	Archaeological data	Literature
Bull	Silver, Copper, Gold, Wood	Delphi	Apollo				Archaic 600-550 BC	**B1** Delphi 10660	
Calf	Marble	Knidos	Demeter				Hellenistic 350-300 BC	**B2** BM1309	
Calf	Marble	Knidos	Demeter				Hellenistic 350-300 BC	**B3** BM1310	
Bull	Marble	Olympia	Zeus	Regilla, priest. of Demeter			Roman Ca. 153 BC	**B4** Insc. Olympia L 164	
Bull *ταῦρος*	Marble?	Acropolis of Athens	Athena?	Boule of the Areopagus			N/A		**Ba1** Pausanias
Bull *χαλκοῦς ταῦρος*	Bronze	Delphi	Apollo	Corcyreans	Theopropos of Aegina	Fishing tithe	Classical 490-460 BC	**Bb1** Inscription on base Delphi 3085	**Ba2** Pausanias
Bull *ἕτερον βοῦν*	Bronze	Olympia	Zeus?	Corcyreans	Philesios of Eretria (?)	Fishing tithe	Classical		**Ba3** Pausanias
Ox (?) *βοῦν χαλκοῦν*	Bronze	Delphi	Apollo	Karystians		Persian War spoils	Classical 479 BC (+)		**Ba4** Pausanias
Ox *βοῦς*	Marble?	Delphi	Apollo	Plataeans		Defensive victory	Classical 479 BC (+)		**Ba5** Pausanias
Bull / ox *τὸν βοῦν*	Bronze	Olympia	Zeus	Eretrians	Philesios of Eretria		Classic ca. 500 BC	Base **Bb3**, Inscr. 248 Horn **Bc1**/ Ear **Bc2**	**Ba6** Pausanias
Cow *βοῦν χαλκῆν*	Bronze	Sparta	Athena Chalkioikos	Cottina, courtesan			Classical / Hellenistic 500-200 BC		**Ba7** Polemon in Athenaeus
Ox *βοῦς*		Helicon	Muses				Hellenistic		**Ba8** Pausanias
Cows (12) *βόες χάλκειαι*						Victory vs Ilyrians	Classical 450-335 BC		**Ba9** Theodoridas Columella
Cow *δάμαλις / χαλκῆ βοῦς*	Bronze	Acropolis of Athens / Agora			Myron of Eleutherai		Early Classical		**Ba10** 36 Epigrams
Cows *αἳ βόες*	Gold	Ephesos	Artemis	Croesus	King of Lydia		Archaic ca. 550 BC		**Ba11** Herodotus
Cow and calf	Bronze	Delphi	Apollo	Karystians		City emblem?	Classical 5th c. BC	Base **Bb2** – Delphi Inv. 638	
Cow	Bronze	Hermione	Demeter	Aristomenes son of Alexias		Local sacrifice?	Classical ca. 420 BC	Limestone base **Bb4**	
Cow	Bronze	Hermione	Demeter	Alexias son of Lyon	Dorotheos of Argos	Local sacrifice?	Classical ca. 420 BC	Limestone base **Bb5**	
Cow	Bronze	Hermione	Demeter	Klenagoros son of Lyon	Kresilas of Kydonia	Local sacrifice?	Classical 4th c. BC	Limestone base **Bb6**	
Cow	Bronze	Hermione	Demeter	Euphoros son of Lyon	Androkydes of Argos + Polykles	Local sacrifice?	Classical 4th c. BC	Limestone base **Bb7**	

The two other bases, **Bb6** and **Bb7**, indicate a later chronology in the 4th century BC, with an earlier date for **Bb6**. In **Bb7**, the raised foot is characteristic of later classical works, showing more fluidity in the movements, and a higher mastery of balance.

IV. Significance of sculptural cattle offerings

1. The sanctuaries: preferred sanctuaries for cattle statue offerings and links between them

Literary sources complete the scarce archaeological data concerning cattle statues. Both catalogues are complementing each other without contradictions and their fusion enables a better synoptic view of the offerings.

The most popular sanctuary for offering cattle statues appears to be Delphi. Of the 5 cattle statues offered at Delphi, only the silver bull **(B1)** survives, but Pausanias also mention the statues of a bull and of two oxen **(Ba3, Ba4, Ba5)** and two surviving bases **(Bb1, Bb2)** were found: one of which confirms the existence of **Ba3**, while **Bb2** carried a statue representing a cow and her calf, a lost statue that was not mentioned in ancient sources. It is no surprise that all the known dedicators of such statues were public entities rather than private figures: of 4 to 5 statues, 3 to 4 were offered by cities – the Corcyreans, the Karystians (maybe twice), the Plateans and the Eritreans.

The sanctuary of Demeter at Hermione and the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia follow, with four cow bases, **(Ba4, Ba5, Ba6, Ba7)** at Hermione and three statues at Olympia: the Roman bull **(B4)** offered by Regilla, and two statues of oxen mentioned by Pausanias, one offered by the Corcyreans **(Ba3)** and one by the Eretrians **(Ba6)**, of which the base **(Bb3)** and two fragments **(Bc1 and Bc2)** survive. The sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos received two smaller statues of bull calves **(B2, B3)**. Cow offerings at other sanctuaries are rarer: the twelve cows **(Ba9)** offered to Athena Itonia in Thessaly **(Ba9)** are all one offering; the Athenian Acropolis receives a cow **(Ba1)** – maybe two, with Myron's cow **(Ba10)**; the sanctuary of Athena Chalkoikia at Sparta **(Ba7)**, the Mouseion on the Helikon **(Ba8)** only received one cattle statue each.

These results indicate that the sanctuaries which received cattle statues were primarily important religious centers, with a high affluence: Delphi and Olympia, gathering together 8 out of 18 cattle dedications. Both Apollo and Zeus were known, in their mythology, to have affinities with cattle, but the

choice of Delphi and Olympia certainly has more to do with their privileged status in the Greek world. Indeed, wealthy offerings would be viewed by the numerous visitors, who came to Delphi for the oracle and to both sanctuaries for the games. Except from the cow and calf **(Bb2)** offered by the Corcyreans, all statues of cattle offered at Delphi and Olympia were of male animals, the expected sex for sacrificial victims destined to Apollo and Zeus.

The next more popular sanctuaries for offering cattle statues were cult centers dedicated to Demeter in her chthonian aspects: the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Knidos and the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione received 6 cattle offerings together. Unlike the cattle statues offered at large Panhellenic sanctuaries, those dedicated in sanctuaries of Demeter appear to have been connected to specific cults of the goddess, especially in the case of Hermione, a sanctuary famous for its peculiar sacrifice of cows in honor of the local goddess. It is also interesting to note that at the Eleusinion, on the Acropolis of Athens, there was a large statue of a cow being led as an offering to Triptolemos – not a free-standing statue *per se*, but a confirmation of the importance of cow statues as a representation of sacrificial victims in cults related to Demeter, both as an agrarian and a chthonian deity.

Sanctuaries of Athena were the last important centers for offering cattle statues, with one statue at her local temple in Sparta **(Ba7)**, one on the Acropolis of Athens (**Ba1** and maybe **Ba10**), and a group of 12 statues at her Itonian sanctuary in Thessaly **(Ba9)**. Dedications of cows to Athena appear to be more location related than cult related, but the animals dedicated (with the exception of **Ba1**) were female, the appropriate gender for sacrifices made to the goddess.

The 18 cow statues found through archaeology (surviving statues and bases included) were distributed between four deities, two males and two females. The statues offered to the sanctuaries of one of these deities, Demeter, were apparently offered based on their cultic links with the goddess, while those offered to Apollo, Zeus and Athena appear to have been glorious offerings made as important Panhellenic or local religious centers, where they would be bringing glory to the dedicators, who were often public bodies like cities. Even in the case of the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione, which would receive many visitors for its sacrifice, the dedication of cow statues might have been a way to promote the names of the family of dedicators, who chose the cows as an appropriate local subject.

2. Offerings of ox statues as the symbol of a conquered land free to cultivate

Oxen could be associated with agricultural work and prosperity. Because of that, it would be a suitable gift to commemorate the retaking of one's land or the conquest of a new arable land. The high value of such statues are much more easily justifiable as an offering manifesting gratefulness rather than one associated with a request. Indeed, a statue offering could be the shape given to the tithe offered to the gods for one's success. Supporting this theory, Pausanias[293] puts in relation an ox statue offered by the Plataeans[294] **(Ba6)** at Delphi in commemoration of the successful defense of their own land together with other Greeks against the Persian Mardonius, and another ox statue offered by the Carystians[295] **(Ba5)** from the spoils taken in the Persian war: he considers that "the Carystians and the Plataeans dedicated oxen […] because, having repulsed the barbarians, they had won secure prosperity, and especially a land free to plough".

3. A richer and more durable substitute to sacrifice

Rouse[296], while he doesn't discard Pausanias' hypothesis of an ox statue offered in gratefulness for divine favors in the reconquering of one's land, suggests that these statues might as well have been memorials of sacrifices. He backs this theory with the example of a bronze dedication of a whole procession was offered at Delphi by Ornea after the conquest of Sicyon, to replace the promised daily procession[297].

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the silver and gilded bull **(B1)** offered at Delphi was in a position reminiscent of the ideal attitude expected from sacrificial victims: docile and willing to face its fate, and its gilded horns and hoofs could very well reference to the ornaments of a bull led to sacrifice. Even though we do not have a surviving example, we also know that cattle statues could be part of an explicit sacrificial scene, and a long-lived substitute to the more ephemeral sacrifice: Pausanias mentions a bronze bull[298] being led as if it were led to sacrifice in front of a temple containing a statue of

[293] Pausanias, 10, 16, 6
[294] Pausanias, 10, 15, 1
[295] Pausanias, 10, 16, 6
[296] Rouse, 1902, p. 145
[297] Pausanias, 6, 18, 15
[298]Pausanias, 1, 14, 4

Triptolemos in the Eleusinion sanctuary at Athens.

The gold cows **(Ba11)** offered by Croesus at Ephesos certainly also stood for the immortalization of an opulent sacrifice, for which the Lydian king had chosen to represent female victims, which were more pleasing to the goddess.

A dedication from Cyrene, first carved in the 4th century BC and renewed in the 3rd century, not included in the catalogue because they are outside of our geographical area, attests, nonetheless, the suitability of cattle sculpture as a commemoration of a sacrifice.[299] Hermesandros, priest of Apollo, dedicates statues, which were probably representing oxen, to commemorate the sacrifice of 120 oxen to Artemis:

"μνᾶμα τόδ' Ἑρμήσανδρος |ὑπὲρ κράνας ὁ Φίλωνος |
θῆκε θεᾶι θύσας Ἀρτέμιδος τελετᾶι, |
βοῦς ἑκατὸν κατάγων |καὶ ἴκατι · τῶν τάδε κεῖται |
κόσμος καὶ μνᾶμα | καὶ κλέος εὐδόκιμον".[300]

Another dedication from a region outside but neighboring the geographical limits our catalogue was left by Sagaris, when he escaped the Phrygian Apollonia during a famine and offered marble oxen "*ἀντί βοῶν ζώντων*"[301]. The situation justified the absence of physical victims, but the offering of statues had a value and symbolism parallel with those of a sacrifice given made to implore the gods' mercy.

4. Public offerings

Cities (the Plataeans, the Karystians and the Corcyreans) or political groups (the Council of the Areopagus) offered cattle statues at important religious centers, like the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia or the Acropolis of Athens. These offerings could have been a substitute for the punctual or repetitive sacrifice of costly victims, a suitable present to the gods from wealthy cities or political entities, but even as the substitute of sacrifice victims, they reached beyond the potential glory of a sacrifice. Indeed, even though they were apparently addressed from a community towards a divinity, their strategic location at large Panhellenic sanctuaries made them a sign of prestige addressed to all Greeks, in the present and future, who would come and visit these important religious centers. While giving a public display of their piety and generosity as patrons of the arts, the cities that dedicated statues at

[299] Jacquemin, 1999, no. 399
[300] SEG 38, 1898: dedication made in Cyrene, Libya, above a fountain in the 4th century and renewed in the 3rd century
[301] Robert, 1980, p. 224-225

sanctuaries also made sure to affirm their own prestige at an intercity level. This made the dedication one of the most important part of the offering as it engraved the glory of the dedicator into centuries to come: it is thanks to the written dedications that Pausanias, in the 2nd century AD, knew the name of cities who had made sculptural in Classical times, as well as the name of the artists who had made the statues and sometimes even the context of the offerings.

5. Private offerings

The dedication of a statue by a private person was a significant religious gesture, which should not be occulted by modern interpretations. However, self-promotion through onerous displays of piety was certainly an important social factor accompanying the offering.

Because of their high value, cattle sacrifice was an appropriate offering for a large group of people: the archaeological and literary evidence indicates that this was also the case for cattle statues. While sacrifices were certainly, before the Democracy, a sign of generosity from a wealthy social figure, they evolved into the manifestation of the importance of a city celebrated by its own citizens, who shared together the meat of victims commonly paid through taxes, and, because of this, lost some of their original status as a generous gift. Statues, however, as a non-consumable but durable offering, could be given at a sanctuary away from home – and therefore could be a way displaying the patron's wealth beyond the *polis* from where they originated.

The related meanings might have evolved through time: for instance, when Croesus offers golden cows **(B11)** to Artemis at Ephesos, his anathema likely carried a strong religious meaning. The Lydian king offered various onerous statues in the Greek world, in which he does express his wealth, but mostly honors the gods, and likely tries to remain in their favor by consecrating a part of his gold. His choice of offering to Artemis reveals a true religious endeavor: he gives the goddess perfect animals of the preferred gender, eternally alive in the sanctuary.

Regilla's offering **(B4)** in Olympia, however, was a synchronous display of her wealth and eugenic origins, and the pompous affirmation of her generosity through the gift of clear water. The archaizing letters of her dedication on the side of the bull could also be the reminder of the pre-Democratic[302] cattle sacrifices made by the wealthy few who offered the meat to eat to the common

[302] Rosivach, 1994, p. 3, n°6

people who worked for them and depended on them rather than a city: she is a patrician of the highest spheres and possibly tries to draw a link between her eugenic roots and the Athenian oligarchs of old.

6. Female dedicators of cattle statues: the priestess and the prostitute

Regilla's marble bull **(B1)** and Cottina's bronze cow **(Ba8)**, the two only known private offerings of large bovine statues share another atypical similitude: both were offered by women, both of whom were unordinary figures. One of these women was a noble foreigner married to a Greek and priestess of Demeter Chamyne at Olympia, and the other a famed and rich prostitute. At first sight, the only thing that Regilla and Cottina had in common was their wealth. But they also shared the fact that they were in the margin of the norm for women in Ancient Greek society, albeit in two very different ways.

It was very uncommon for Greek women of historical times to be noticed. If Greek mythology include women in its stories: they could be strong heroines like Atalanta[303], objects of seduction like Danae[304] or Leda[305] or, more often than not, the source of problems like Pasiphae[306], Helene[307] or Pandora[308]. In the reality of the traditional Ancient Athenian society, however, a good woman was one that went unnoticed, stayed home and took proper care of her family; individual Greek women are generally very little known to us as the traces left of them were displays of affection on wives and daughters' funerary monuments or mentions in letters addressed to family members. In Archaic and Classical Greece, very few women managed to make history. The only Greek women to have real fame during these periods were the poetess Sappho[309], from Lesbos, in the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th, by no means a respectable woman in the view of ancient society, and Aspasia. The famous mistress of Pericles, who played an undeniable role[310] in her lover's politics; she was also a foreigner and courtesan, and, even though celebrated

[303] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 9, 2; Theocritus, *Idylls*, 3, 40
[304] Homer, *Iliad*, 14, 319;
[305] Homer, Odyssey, 24, 199; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 10, 6
[306] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 197-198;
[307] Homer, *Iliad*
[308] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 54 ff
[309] Lefkowitz, 1981, p. 36-37
[310] Kagan, 1968, p. 197

by some, she was also subject of jests[311] and judicial attacks[312]. By the time of Regilla, throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, more famous Greek women had left their name in history; Cleopatra VII and Arsinoë II are the most illustrious examples.

Regilla, as a foreign citizen, even if she was married to a Greek man, had a different status and visibility than a Greek woman of the same rank would have had. Her husband, on the other hand was a major figure in an effort to revive the Athens of Pericles[313] while his wife's visibility was part of the emblem of a Roman personal beneficence to him[314]: the couple was the symbol of a link between two worlds and two periods. The archaeological evidence makes it seem like Herodes and his mother Alcia[315] attached more importance to Herodes' adoptive children in their public dedications, in particular to the young Polydeucion, Herodotes' favorite *trophimos*[316], whom he even raised to the rank of hero. It is possible that the dedication of the *nymphaion* at Olympia was also a way for Regilla to reaffirm her own importance, and the importance of her children, represented with her and her husband under her distant relatives, made closer through the artful construction. Herodotes, who was already an expert in building water structures[317] would have been favorable to his wife's idea of making the *nymphaion* because it would bring glory to him and his parents, also represented, and his children as well. He contributed to the structure through the aqueduct and probably helped with the practical details of the construction, but that doesn't give him the authorship of the project.

Of Cottina, on the other hand, we know nothing but the passage in Polemon and Athenaeus[318] where her offering is mentioned. However, the fact that she was a prostitute says much about her: she was a public person, who took pride in her fame. Spartan women of the Classical period were known to be freer in their comings and goings as well as their dress style[319] than other Greek women while Athenian women lived a more secluded life and were expected to speak

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311 Aristophanes, *The Acharnians*, 523-533, calls her a "whore who set the city ablaze".
312 Putarch, *Life of Pericles*, 32, on a trial for impiety against Aspasia initiated by the comic poet Hermippus
313 Lemp, 1978, p. 32
314 Pomeroy, 2007, p. 25
315 Ameling, 1983, vol. 2, n°174; Tobin, 1997, p. 216-217
316 Gazda, 1980, p. 1-13
317 Herodotes had built a large aqueduct, bringing water from twenty miles away to Canusium, in southern Italy, on the estates of Regilla's family: Philostratus, V5, 551
318 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, XIII, 574c-d
319 Pomeroy, 2002, p.134

as little as possible.[320] Spartan women were encouraged to speak openly, exercise naked, dress lightly and were an active part of society. The status of courtesan certainly was marginal, but in a society in which the moral code for genders was different than the more conservative Athens and other Greek cities; indeed, in Sparta, feminine homosexuality[321] was accepted and it wasn't unusual for women to share food and wine at *symposia* with men[322], a wealthy retired professional sex-worker who had managed to become the owner of a well-known brothel might have been socially accepted and, at least to some extent, respected. The ultimate goal of Spartan women, however, was to produce sons of whom they could boast[323] and they would be remembered through their sons' glory in wars. The path of courtesan, however, did not follow the traditional trajectory of women's life: marriage and family. They could be remembered for their beauty, or artistic talents, through songs and epigrams – but in Sparta, words were few, and when a courtesan posed as a model for a vase painting or a statue, her name was not usually associated to the depiction. Cottina, therefore, found a way to be remembered for her generosity through her magnificent offering, and brought glory to her name by offering a cow to Athena Chalkoikia, who had an important local cult, but was not related to prostitution – she could have chosen to offer a statue to Aphrodite, but, instead, made an offering to a civic deity. Her gesture didn't come from Cottina the prostitute, but from Cottina the woman of wealth desirous of honoring a local deity with a pleasing image of an animal universally appreciated by the god – and a female animal, from a female dedicator to a female deity. We know of her profession from Polemon, through Athenaeus, and it is likely that, because her brothel was still famous when he visited, he was told that the founder of the place was also the one who made the offering, but there is no indication as to the fact that the statue was accompanied by an inscription including the word "ἑταίρα": the dedication might have simply said "Κοττίνα ἀνέθεκεν". Polemon links the memory of Cottina to her status as a courtesan, but she might have wished to be remember as a pious city benefactor through her dedication of a bronze cow.

[320] Xenophon, Oeconomicus, 7, 6, 10
[321] Pomeroy, 2002, p. 136
[322] Plato, *Laws*, 637C
[323] Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241, 9

Sheep and goats

I. Sheep and goats in Greece – natural context, zoological data and archaeological evidence

1. General context

Sheep (genus *ovis*) and goats (genus *capra*) are closely related members of the *Caprinae* subfamily of ruminant mammals; they can be referred to as "ovicaprine", a term that englobes both species. To avoid any lexical confusion in the reading of this chapter, here is a short reminder of the vocabulary associated with sheep and goats, both in English, as it tends to use the same words for individuals from both species, and in Ancient Greek.

Sheep (*ὅϊος, α, ον*; *μῆλα*, sometimes *ἀρήν*; none of these terms were gender specific): an uncastrated adult male is referred to as a "ram" (*κριός*), sometimes specified of *ἐνόρχης*, uncastrated[1]), a female as a "ewe" (sometimes specified as *θῆλυς*), a castrated male as a "wether" and a young animal as a "lamb" (*ἀρνίον*, n; *ἀρνός*, m; *ἀρνή*, f). *ἀρνειός* could mean ram or a wether.

Goats (*αἴξ,* gen. *αἰγός*, m, f): an uncastrated adult male can be referred to as "buck", "billy" or "ram" (*τράγος*), a female as a "doe" or "nanny", the castrated males as "wethers" and a milk-fed animal as a "kid" (*ἔριφος*). Young male goats over a year old were referred to as *χίμαρος* and female as *χίμαιρα*, from which the name of the fantastic Chimera was derived.

The concordance of adjectives, the use of articles and the context (the presence of milk, or the statement that the animal was pregnant for example) are often the best clue for knowing the gender of the animals mentioned in Greek literature. The Greek *πρόβατα* was most often used in the plural and to refer to all cattle from the Homeric period; it became more often used more specifically for sheep and goats during later Antiquity and almost invariably for sheep only in Attic prose and comedy (but not in tragedy)[2].

For the sake of clarity, in the present study, we will use the "ram", "ewe", "wether" and "lamb" to refer to sheep, but we will refer to male goats as "he-goat", and for the rest of the goats, we will use adjectives when specifications on sex and castration are needed.

Osteological studies in Greece can differentiate between wild goats (*capra aegagrus*) (*αἴγαγρος*) and domesticated goats (*capra aegagrus hircus*), while all

[1] Ekroth, 2014, p. 155

[2] Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon, TLG online version

the sheep bones belong to the domesticated species (*ovis aries*). By the early Neolithic, wild goats were distinguishable from domestic goat by their horn cores as well as the bones of the post cranial-skeleton[3]. Most of the time, however, the condition of the skeletal remains of animals is too poor to differentiate sheep and goat bones, and for that reason, ovicaprine bones are often considered jointly in zooarchaeological statistics as "*ovis vel capra*".

Sheep and goats were the first species in the world to be kept as livestock, transported to new places and to have evolved genetically to fit their new way of life[4]. Because of these evolutions, the animals' appearance varied depending on the regions – for instance, Herodotus[5] describes as a wonder two breeds of sheep that he observed in Arabia, the one with very long tails, trailing on the ground, and the other with very broad tails, which implies that Greek sheep usually had a moderate tail. The main differences between sheep and goats are the fact that sheep tend to gather more fat. DNA evidence[6] has shown that, until the Early Bronze Age, sheep in Greece had long coarse hair, while the wool sheep was introduced in Greece arrived in Greece in the Late Bronze Age at the latest. By the Archaic period, sheep were wooly and it differentiated them further from the goats, which had shorter and straighter hair.

Pausanias' description of the wild goats in Sardinia[7], which are no bigger than those found elsewhere and similar to those represented by the Aeginetan artists but with a shaggier ("*δασύτερά*") coat, indicates not only that there were different species of goats in Greece and Sardinia, but also that there were differences between goats throughout Greece; and the ones of Aegina had been rendered famous by their representations. Pausanias adds that the horns of the Sardinian goats do not stand straight away from their head (which is therefore the expected horn shape for a Greek goat) but curl directly beside the ear.

Unlike cattle and pigs, ancient ovicaprine appear to have been of a relatively equivalent size as the Modern Greek ones. The Delian ovicaprine were slightly larger in stature (69 cm for ewes and 68 for female goats) than their modern counterpart (about 65 cm). The gestation time for both sheep and goats is of about 5 months and weaning occurs after about 3 months, while the males can be castrated at 2 months; modern farming using traditional methods shows that domesticated mammals will produce more milk while the kids are still feeding on milk as long as they are separated at night after two weeks.

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[3] Wilkens, 2003, p. 86

[4] Clutton-Brock, 1999, p. 27

[5] Herodotus, 3, 113, 1-2

[66] Halstead and Isaakidou, lecture at the March 18th 2016 conference at the British School at Athens "Weaving the past: the archaeology of textile production in Greece in the first millennium BCE" (forthcoming publication of the proceedings)

[7] Pausanias, 10, 17, 2

Females typically need a two-month resting period between weaning and breeding again: they therefore usually have only one litter of 2 to 4 kids or lambs per year.

1. Hunting

Sheep entered Greece as a domesticated species: among the ovicaprine, only wild goat could be subject to hunting. Even though attested by osteological analysis, statistics indicate that the hunting of wild goats was probably insignificant in Greek antiquity. Researches led on Crete[8] indicate that wild goats were mostly hunted in the first phases of the Neolithic: at Phaistos, for instance, 56 fragments belonged to *capra aegagrus* for 55 fragments from *capra hircus* and 408 *ovis vel capra* bones in the Late Neolithic, while the presence of wild goat bones aren't attested at all in 8th century fragments from Profitis Ilias in Gortyn or Archaic to Hellenistic fragments from Patela in Prinias. Most of the bone evidence dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods around large Greek sanctuaries, like in Skardana on Delos[9], don't reveal any wild goat bones. Therefore, even if the hunt of wild goats might have occasionally survived in Antiquity, its impact remained insignificant on a larger scale.

2. Herding

Rich documentation on sheep and goat herding is available through osteoarchaeology as well as epigraphy and literature. Castration was already in use in Minoan Crete: in Knossos, where the palace economy focused on wool production as a priority in sheep herding (while secondary products from sheep and goats were only sporadically mentioned)[10], Linear B tablets indicate that most of the 100 000 sheep monitored were wethers, for optimal wool production, because castrated males produced more homogenous fleece, and that they were kept in separate flocks. The Knossos tablets[11] show evidence not only for castration and separation of gender, but also ewe isolation (which would allow a monitored reproduction), division into age groups and homogeneity of flocks. In Archaic to Hellenistic Greece, no higher agricultural structure could compare to the level of organization reached by Palatial Crete, but the techniques developed there would probably have travelled and influenced herding throughout antiquity.

Sheep and goat are similar animals with similar needs and they provide

[8] Wilkens, 2003, p. 86
[9] Leguilloux, 2003, p. 252-253
[10] Nosch, 2014, p. 1
[11] Nosch, 2014, p. 3

similar final products; they appear to have often been kept together in the same herds, and for all these reasons, they are often studied together. Ovicaprine are the least demanding of farm animals in terms of care: goats even more so, as sheep wool can require more attention. The shepherd's main duty was to keep them from getting lost, and lead them to graze away from the crops: they could even graze unsupervised or supervised by children on non-arable land[12]. They were reared for their milk, skin, hair, wool and meat. Milk production is similar for both species and most of the Ancient Greek milk was came from ovicaprine, while milk production was a minor factor in cattle herding[13]; the main secondary products from milk were cheese and butter, which could be kept longer, and Greek literature often indicates that dairy products were made out of sheep or goat milk[14]. Goat hair and sheep wool were both used for textile production. For instance, several surviving fragments of felt[15] have been discovered at Hellenistic Pydna, Macedonia, in a funerary context, and the analysis showed that it contained equal amounts of sheep wool and goat hair. Even though sheep and goat were reared for similar purposes, sheep wool was undeniably a more profitable source of textile fiber: the quality of wool was discussed in ancient literature while goat hair wasn't – for instance, Attic sheep were known for their soft fleece[16]. On the other hand, goats tend to produce more milk than ewe and were a better asset for cheese production.

Even though it was often stipulated in the sacrificial rules that male sacrificial victims should be intact, the reality of rearing demanded that, as was the case for cattle, most of the males were castrated at a young age[17] in order to produce fattier meat and better wool[18], to obtain bigger and better looking animals[19], as well as to increase the taste of the meat: Galen reports that rams had an unwholesome and bitter meat[20].

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[12] Rosivach, 1994, p. 79

[13] See the chapter on Cattle in the present study for further references

[14] Homer, *Iliad*, 11, 639: *"ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνῆ τυρόν"*; Xenophon, Memorabilia, 2, 7, 13: *"τὴν οἶν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην εἰπεῖν: ϑαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὃς ἡμῖν μὲν ταῖς καὶ ἔριά σοι καὶ ἄρνας καὶ τυρὸν"*

[15] Data kindly shared by Dimosthenis Kechagias, from the University of Peloponnese, following his lecture on "Archaeological textiles from Macedonia: Newest significant finds and the current interdisciplinary research" in the context of the March 18th 2016 conference at the British School at Athens "Weaving the past: the archaeology of textile production in Greece in the first millennium BCE" (forthcoming publication of the proceedings)

[16] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 219A: *"τίνα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐρίων ἄλλ᾽ ἐστὶ μαλακώτερα"*

[17] Ekroth, 2014

[18] Galen, 3, 6

[19] Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 632a, 9

[20] Galen, 3, 1

Sanctuaries often kept their own herds and the associated epigraphy is an excellent source of information when it comes to ancient agriculture[21]. In the context of our study, knowledge about sacred herds is especially valuable as it represents the reality of livestock at the same sanctuaries where animal statues were brought as offerings. All studies concur to indicate that ovicaprine represented the highest number of farmed animals and there seem to have been more sheep than goats in the herds. A good example of archaeological evidence in the context of a sanctuary herd is the bone study conducted on the remains found at on Delos, [22] at Skardana, next to Chora, and at one of the farm "aux jambages de granit", one of the largest on the island, to the SE, continuously in use from the 5th century BC, when its buildings were built, and the 1st century BC, when it became abandoned: ovicaprine represented the clear majority of the farmed animals at both locations: 61% at Skardana and 78.5% at the farm.

The same study indicates that there were about a goat for every 3 sheep in the Delian herds, and a ratio of about one ram for 9 ewes and one he-goat for 7 nanny goats. The age of slaughter has been determined for many of the Skardana remains: only 18.2% of the bones have remained unaged; 39% were at least 3 years old, 24.1% between 1 and 2 years and 18.7% between 3 months and 1 year. These data confirm the focus on wool and milk as more females were kept and killed at a later age, while males were killed for meat at a younger age.

3. Sacrifice and meat consumption

a. Proportion of sheep and goats sacrificed in comparison to other domesticated mammals, gender and age of the victims

Sheep and goats were by far the most common victims amongst domesticated mammals: 80% of the identifiable animal bones of the Classical period were sheep or goat[23]. Epigraphical evidence confirms the predominance of sheep[24]: the sacrificial calendar of the deme of Thorikos[25] (ca. 440-420 BC), the fragmentary Athenian law code associated with Nikomachos[26] (ca. 403-339 BC), the cultural calendar of the deme Erchia[27] (1st half of 4th century BC), the

[21] Chandezon, 2003
[22] Leguilloux, 2003
[23] Van Straten, 1995, p. 55
[24] Van Straten, 1995, p. 171-173
[25] SEG 33, 1983
[26] Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10
[27] Sokolowski, *LS* 18

sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis[28] (4th century BC) and the sacrificial calendar of the *genos* of the Salaminioi[29] (363 BC), recording more than 200 occasions of animal sacrifices (each occasion including one or multiple victims), show that sheep accounted for 57% of the sacrifices (or 58.4% of the victims if multiple sacrifices are taken into consideration)[30].

The sheep victims listed in the calendars reflect the reality of herding: out of the 130 sheep mentioned in the calendars, there are only 5 rams, 3 pregnant ewes, 8 lambs. The vast majority were wethers (56), ewes (35), and the victims of unspecified gender (14) were most likely chosen from the ewes and wethers of the flocks depending on the current necessities.

Even though ideal victims, rams were rare. The epigraphical evidence on herding in Greece from the end of the 5th century to the end of the 1st century BC in Greece collected by Chandezon[31] contains no reference to uncastrated males. It made them more valued but also explain that they were rarer sacrificial victims: in the 429 inscriptions of the collection of sacred laws gathered by Sokolowski[32] and Lupu[33], only about 30 rams and 10 uncastrated he-goats[34] are mentioned.

Sacrifices of pregnant animals or infants were also very rare: they could fit an occasional specific ritual but would have been detrimental to the growth of the flocks if they were practiced more often.

Goats are much less numerous than the sheep; they only represent 13% of the victims in the Attic sacred laws, 9% of the victims depicted in vase paintings and 4% in votive reliefs[35]. In the Attic sacrificial calendars, there were 10 times less mentions of goat victims than of sheep victims: only 15 goats for 150 sheep. Of these goats, there were 4 males, 6 females, 4 adults of unspecified gender and 4 kids. The even proportion between the numbers of uncastrated he-goats and females and the much lower number of goats sacrificed indicates that goats were the object of more specialized sacrifices[36] while the sheep were appreciated by most of the divinities.

At the occasion of one Attic festival, however, a considerable number of goats were sacrificed: in the autumn, on the 6th of Boedromion, 500 female

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[28] Sokolowski, *LS* 20
[29] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19
[30] Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[31] Chandezon, 2003
[32] Sokolowski, *LS, LSS, Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*
[33] Lupu, 2009
[34] Ekroth, 2014, p. 156
[35] Van Straten, 1995, p. 171, n° 47
[36] The sacred laws tend to indicate that goats were mainly sacrificed to Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite - cf. Van Straten, 1995, p. 171, n° 47

goats[37] were offered every year at the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera to commemorate the victory at Marathon. That was the only large scale annual sacrifice not recorded in the *Dermatikon* Accounts[38]: Plutarch[39] records the popular story according to which the Athenians had originally vowed to sacrifice as many young female goats as they would kill barbarians, but they had killed so many Persians at Marathon that, instead of honoring their vow at once, they started this large annual festival.

The osteological evidence from ancient sanctuaries[40] indicates that in the Archaic and Classical period, sheep and goat victims were mostly juvenile and sub-adult individuals rather than infants or adults, but the difference seems to even out during the Hellenistic period. In most cases, bones of sheep and goat have been studied together, but in the Artemision of Ephesos, where they have been differentiated, at least 39 individual goats were identified, for only 6 sheep, 8 cattle and 6 pigs, which confirms the importance of goat victims at sanctuaries of Artemis.

b. Monetary value of live sheep and goats and derivate product

The sacrificial calendars[41] are an excellent source of information regarding the price of goats and sheep, at least in the 4th century:

Wethers and ewes cost between 10 and 15 drachmas, the rams 17 drachmas, the pregnant ewes between 10 and 17 drachmas, the older lambs 7 drachmas and the infants 4 drachmas.

Castrated goats and female goats cost between 10 to 15 drachmas and uncastrated he-goats between 12 and 17 drachmas.[42]

The prices of sheep and goats are therefore very similar, which confirms that the disproportion of victims was probably mostly due to religious preferences. It may also have been linked to the fact that fat was very appreciated in antiquity, as both Galen[43] and Aristotle[44] praise fatter animals, and sheep tend to accumulate more fat than even castrated male goats do;

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[37] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 3, 2, 12; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 659-662

[38] Rosivach, 1994, p. 58

[39] Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus*, 26, 862 a

[40] Jameson, 1988, p. 90-93, based on evidence from the Kabeiron, near Thebes in Boeotia, the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, the Artemision at Ephesos, Kommos in Crete, the Altar of Artemis Ourania on the Athenian Agora and the Temple of Apollo at Halieis.

[41] SEG 33; Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10; *LS* 18; *LS* 20; *LSS* 19

[42] Ekroth, 2014, p. 156; Van Straten, 1995, p. 182; Rosivach, 1994

[43] Galen, 3, 6

[44] Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 632a, 9

sheep might, for this reason, have been more valued for their meat than the goats, and the ritual meal was a very central aspect of ancient Greek sacrifice.

The skins of finished sheep and goat hides are close to each other and probably ranged between 1.5 and 5 drachmas[45], while the raw hides probably ranged between 1.5 and 3 drachmas. They could be used to make warm winter coats, bed covers and carpets. Pausanias also mentions how, during the First Messenian War, the Arcadian soldiers who didn't possess a breastplate or shield were protected by skins of goats and sheep[46]; this shows that these skins were accessible to the common people. Indeed, another of Pausanias' anecdotes[47] relates that Pelasgus, the first mythical king of Arcadia, had been the first to think of making coats out of sheep skins, such as the ones still worn in his time by the poor people of Euboia and Phocis. This indicates that coats made of sheep skins were cheaper and less in fashion than the more sophisticated wool coats, that required long hours of work.

The affordability of sheep as livestock tend to imply that raw wool wasn't very expensive. The work associated with weaving was, however, considerable: experimental studies led by the University of Copenhagen[48] have found that weaving 1 m² of fabric using an ancient loom would take between 2 and 5 days depending on the type of fabric produced. Weaving was, at least since Bronze Age Greece, done at a domestic scale, both by the mistress of the household and her slaves and women took pride in their work, with role models such as the wise Penelope[49] and Helen of Troy[50], who both weave all the fabric used in their own household. But even before weaving, the fabrication of textiles made of wool required

Fig. 1 – Girl working wool Brygos Painter

[45] Rosivach,1994, p. 63-64, based on IG² 1672 and IG² 1673

[46] Pausanias, 4, 11, 3

[47] Pausanias, 8, 1, 6

[48] Eva Andersson Strand and Marie-Louise Nosch, "Textile production in Bronze Age Aegean – new perspective", lecture given in the context of the March 18th 2016 conference at the British School at Athens "Weaving the past: the archaeology of textile production in Greece in the first millennium BCE" (forthcoming publication of the proceedings)

[49] Homer, *Odyssey*, 2, 84

[50] Homer, *Iliad*, 22, 440; 3, 125, 8; *Odyssey*, 15, 105

lengthy preparations **(Fig. 1)**[51], such as the combing of the wool and the spinning of the yarn[52]. Because of the time, energy and artistry put into them, woolen clothes were extremely valuable, and Plutarch[53] reports that Solon had put a limit as to the allowed amount of clothes that could be buried with the dead. Much later, Diodorus of Sicily[54] relates that it was frowned upon for a husband in Syracuse to wear a cloak of Milesian wool, a too luxurious good, as it would show his taste for prostitution or adultery.

The appreciation of wool beyond the price of the raw material is an important consideration to keep in mind when studying offerings dedicated by women: not unlike loom weights offerings, wool offerings had a religious value beyond their mercantile price.

c. Selective criteria and individual divine preference: the repartition of the victims

As seen earlier, sheep represented the vast majority of domesticated animal victims and were therefore a very common stream victim, appreciated by most gods and goddesses. A victim so common that the Lacedaemonians were accompanied on their expeditions by sheep[55], to serve as sacrifice to the gods and give fair men before battles; only a few she-goats came with them and led the flocks of sheep.

d. Specificity of goat sacrifice

Even though they were almost or equally as important as sheep on the agricultural level, goats were a rarer victim, and appear to have been suitable as an offering for specific divinities only, namely Artemis, Apollo, Dionysos and Aphrodite[56]. Usually female victims for the goddesses and male victims for the male gods; Dionysos preferred his victims black[57]. All these four gods have a

[51] Attic lekythos from the Early Classical Period (480-470 BC) attributed to the Bryggos Painter representing a young woman with a beautiful dress and jewels working wool from a *kalathos*. The artist shows her as an ideal of beauty: above her are hung a hair net and a mirror, and an inscription indicates “ΗΕ ΠΑΙΣ [ΚΑΛΕ]”. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 13.189. Photo: Boston MFA.

[52] Homer, *Odyssey*, 7, 77

[53] Plutarch, Life of Solon, 20, 4

[54] Diodorus of Sicily, 12, 21, 1

[55] Pausanias, 9, 13, 4

[56] Van Straten, 1995, p. 171, n° 47

[57] The god was even known as “Dionysos of the Black Goatskin” in Hermione, Pausanias, 2, 35, 1, and as “goat killer” at Potniae in Boeotia, Pausanias, 9, 8, 1

tight link with nature and wilderness: the huntress Artemis was the goddess of wilderness par excellence and her mythology includes the hunting of wild goats, and Apollo is probably connected to the animal through his closeness with his twin sister[58]. Dionysos[59] and Aphrodite were both associated with nature's needs and wild behaviors; they are often in the company of the satyrs and Pan, the goat-hoofed pastoral god. These associations between gods and wild goats shows that, even though they were domesticated animals in the historical times, they were still a symbol of wilderness. The fact that goats run nimbly through abrupt mountains, gambol around, climb up trees, eat thorny bushes and have an air of freedom about them even in flocks (and that can still be observed in most parts of modern Greece), easily explain how they would constitute a very suitable sacrifice for divinities of the wilderness. The association of the goat with gods such as Pan, Aphrodite and Dionysos, all patrons of orgies, makes it belong to an imagery of wilderness but also of unbridled sexuality. This easily explains how the he-goat became a symbol of the devil and of paganism in Christian times.

As for the other gods, they preferred the more civilized gift of sheep, even though exceptions could occasionally be made: Pausanias[60] relates that the Lacedaemonians were the only Greeks to surname Hera "Goat-Eater", because Herakles, thankful towards Hera as she had not hindered him in his fight against Hippokoon and his children, made a sacrifice to the goddess. And, since he lacked other victims, he offered her goats.

The Cyreneans also offered goats to Asclepios, but the Epidaurians refused to do so because a goat had saved Asclepios by nursing him when he had been exposed as a child[61].

e. Apparatus

In the 3rd century, Porphyry[62] reports an oracle from Delphi stating that the offspring of prophets, that is to say the inspector of sacred rites, is not allowed

[58] This is conveyed in the myth depicting Apollo building the first altar of horns on Delos with the goats that Artemis hunted, Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 58-63

[59] Pausanias, 2, 23, 1, tells a legend according to which she-goats gathered in a cave of Euboia to get shelter from the storm, and were found by the Greeks on their return from Troy: the meat and skins of the goat saved them from certain death and they brought the god's image back to Argos where they still worshiped it by the time of Pausanias for his present

[60] Pausanias, 3, 15, 9

[61] Pausanias, 2, 26, 9

[62] Porphyry*, De Abstinentia ab Esu Animalium*, 2, 9

to kill a sheep by force but with washed hands and that it is lawful to kill a sheep that dies voluntarily. The ideal appearance of a sheep or a goat led to sacrifice is therefore one of tame obedience. The victims were decorated with garlands before being led to the altar[63].

f. Mode of consumption of the sacrificial meat and butcheries

We have seen earlier that the *thysia*, the standard sacrifice for Olympian deities where only a small portion of the animal was burnt on the *bomos* and the rest consumed, was the most common form of sacrifice for domesticated mammalians. It was, indeed, the way to celebrate the divinities while bringing the communities closer together through a bonding ritual involving a meal. Large dining halls, such as the one excavated at the sanctuary of Asclepios in Epidauros[64], were the place for large social gatherings, motivated by a common religion but extending far beyond. The description in ancient literature[65] of meals made on sacrificial victims with no mention of the sacrifice itself was not uncommon.

Fresh meat was rarely eaten outside of sacrifices[66], and ovocaprine were the ideal victims for smaller communities that couldn't afford beef meat: ritual sacrifices and meals were a fair way to redistribute resources in Classical and Hellenistic cities, tribes or demes.

The meat was normally consumed in the sanctuary after the sacrifice[67], but was occasionally distributed raw to take away[68] when it wasn't bought with tax funds but offered by individual benefactors.

Leftover meat from sacrifices was sold to butchers or sausage-makers and traded afterwards as products of lesser quality than fresh meat. Aristophanes' sausage-maker in the *Knights*[69] wishes the sacrifice of 500 goats at the festival of Artemis Agrotera were increased to 1000 because he would make profit out of it.

Holocausts, in which the victim was completely destroyed by fire on an *eschara*, a fire built directly on the ground, were much more rare and suitable

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[63] Pausanias, 2, 11, 4, mentions a ewe decorated with flowers rather than with garlands, which implies that garlands were the usual attire of the victims.

[64] Dinsmoor, 1975, p. 320

[65] Rosivach, 1994, p. 3, no 5; Plato, *Laws*, 782C; Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 2, 9; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1321a, 35-37

[66] Rosivach, 1994, p. 3,

[67] The Erchia calendar has several mentions of "*οὐ φορά"*, Sokolowski, *LS* 18

[68] The calendar of the genos of the Salaminioi indicates that the meat bought by the *ôskophoroi* and the *deipnophoroi* was to be distributed raw in one occasion, Sokolowski, *LSS* 19

[69] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 659-662

only for chthonian deities and some heroes. The sacrificial calendars indicate that the victims chosen for these rituals were usually the cheapest ones: the norm in the calendars was to offer a little piglet, and, occasionally, a lamb[70]. The Sicyonians offered a pregnant ewe every year as a burnt offering to the Erinyes at an oak grove sacred to the goddesses[71]; this more pricey sacrifice would probably appease the goddesses and help the other pregnant ewes to give birth and widen the flocks with no evil surrounding them.

g. Altars of horns

Several altars of horns have been built, always associated with Artemis, and sometimes Apollo[72]. The most famous example is the one at Delos[73]. The Delian altar was such an important landmark that Callimachus[74] places its construction in mythological times: while still living on his native Delos, Apollo collected the horns of the goats that his twin sister was hunting on the Mount Cynthos to build an altar entirely made of horns, from its foundations to its walls.

The other altars of horns were discovered through archaeological evidence from the excavations at the Artemision at Ephesos, at Dreros[75], at Kato Simi on Crete and at Halieis. The large number of horns required in the construction of a horn altar would stand as a memorial to the numerous sacrifices made with the goddess' victim of predilection[76].

h. Use of sheep and goat products in rituals

Raw wool was a suitable sacrifice for Demeter: at her annual festival in Phigalia made by private persons, for instance, she received no burnt sacrifice, but grapes, other fruits, honeycomb and raw wool, and oil was poured over all these offerings placed on the goddess' altar[77]. The sanctuary in question was described by Pausanias as a cave sanctuary, and was therefore located in a very agricultural context, and probably kept by people of lesser means. These offerings were therefore individual gestures of thankfulness and protection-

[70] Van Straten, 1995
[71] Pausanias, 2, 11, 4
[72] Jameson, 1988, p. 92
[73] Bruneau, 1995
[74] Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 58-63: *"τετραέτης τὰ πρῶτα θεμείλια Φοῖβος ἔπηξε / καλῇ ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ περιηγέος ἐγγύθι λίμνης. / Ἄρτεμις ἀγρώσσουσα καρήατα συνεχὲς αἰγῶν / Κυνθιάδων φορέεσκεν, ὁ δ' ἔπλεκε βωμὸν Ἀπόλλων. / δείματο μὲν κεράεσσιν ἐδέθλια, πῆξε δὲ βωμὸν / ἐκ κεράων, κεραοὺς δὲ πέριξ ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους."*
[75] Marinatos, 1936
[76] Kadletz, 1976, p. 87-96
[77] Pausanias, 8, 42, 11

seeking to the divinity who was granting them all these products of nature and of their own work. Wool was also offered to Neoptolemos at Delphi: the Delphians sacrificed to the son of Achilles as to a hero and, while oil was poured on his grave every day, unworked wool was placed on it at each feast[78].

The skin could sometimes be used in the rituals that accompanied the sacrifice: for instance, the adorers who came to the oracle at Oropos, had to sacrifice on a ram and then sleep on its skin to receive their answer[79].

II. Sheep and goats in Ancient Greek literature

1. Sheep and goats in Greek mythology

a. Mythical herds

Helios was not only fond of his cows, but also of his flocks of fatty sheep, *ἴφια μῆλα*[80], and the god is infuriated when Odysseus' companions steal his animals, take them aboard their sheep in spite of Odysseus' advice and sacrifice them to eat their flesh.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*[81], Apollo humorously accuses his baby brother of stealing the thick-fleeced sheep of herdsmen in the mountain to satisfy his meat cravings. Hermes also uses sheep-gut[82] to make the string of the first lyre. And, in the end of the dispute about the theft of Apollo's cow, it was decided by Zeus himself that Hermes would henceforth be lord over all sheep[83], among other responsibilities.

b. Divine associations with sheep

Interestingly, there are few deep associations between gods and sheep: they most common offering and a praised part of men and gods' herds, but had the fame of a rather dull live animal, used as a food but not admired for any other trait than to be fatty. The complaint of the ewe[84] who think humans are unfair to be friendly to dogs but not their useful sheep, who provide wool, meat

[78] Pausanias, 10, 24, 6
[79] Pausanias, 1, 34, 5
[80] Homer, *Odyssey*, 12, 323
[81] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 287
[82] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 53
[83] *Homeric Hymn 4* to Hermes, 571
[84] Xenophon, Memorabilia, 2, 7, 13

and cheese, confirms this idea. The ram could, however, be viewed as a symbol of virility, especially in the more primitive rites.

Apollo seems to have had a persistent association with sheep, with his epithet of Apollo Carneios[85], who appears to be associated with Hermes carrying a ram. Apollo Carneios had a seer called Ram[86]. Apollo is sometimes represented with ram horns; some examples can be seen on stelai at Sparta.

Hermes is often represented as carrying a ram, which owes him the epithet of *kriophoros*, or with a ram beside him[87], but that shows an association between him and the sacrificial animal rather than a deeper relation between and him rams. Pausanias hints to a story about Hermes and the ram that was told at the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis but doesn't share the story as he is sworn to silence[88].

Poseidon fathered a gold-fleeced winged ram with the nymph Theophane while using his primitive ram shape[89].

The Golden Ram, born from the union of the ram-shaped Poseidon and Theophane, whom the god changed into a ewe to mate with her hidden from her other suitors.[90] His wool was golden (*χρυσόμαλλον*) and he had wings. The magical creature saved the children of the king Athame, Phrixus and Helle, from the sacrificial knife of their father, convinced by his second wife to sacrifice his own children. The ram tried to fly them from Boeotia to Colchis, but Helle fell in what is now the Hellespont[91]. Upon safe arrival, Phrixus sacrificed the ram to Poseidon and hung the Golden Fleece in an oak grove sacred to Ares[92]. The ram became the constellation of the Ram, which marked the time of year when the grain was sown[93]. The Golden Fleece (*χρυσόμαλλον δέρας*) then became a symbol of kingship and became the subject of further mythological episodes, such as Jason's quest for the fleece[94].

c. Divine associations with goats

[85] Pausanias, 4, 33, 4
[86] Pausanias, 3, 13, 3
[87] Pausanias, 2, 3, 4
[88] Pausanias, 2, 3, 4
[89] Kerényi, 1974
[90] Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 163
[91] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4, 259
[92] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1, 80
[93] Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica*, 2, 20
[94] Pindar, *Pythian Ode 4*, 156-160; Diodorus of Sicily, 4, 40, 4

Pan, the goat-hoofed god is the most striking example of an association between gods and goats. The goats that Aristophanes refers to as stinking[95], are a way of giving to the god a wild, slightly repulsive and very natural aspect. In a late Hellenistic votive group from Delos (inv. 3335), dedicated by Dionysos of Berytos (Beirut) to his ancestral gods, Aphrodite waves Pan off with her sandal while she smiles, showing simultaneously the repulsive aspect of the goat god while admitting to his belonging to her realm. In rural cults, goats were easily associated with Pan: for instance, a cave by the lake of Marathon where rocks were shaped like goats became a sanctuary of Pan and the rocks his herd of goats[96].

Goats could also be wet-nurses for gods. What creates the strongest link between goats and gods, however, is the recurrent part they play as nurturing mother figures for exposed children of important lineage.

Amalthea is the most famous of these nursing goats: she fed none less than the divine child who would become the king of the Olympian gods when Rhea was forced to hide **Zeus**[97] in order to save him from Kronos. Even though she was not immortal, she was made into the constellation of the goat[98]; when he accidentally broke her horn, Zeus made it into what would be later known as the cornucopia, a horn that could provide endless provisions of food and drink[99], and after her death, he used her hide to fashion the *aegis*[100].

Asclepios was also thought to have been fed by a goat: that was the reason why it was customary to sacrifice any animal at Epidauros, except the goat[101].

The twin brothers **Phyakides and Philandros**, sons of Apollo and of the nymph Akakallis, were also fed by a goat[102].

d. Odysseus' ruse using Polyphemos' flock of sheep

Polyphemos' flock of sheep were used by Odysseus[103] to escape the Cyclops' cave, once he had blinded him. He instructed each of his companions to cling under a sheep, and for every sheep bearing a man, he bound two other sheep, on either side, to protect the hidden human, and so, Odysseus sent them out of the cave, three sheep by three sheep, each group carrying a man, and

[95] Aristophanes, Plutus, 294 ; Peace, 814
[96] Pausanias, 1, 32, 7
[97] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 484
[98] Aratus, 162
[99] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2, 148
[100] Diodorus of Sicily, 5, 70, 1
[101] Pausanias, 10, 32, 12
[102] Pausaniasa, 10, 16, 5
[103] Homer, *Odyssey*, 9, 426-445

concealing his companions from the touch of the blind Cyclops. Odysseus himself hid under a big and shaggy ram, the best of the flock, and went last: Polyphemos only attributed the fact that the large ram, usually the first to come out to graze, had gone out last out of sorrow for the loss of his master's eye.

The story was retold in the 5th century in Euripides' play[104], and was a popular subject among artists throughout antiquity: archaic bronze statuettes and ornaments[105] **(Fig. 2)[106]** representing Odysseus bound to the belly of the ram[107] and several vases[108] from different period illustrating the scene survive.

Fig. 2 – Archaic bronze Odysseus tied to the ram at Delphi

III. Sheep and goats in ancient Greek artistic representations

[104] Euripides, *Cyclops*

[105] Examples: archaic ornament from Delphi; archaic statuette of unknown origin (British Museum 1772,0307.182)

[106] Bronze ornament representing Odysseus and the ram, Delphi Museum; photograph by CM Dixon, Print Collector, © Getty Images.

[107] Delphi, inv. 680

[108] Examples : archaic lekythos, Musée du Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France; classical kylix, Gardner, 1897, n°67

1. Sheep and goats on vase paintings

Even though sheep were the most common victim, they fall far beyond the cattle and pigs when it comes to sacrificial representations on vase paintings, and goat sacrifice is virtually inexistent in that context. Van Straten's statistics[109] show that only 11.3% of the sacrifices depicted of vessels are sheep (13% of the victims, if multiple sacrifices are taken into consideration); that is far less than the representations of cattle sacrifice, and about the same as representations of pig sacrifice. The sacrificial calendars[110] indicate that sheep represented at least 57% of the sacrifices (and 58.4% of the victims), more if the animals listed as *τέλεοι* and frequently mentioned in the calendars were sheep, which is the strongest possibility for the use of that word. This disproportion between sheep sacrifices on vase paintings and in real life tends to indicate that the sacrifice of sheep was rather banal and not a particularly worthy subject for vessels, on which the painters were more incline to depict splendid albeit less common bull sacrifices. The quasi absence of goat sacrifices in vase paintings is only logical as we have seen that they were less desirable as victims than sheep of equivalent price. In other scenes than sacrifice, sheep are mainly present on mythological scenes involving Odysseus' trick to escape from the Cyclops' cave and scenes representing the flight of Golden Ram.

Fig. 3 – He-goat and Satyr on an Attic black figure kyathos

Goats, however, like birds, bulls, horses and floral decorations, have been an esthetic motive present on vases since the Geometric period[111]: they often seem to be represented at the frontier between the wild and the tame; it can be difficult to tell them apart from deer and ibex. There are often several goats on vases where they appear, which suggests their belonging to flocks. Later, their representation is still strongly associated with scenes pertaining to nature and wilderness: on an Attic kyathos **(Fig. 3)**[112], for instance, a tall and bearded he-

[109] Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[110] SEG 33; Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10; *LS* 18; *LS* 20; *LSS* 19
[111] Cook, 1998, on Wild Goat Style.
[112] Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.2008.51. Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen, 2011 (CC).

goat is represented in the company of a horse-tailed and erect satyr.

2. Representation of sheep and goats on votive reliefs

Representations of goat sacrifices on votive relief as on vase paintings are insignificant in number. Sheep sacrifice is, however, a much more popular subject for votive reliefs than for vase paintings: based on Van Straten's statistics[113], sheep represent 32.6% (35.7% when counting multiple victims) of the sacrifices represented on votive reliefs, that is considerably more than cattle (10.1% or 13.2%) but also notably less than pigs (46.5% or 47.3%). Votive reliefs tend to be closer to the reality of sacrifices than vase paintings when it comes to the value of the victims represented, but there is a clear preference for pigs over sheep that is not easily justified by the equivalent proportions of these two species in the calendars. Even though the numbers are closer to those obtained through osteological and literary evidence, sheep sacrifice is again largely under-represented in votive reliefs.

Votive reliefs had a very different use than vases: even though vases could be used as offerings, they were also present in private dwellings, both as functional objects of the everyday life and as decorative pieces. Votive reliefs, on the other hand, were created in the sole purpose to be placed in sanctuaries for religious purposes. They could commemorate a sacrifice or maybe replace one, but weren't merely decorative art pieces. They would most probably require that the sacrifice and procession had in fact taken place in order to be immortalized in the scene. Their dedication would immortalize a pious gesture for the gods and the visitors of the sanctuary to remember the sacrifice years after it was made. For these reasons, it is understandable that cattle fell behind on the sacrificial scenes carved on votive reliefs because they were less common victims while votive stelae were numerous and relatively affordable – much more than a statue, for sure. The question of why sheep were less represented than pigs on votive reliefs remains. The answer might lie in the fact that pigs were especially appreciated by certain divinities. For instance, pigs were strongly associated with rituals in honor of Demeter and Persephone. Sheep, however, did represent most of the victims actually sacrificed and a significant third of representations on votive relief. Votive reliefs show sheep as a standard, unspecific victim, liked by all gods but with no strong preference for them.

3. Small clay and bronze offerings of sheep and goat statuettes

[113] Van Straten, 1995, p. 175

Small offerings of ovicaprine statuettes are well spread throughout Greek sanctuaries[114] since the late Geometric period; they were however far less numerous than little clay and bronze cattle offerings in the larger sanctuaries of Olympia[115] and Delphi[116]. It is difficult to provide pertinent statistics on this matter as most of the smaller offerings from the many excavated sanctuaries remain unpublished; many small votive statuettes representing sheep can be seen at various Greek museums. The simplicity of the earliest statuettes doesn't allow an easy distinction between sheep and goats, but when they are differentiable, we can often observe a majority of sheep, and especially rams with large curled horns[117]. The earlier bronzes imitated clay or wax prototypes[118] and then evolved into better crafted art pieces. A large amount of small ovicaprine statuettes, with a balanced proportion of identifiable sheep and goats were offered at the Spartan temple of Artemis Orthia[119]. In the Kabeiron of Thebes, numerous ovicaprine terracotta were offered, and some the few bronzes show a preference for goats: out of 10 ovicaprine bronze statuettes published in Schmaltz' volume[120] on metal figurines from that sanctuary, 7 are clearly goats, 6 of which display clear male characteristics, while only 3 are sheep, and the big curled horns would suggest all 3 were male. The predominance of the he-goat over other ovicaprine at the Theban Kabeiron – where cattle represent a crushing majority of bronze offerings – tends to confirm the Dionysian character of the animal. Another sanctuary where bronze statuettes were in majority compared to sheep statuettes was the temple of Pamisos, a river god, at Aghios Floros in Messenia: 4 bronze statuettes of adult goats and two of goat-kids were found, together with 7 cattle statuettes, one of a horse and one of a boar[121]. The river god is was a god of the wilderness, which justifies a preference for goats.

A few statuettes stand out because they bear a dedication: a 7 cm long sheep bronze statuette from the Athenian Acropolis was inscribed "Supplication of Peisis"[122]. In Laconia, two goats from the 6th century BC carrying a dedication were found; a he-goat at Kynouria, dedicated to Maleatas[123], the local epithet of Apollo, and another goat dedicated to Apollon

[114] Van Straten, 1995, p. 54
[115] Perdrizet, 1908, p. 54
[116] Heilmeyer, 1979, Taffel 116: out of 121 illustration tables for animal bronze statuettes from Olympia, only 5 statuettes represent sheep, amongst which 3 are probably rams and the two other are rather clumsily shaped
[117] Perdrizet, 1908, p. 54, fig. 171 and 171 bis
[118] Rolley, 1986, p. 61
[119] Bevan, 1986
[120] Schmaltz, 1980, Taffeln 22-23
[121] Valmin, 1938, p. 444-448
[122] Athens, NM 6695; De Ridder, 1896, p. 529; IG I² 434
[123] Athens, NM 76666; Jeffery, 1990, p. 200, n°38; IG V 1, 939

Hyperteleatas[124].

The clay figurines were of very simple design and could have easily be made by shepherds wishing to place their flocks under the protection of a deity. The bronze ones, even though slightly more expensive, were still a very affordable offering. The statuettes, an altogether casual gift, could have been offered in more context than the commemoration of a sacrifice to which they usually have been associated by scholars[125].

4. The horn of Amalthea

The horn of Zeus' wet nurse, the goat Amalthea, was accidentally broken by the child god in his plays, and Zeus then made it in a horn of plenty, that would provide endless provisions of food and water[126]. This emphasizes the nurturing quality of the goat: Amalthea was a good enough nurse to feed the future Olympian king with her milk, and her horn was made into a device capable of feeding humanity with no limits. The theme gained increasing favor in later times, and Amalthea's horn is mostly known as the Latin *cornucopia*.

It was however already used as an offering in Classical times: Pausanias[127] reports that Miltiades, son of Kimon, first of his house to rule in the Thracian Chersonesos, offered the ivory horn of Amaltheia. It was placed inside the treasury of Sicyon and carried an inscription written in old Attic characters: "Ζηνί μ᾽ ἄγαλμ᾽ ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ χερονήσου τεῖχος ἑλόντες Ἀράτου: ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφίν." Miltiades dedicated it to Zeus Olympian in remembrance of a battle that was won by the Chersonesians under his lead. It was probably paid with the spoils of the battle and the theme was reminiscent of Zeus' generosity.

5. Absence of ram and goat statues in the funerary context

Sheep and goat statues are also lacking from the funerary context: free-standing animal sculptures were, altogether, a rather rare offering, but other animals, such as oxen or lions were common in cemeteries. There is no preserved and known statue of a sheep or of a goat from Greek cemeteries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

The stone ram standing on Thyestes' tomb[128] mentioned in Pausanias is a very particular case: it is somewhat an offering to the mythological figure, but

[124] Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Jeffery, 1990, p. 200, n°35 ; SEG 11, 692
[125] Van Straten, 1995, p. 54
[126] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2, 148
[127] Pausanias, 6, 19, 6
[128] Pausanias, 2, 18, 1

Thyestes was far from being a god. That ram was more of a remainder of the character's hubris: *"λίθου δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ κριός, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσῆν, μοιχεύσας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα"*. The ram is, indeed, a reminder of the fact that Thyestes had obtained the golden lamb, that originally belonged to the flock of his brother, Atreus, by debauching his brother's wife. That myth was the stepping stone to the terrible malediction that plagued the family of Atreus for generations, up to Orestes' miserable wandering, plagued by the Erinyes.

This is therefore a very particular tomb offering, and doesn't define the ram as a desirable votive statue for either a tomb or a heroic sanctuary.

IV. Sculptures of sheep and goats in religious groups

The present dissertation is focused on free-standing statues addressed to a deity rather than as part of a group, where the theme of the sculpture shifts from the animal itself to an association with a specific character or with an action. Despite their extreme rarity as a free-standing offering, sheep and goats do appear recurrently as part of sculptural group offerings at Greek sanctuaries throughout antiquity. Given the scarcity of ovicaprine statue offerings, it is worth taking into consideration their more usual presence in sculptural-group offerings.

6. Kriophoroi

The *kriophoroi*, or statues of *kouroi* carrying rams, are the most common occurrence of ovicaprine representations in Greek sculptural offerings. They are attested both through archaeological finds in several sanctuaries and in ancient literary sources.

Pausanias reports three statues of ram-bearers and identifies all of them as Hermes:

A statue of Hermes carrying a ram on his shoulders[129] was made by Calamis and displayed at the sanctuary of Hermes Ram-Bearer at Tanagra. Pausanias tells the story that gave its name to the sanctuary. It was, indeed, believed that Hermes averted a pestilence from the city by carrying a ram round the walls. The statue was offered in commemoration of the city's deliverance from the disease. In addition, the most handsome youth of the city would go around the walls of the city each year at the feast of Hermes, carrying a ram on his shoulder: *"ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ τε Κριοφόρου καὶ ὃν Πρόμαχον καλοῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς σφισιν ἀποτρέψαι νόσον λοιμώδη περὶ*

[129] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1

τὸ τεῖχος κριὸν περιενεγκών, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ***Κάλαμις ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ φέροντα κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων****: ὃς δ᾽ ἂν εἶναι τῶν ἐφήβων προκριθῇ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστος, οὗτος ἐν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῇ ἑορτῇ περίεισιν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων*."

Calamis flourished in the 5th century: Pausanias reports that he had also made a statue of Zeus Ammon for Pindar at Thebes[130]. This statue of Hermes *kriophoros* was consequently dating from the Classical period.

A statue of Hermes carrying a ram[131] was set in a Messenian sanctuary named the Carnasian grove when Pausanias visited it, and Oechalia before his time; the sanctuary was facing a plain named after the hero Stenykleros. Close to it was a statue of Apollo Carneios, another one of Kore known as Hagne and a spring: *"διαβάντι δὲ τούτους πεδίον ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικόν: εἶναι δὲ ἥρωα Στενύκληρον λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δέ ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πλῆρες. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου καὶ Ἀγνῆς καὶ* ***Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν****. ἡ δὲ Ἀγνὴ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις: ὕδωρ δὲ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα."*

A statue of Hermes carrying a ram under his arm[132] was consecrated to Hermes at Olympia by the Arcadians of Pheneos. On the representation, Hermes was wearing a helmet, a tunic and a cloack. Pausanias mentions an inscription for the statue that attributed it to the artist Onatas of Aegina, helped by Calliteles, whom Pausanias assumes to be Onatas' student or son: *"****ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ*** *καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνῆν καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκὼς οὐ τῶν Φόρμιδος ἔτι ἀναθημάτων ἐστίν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ: Ὀνάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλην ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δέ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητὴς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν."*

The same passage mentions another statue of Hermes with a herald's staff next to this statue, and the corresponding inscription[133], dated between 420 and 410 BC, was found in the court of the Olympian *Palaestra*:

[Γλαυκί]αι με Κάλων γεν[εαῖ F]αλεῖορ ἐποίη.
Γλα]υκίης ὁ Λυκκίδεω
[τῶ]ι Ερμῆ ˙Ρ[η]γῖνος.

These two statues dedicated to Hermes were placed together with other offerings, placed in a row, facing south and close to the precinct consecrated to

[130] Pausanias, 9, 16, 1
[131] Pausanias, 4, 33, 4
[132] Pausanias, 5, 27, 8
[133] Frazer, 1898, vol. 3, p. 650, n°27.8

Pelops[134]; the other statues that Pausanias describes from the same location were two horses and two charioteers[135], dedicated by the Arcadian Phormis, and dating from around 476 BC[136] who had become a Syracusan, but without precision as to which deity it was directed to, and three statuettes of Phormis himself, fighting, dedicated by a friend of his, Lycortas of Syracuse[137]. The two Hermes statues follow, both consecrated to Hermes, and next to them was the two bronze oxen from the Eretrians and the Corcyreans[138], both Classical works from around 500-475 BC[139].

Onatas of Aegina, the author of the Hermes carrying the ram, was a contemporary of the Persian Wars[140]; he had also contributed to the execution of the Ex-voto of the Tarentines[141] in Delphi, and made a votive chariot at Olympia, the dedication[142] of which has been found and dated around 490-480 BC. All the offerings described by Pausanias in a row are therefore Classical works and they probably were still set at their original place; the votive statues offered to Hermes were set within the Olympian sanctuary outside of the Altis and of a specific temple, and not separated from other offerings addressed to Zeus.

A colossal *kriophoros* **(Fig. 4)[143]** dated around 580 BC was found in Thasos[144], built in the base of a medieval wall at the east of the Acropolis, close to the Pythion. The nude *kouros* holding the ram was 3.5 m high (3.6 together with the plinth); its face remains unfinished but his long locks of hair fell well-detailed on the shoulders, four locks on each side and eight in the back. His right arm was stretched along his body and the right hand held firmly the hind hoofs of the animal, while the left hand held the animals' shoulder against the young man's torso. The curved horns and the sexual characteristic of the animal were clearly visible: it

Fig. 4 – *Kriophoros* from Thasos

[134] Pausanias, 5, 27, 1
[135] Pausanias, 5, 27, 2
[136] The sculptor Dionysios the Argive, author of these offerings, is considered to have flourished around 476 BC: cf. Frazer, 1898, vol. 3, p. 649, n°26.3
[137] Pausanias, 5, 27, 7
[138] Pausanias, 5, 27, 9
[139] See chapter on Cattle (statues **Ba4** and **Ba7** in association with base **Bb3**)
[140] Dörig, 1977
[141] Pausanias, 10, 10, 6-8; Bommelaer, 1991
[142] SEG 32, 412; the inscription was written in Aeginetan script and the letters were shaped in an archaizing manner
[143] Photo: Sarah Murray, 2011
[144] Archaeological Museum of Thasos; Boardman, 1978, fig. 69; Picard, p. 88, 113-127; Boardman

was an uncastrated ram. The dimensions suggest that the subject of the statue was a god rather than a dedicator carrying a sacrificial offering. In the light of Pausanias' mythical explanation of a statue of a Hermes Ram-bearer[145], this statue is most probably a Hermes *kriophoros*[146]

Another *kouros*[147] **(Fig. 5)**[148] that used to carry an animal, dated between 530 and 520 BC, was found in 1911 at the temple of Apollo in Didyma. The statue is fragmentary and animal is missing; both arms are missing, and the best-preserved leg is cut right below the knee. The work is very precise and careful; the long hair rests on the back of the shoulders and the features show a calm serenity. The sculpture stands at 1.66 m even though the forelegs are missing, which makes it over life-size. The marble support against the torso of the youth suggests that he was carrying an animal; two fixation holes were made to hold it. The proportions suggest that he was carrying a ram or a goat but it could also have been a small calf. The context of a temple of Apollo makes it, however, very tempting to associate this sculpture with the thematic series of Hermes *kriphoroi*.

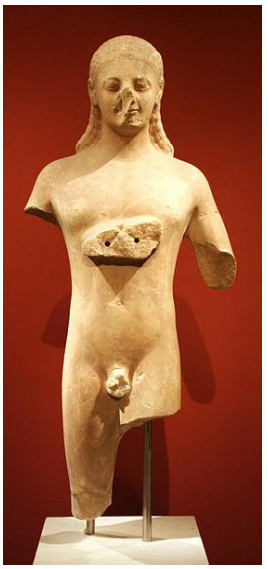

Fig. 5 – *Kouros* from Didyma

The recurrence of the *kriophoroi* in religious votive sculpture confirms the idea that live rams have a good value as a live offering, and the representation of them being carried forward as the ingredient of a healing magic or of a sacrifice is well-spread. Pausanias' explanations on the rites at Tanagra[149] suggest that the many *kouroi* carrying rams could all be representations of Hermes or of the young men who represented Hermes at the god's feast – they can still be considered as an extended image of the god in that case. The three Hermes statues that carry rams and that are described by Pausanias differ between them: in one instance, the god is described as fully dressed and carrying the ram under his arm[150], while in another he carries it on his

[145] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1

[146] Picard believed it might otherwise be a representation of Apollo Carneios because of the association between the sanctuary and Apollo, but Pausanias mentions a statue of Hermes *kriophoros* next to a statue of Apollo Carneios at a grove sacred to Apollo Carneios in Messinia, Pausanias, 4, 33, 4. The two gods were very close to each other in their mythology as seen earlier in the chapter. The presence of a statue of Hermes at a temple of Apollo was not unusual.

[147] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 1710; Richter, 1970, n°112

[148] Photo: Wikimedia Commons, Sailko, 2014.

[149] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1

[150] Pausanias, 5, 27, 8

shoulders[151]; the surviving statues of *kriophoroi* that sometimes show a young man carrying a ram on his shoulders and other times holding against his chest can therefore all be representations of Hermes or of his mortal substitutes.

7. Rare instances of statues staging sheep or goat sacrifices

Even though the theme of sheep sacrifice is recurrent in votive reliefs[152], it seems extremely rare in sculptural groups. Pausanias only mentions one such statue[153], directly connected with a famous mythological episode rather than commemorating a real-life sacrifice: on the Acropolis of Athens, there was a statue of Phrixus sacrificing the golden ram after being carried to Colchis. On the representation, he had already cut the thighs and was watching them burn.

Fig. 6 – He-goat held by the horn from Cyrene

In archaeological finds, one late-Hellenistic or Roman fragment[154] of a sculptural group stands out as a probable representation of a he-goat being led to sacrifice **(Fig. 6)**[155]. It was found at the temple of Aphrodite in Cyrene. The animal is rather well preserved: only the lower part of its hind-legs, the tips of the front legs and the extremities of the long horns are missing; of the man holding it, only the hand is preserved, and a booted leg along the he-goat's body. The he-goat was standing on its hind-legs, and the man next to it was holding the animal by the horn. The work was very well detailed; the long curls of hair fashioned in a naturalistic manner, and its genitals visible. The eyes wide-open and curvy beard, together with the general stance of the body, gives the animal an air of dignity. The animal stood at 32 cm high, which, considering that the lower part of the hind-legs was missing, makes it a little under life-size. The context of a temple of Aphrodite isn't surprising, as the goddess was one of the few divinities favoring goats as sacrificial victims.

8. Statues of nursing goats

[151] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1

[152] See earlier in the chapter the section on vase paintings and votive reliefs; Van Straten, 1995, p. 171

[153] Pausanias, 1, 24, 2

[154] British Museum, 1861,1127.116; BM Sculpture 1477; Smith, 1900, p. 245, n°1445

[155] British Museum, 1861,1127.116; Photo: © British Museum

No other free-standing sheep or goat offering than **Ca1** and **Ca2** is referred to in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. He does, however, mention a group from Delphi where a nursing goat is the central figure of an offering:

The nursing goat of Elyros[156]: *"ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἔλυρος πόλις: οὗτοι οὖν αἶγα χαλκῆν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς, δίδωσι δὲ νηπίοις ἡ αἴξ Φυλακίδῃ καὶ Φιλάνδρῳ γάλα: παῖδας δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἐλύριοί φασιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος νύμφης, συγγενέσθαι δὲ τῇ Ἀκακαλλίδι Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν πόλει Τάρρᾳ καὶ οἴκῳ Καρμάνορος."*[157] The Cretan offering from the city of Elyros represented a bronze goat nursing the twin brothers Phylakides and Philandros, sons of Apollo and o the Nymph Akallalis.

Fig. 7 – Silver drachma from Elyros

Jacquemin dates the offering from the 4th or 3rd century BC based on the fact that the city of Elyros had minted coins with Apollo on one side and a goat or horned goat head **(Fig. 7)**[158] on the other between 400 and 250.

The nursing goat was one of the only two known Cretan offerings at Delphi, and the second one dates from the Imperial period, and is thus posterior to our time frame[159]. Jacquemin observes that the goat of Elyros and the Apollo taking hold of a doe[160] are the two only real sculptural groups known at Delphi. Even though the main theme of the statue is the mythological nursing of Apollo's sons, the goat was the central character of the offering, and since it is through that myth that the goat had become the symbol of the city of Elyros, it is fitting that the Elyrians would have wanted to dedicate a statue of that particular animal to Apollo, and characterized it by its association with the twins. The scene matches the long mythological tradition in which goats are wet-nurses par excellence for exposed children, even divine ones[161]. This statue mentioned by Pausanias doesn't, however, match other literary or archaeological finds for other offerings of nursing goat statues in sanctuaries.

9. Other sculptural groups with sheep and goats at sanctuaries

[156] Pausanias, 10, 16, 5 ; Jacquemin, 1999, n°281; Guarducci, 1935, vol. 2, p. 175-176 ; Lacroix, 1992, p. 170

[157] Pausanias, 10, 16, 5

[158] Silver drachma from Elyros with a horned goat head and a spear on one side, and a bee on the other, 300-270 BC. Svoronos, 1890, vol. 3, Pl. XII, 11; Photo: Fritz R. Künker GmbH & Co. KG, March 2008.

[159] Jacquemin, 1999, p. 69: The city of Gortyna offered a statue during the imperial period

[160] Jacquemin, 1999, n°276

[161] See section on Mythology in this chapter

Other than the ones reviewed already, Pausanias only makes three more allusions to sheep and goats as part of sculptural groups.

A statue[162] showing Athamas about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle, while the golden ram was sent by Zeus for the children to escape was offered at the precinct of Laphystian Zeus. In that case, the mythological ram appeared as a *deus ex-machina* at the sacrificial scene and really represented the clemency of Zeus, who was also the recipient of the stone offering.

The two other instances confirm the associations we have previously made between animals and divinities: in Elis, a statue of Aphrodite seated on a he-goat[163] was set in a temple of a certain Aphrodite, behind a portico built from the spoils of Corcyra; the temple was distinct from a second one, sacred to another Aphrodite, where a chryselephantine work by Pheidias showed the goddess stepping on a tortoise. Pausanias adds that he leaves to those who care the task of guessing the meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat. The association to each animal was therefore showing the goddess in two different aspects; the parallel between the two statues makes it probable that they were contemporary works, and the he-goat associated with the goddess would most likely underline her wild, vivacious and sexual side.

At last, a bronze statue of a seated Hermes depicted the god with a ram standing beside him[164] at Corinth: Pausanias explains that the reason for the association was that Hermes was the god who thought most to care for and to increase flocks, and illustrates this idea with a passage of the Iliad where Hermes is said to have granted Ilioneus with rich flocks[165]. Pausanias also adds, commenting on the statue, that he knows the story about Hermes and the ram told at the mysteries of Demeter but won't relate them because he is sworn to secrecy. That is one more proof, together with the god's mythology and his numerous representations as a *kriophoros*, of the association between Hermes and sheep: the secret legend told at Eleusis might remain unknown to us but it can only further the association.

Fig. 8 – "Thracian Hermes"

A Hellenistic/Roman statue found in Turkish Thrace **(Fig. 8)**[166] represents a Hermes, very recognizable because of the wings to the sides of his

[162] Pausanias, 9, 34, 5
[163] Pausannias, 6, 25, 1
[164] Pausanias, 2, 3, 4
[165] Homer, *Iliad*, 14, 490
[166] Istanbul Archaeological Museum, n°4609; Photo: WikiCommons

head, standing next to a wooly sheep that is missing its head. On this statue, Hermes is clearly represented as a benevolent god of prosperity, and this late work is most probably a continuation of older traditions.

In offerings representing Hermes close to a sheep, the animal is an attribute of the god, who can grant prosperity through protecting livestock. As sheep were one of the pillars of ancient economy and trade, Hermes associated with sheep could grant wealth to his worshippers.

V. Sheep and goat *anathemata* found in archaeological and written sources

Data on sheep and goat freestanding offerings is very scarce.

The only fragment of an ovicaprine statue found in a sanctuary **(C1)** dates from the Archaic period. Its context makes it probable that it was the hind leg of a free-standing ram statue; it is however possible that the leg was part of a group, in which case we would have no surviving offering of sheep or goat monumental offering.

In written sources, only three goat offerings could be identified: two he-goats **(Ca1, Ca3)** and a she-goat **(Ca2)**.

Item	**C1 Ram leg (fragment)**
Category	Sheep and Goats
Sanctuary	**Delphi - Athena Pronaia**
Location	**Delphi - 4406**
Datation	**600-550 BC**
Material	**Bronze**
Size	**H: 17.5 cm** **W: 0.4 to 0.8 cm (at the breaks)** **About 1/2 of life-size**

Description

Found at **Marmaria** in 1901.

Only a fragment of the right hind leg of the Archaic bronze animal is preserved, from above the hoof to the middle of the thigh. The hole inside the leg is filled with lead.
The fragment is very well preserved and it includes the hock, which enables us to have an idea of the general proportions of the animal: it was about half the size of an adult sheep.
On the right side of the leg, the upper side of the thigh is covered with curls of the fleece, falling diagonally in a very detailed manner: each lock was chiseled carefully as to show its abundant wool. Under the fleece, the leg has a smooth surface, with a realistic execution of the muscles and articulation. This fragment shows an exceptional artistic mastery.
The presence of the fleece indicates that the statue was of a sheep rather than a goat, and the rendition of the sleek limb tend to indicate a male subject. This is why it is classified as a ram leg; Perdrizet, Rolley and Jacquemin also have considered it to belong to a ram. But, of course, it is very hard to tell for sure when most of the statue is lost.

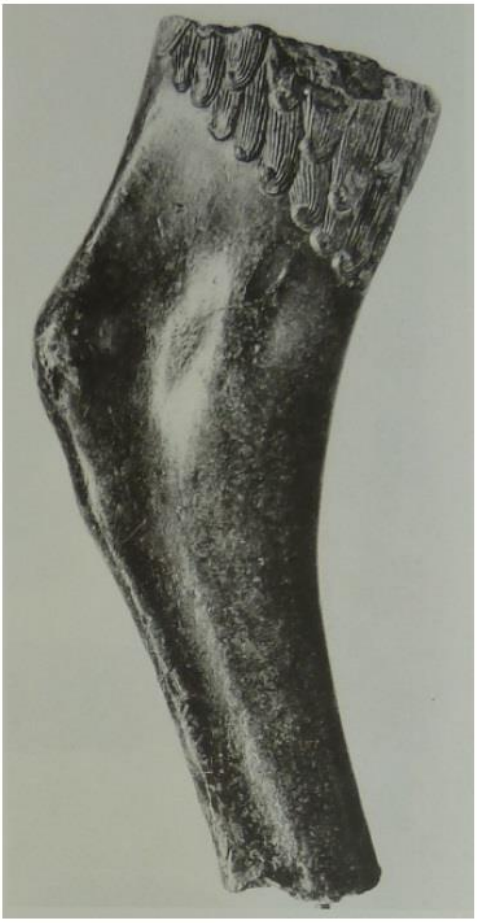

Photo: Rolley, 1969, pl. LVI

Sources

Jacquemin, 1999, n°534
Perdrizet, 1908, n°170, fig. 172, p. 54
Rolley, 1969, n°243, p. 187, pl. LVI

1. Leg of an archaic bronze ram from Delphi (C1)

The beautifully crafted right hind leg of a bronze ram[167] was found at the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi. It probably was therefore an offering directed towards the goddess Athena, who was protecting the entrance to the sanctuary of her brother Apollo. It is interesting to note that the only bronze statuette of a ram[168] with a dedication was also most probably directed to Athena as it came from the Acropolis of Athens.

As we only have a fragment of the ram, we cannot be completely confident that this was a free-standing offering: it could have been part of a group, where, for instance, a dedicator led a sheep to sacrifice.

A Doric temple was built to Athena[169] at the entrance of the Delphic sanctuary in the 7th century BC, and that is where the ram would have been offered; a later Doric temple was built around 500 BC, posterior to the bronze ram. The temple was, later, heavily damaged twice after the date of production of the ram: the falling rocks that impeded the Persian march on Delphi in 480 BC and the earthquake of 373 BC preceded the reconstruction of the newer temple of Athena Pronaia. The area had, consequently, almost completely changed from the time when the bronze ram was first set in the sanctuary and the time when Pausanias visited Delphi. Pausanias probably doesn't mention it because he didn't see it (it was certainly destroyed or stored away before his visit) rather than because of a deliberate omission.

2. Sheep and goat *anathemata* in written sources

Only two free-standing ovicaprine sculptural offerings, a ram statue **(Ca1)** and goat statue **(Ca2)** were mentioned in Pausanias. A bronze goat **(Ca3)** was mentioned in an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum and will be presented in this catalogue of *anathemata* mentioned in written sources, but it reaches beyond the geographical limits of this work and therefore is excluded from the statistics.

(Ca1) has been associated with a base from Delphi **(Cb1)** where three ovicaprine might have stood: for this reason, the base will be presented together with the he-goat from Kleonai, but the association is unconvincing and the base should not be counted as a proof for another sheep and goat offering

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[167] Jacquemin, 1999, n°533; Perdrizet, 1908, n°170, fig. 172, p. 54; Rolley, 1969, p. 187, pl. LVI

[168] Athens, NM 6695; De Ridder, 1896, p. 529; IG I² 434 – with the inscription "supplication from Peisis"

[169] On the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, cf. Demangel, 1923; Charbonneaux, 1925; Michaud, 1977

because of the lack of evidence on the statues it carried.

Pausanias also mentions the offering of a statue representing a goat nursing divine twins. The goat is part of a group and even though it is the principal element of it, the act of nursing is the subject of the group rather than the goat being an offering itself. The rarity of ovicaprine offerings makes it, however, an interesting statue to consider.

The scarcity of sheep and goat statue offerings in archaeological finds is reflected by their rarity in literary sources. As little as one statue of ram **(Ca1)** and one statue of a goat **(Ca2)** are mentioned in Pausanias, and the ram statue is the only one that can be clearly considered as an animal offering as the other might be the representation of a goat deity.

Ca1

The he-goat of Kleonai[170] was a sculptural offering mentioned by Pausanias[171]
The Dorian city of Kleonai, in the Peloponnese, offered the statue of a he-goat towards the end of the 5th century at the end of a plague about which they had consulted the Delphic oracle; Pausanias identifies the decease with the Athenian plague described by Thucydides[172], and this would date the statue around 430 BC. The ram was therefore a grateful offering addressed to Apollo as a healing and purifying god[173]. *"Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἐπιέσθησαν μὲν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους, κατὰ δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔθυσαν τράγον ἀνίσχοντι ἔτι τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ - εὕραντο γὰρ λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ - **τράγον χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι**."*[174]
Pausanias clearly states that the he-goat statue was offered as a commemoration of the sacrifice they had made at dawn to the sun on Apollo's advice, and thanks to which the plague was avoided. It was the eternal commemoration of a successful sacrifice.

Cb1 – Base previously associated to the ram of Kleonai[175]

A large base of dark-blue/black limestone was found at Delphi (min. length:

[170] Jacquemin, 1999, n°319; Lacroix, 1992, p. 164-168
[171] Pausanias, 10, 11, 5
[172] Thucydides, 2, 54,5 (Thucydides notes, however, that the effects of the plague in the Peloponnese weren't worthy of mention)
[173] Jacquemin, 1999, p. 83
[174] Pausanias, 10, 11, 5
[175] Jacquemin, 1999, n°564; Pomtow, 1909, p. 21; Bousquet, 1940-1941, p.267: "Base du "Bouc de Cléones" - Les morceaux de la grande base en calcaire bleu-noir qu'on rapportait jusqu'ici au Bouc de Cléones ont été regroupés sur le terrain et rangés entre les Trésors VII et VIII. Ces blocs n'ont jamais supporté un grand quadrupède, mais trois statues de bronze, pied gauche en avant. La base, longue au moins de 5.60 m sur 2.70 m de profondeur, reposait sur des orthostates moulurés. Elle devra rester anonyme, en l'absence d'une indication satisfaisante sur le nom du dédicant. "

5.6 m; depth: 2.7 m); Jacquemin dates it from the 5th century. The fixtures on the top of the base indicate that it used to hold three statues of smaller quadrupeds with their left legs forward.

The association between the he-goat **(Ca1)** and the base **(Cb2)** is purely conjectural. The spacing between the attachments on the base suggest that the base carried an offering of three sheep or goat statues. It could, however, have served as a support for any other quadruped statues of the size of a lize-size sheep: the base is therefore not usable for statistical purposes.

Ca2

A she-goat statue was mentioned in Pausanias[176] as an offering set at a market place next to an old sanctuary of Demeter that contained old seated statues at Phlius, close to Sicyon. The goat was made of bronze for the most part covered with gold. Pausanias reports that the Phliasians would honor the bronze goat on the market place and adorn it with gold because on its rising, the constellation of the goat would cause continual damage to the vines: *"ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς **αἴξ χαλκῆ, τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσος**: παρὰ δὲ Φλιασίοις τιμὰς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἴληφε. τὸ ἄστρον ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν αἶγα ἀνατέλλουσα τὰς ἀμπέλους λυμαίνεται συνεχῶς: ἵνα δὲ ἄχαρι μηδὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς γένηται, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς χαλκῆν αἶγα ἄλλοις τε τιμῶσι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπικοσμοῦντες."*[177]

This statue wasn't exactly offered in a sanctuary as it was set outside of the sanctuary of Demeter, and it wasn't an offering in the classical sense because the statue could be viewed as the image of the deity to which the supplicants came to beg not to destroy their vines. We could also argue that it was an offering of its own image made to the divine goat set in the constellation.

Ca3

A bronze he-goat was offered to Hermes by Soson and Simalos, two rich shepherds, was mentioned in an epigram by Leonidas.[178]

"Ὠιγινόμοι Σώσων καὶ Σίμαλος, οἱ πολύαιγοι,
οἷα βαθυσχίνων, ὦ ξένε, παρολκίδαν
Ἑρμᾷ τυρευτῆρι καὶ εὐγλαγι **τὸν χιμάραρχον**
χάλκεον εὐπώγων᾽ ὦδ᾽ ἀνέθεντο **τράγον**."

Nothing is said of the location of the sanctuary, but the epigrammatist was from Tarentum and lived in the 3rd century BC, and the statue likely was a Hellenistic offering set at a Greek sanctuary of Southern Italy, outside of our geographical

[176] Pausanias, 2, 13, 6
[177] Pausanias, 2, 13, 6
[178] Greek Anthology, 9, 744

limits. The epigram is written in the form of a dedication and was probably inscribed on the base of the statue: it informs the visitor that the two shepherds, rich goats and in long-haired sheep, are making their offering of a bronze he-goat, the well-bearded leader of the flock, to Hermes, Cheese-Maker and Abounding in Milk.

VI. Significance of the presence and absence of sheep and goat freestanding *anathemata*

As seen earlier in this chapter, only a fragment of a ram survives, as well as a base that could have carried this ram and two others, but that lacks an inscription and could instead have served as a base for three quadrupeds other than sheep or goats. No known dedication has been preserved for any life-size sheep or goat statue. This extreme rarity of ovocaprine sculptural offerings in both the archaeological context and the literary evidence brings up questions as to the reasons for such a disproportion between the high frequency of sheep and goat sacrifices and the almost inexistent monumental votive offerings in their image.

1. Rams and he-goats as ingredients of healing magic

The most common occurrence for sheep in sculptural groups is the statues of ram-bearers. Pausanias' explanation[179] of the myth at the origin of these offerings sheds some light on the function of the ram in statues of young men carrying rams. Hermes carries the ram in the context of a healing ritual. Like for the sacrifice commemorated by the bronze ram offered to Apollo at Delphi, the live animal was the offering necessary for the healing to be achieved. Hermes uses the ram as an ingredient in the act of magic and he designs a mystical circle charged with healing energy by walking around the city walls in order to keep the disease away from it.

In the healing ritual performed by the people from Kleonai[180] on Apollo's advice to keep the plague away; the symbolism of the rising sun and of the turning of the day plays a role in the magical process that reaches its climax in the sacrifice of a he-goat. The male sheep and goats can therefore be considered as an ingredient in healing magic: even though the story of Hermes Ram-bearer in Tanagra[181] doesn't include the sacrifice of the ram, the animal

[179] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1
[180] Pausanias, 10, 11, 5
[181] Pausanias, 9, 22, 1

has, nonetheless, a sacrificial value. The he-goat **(C1)** might have been a symbol of the healing properties of the animal.

2. A good sacrificial victim but poor a plastic offering

The statistics gathered in this chapter indicate that the sheep was the most common of live offerings, and the goat a little less but still a common one. However, both constitute a sacrificial offering of a moderate price and their sacrifice was not splendid enough to often be commemorated in large votive offerings, except in very particular and specific occasions. As a poorer offering, figurines in the shape of sheep and goats were common but the lack of strong symbolism in ovicaprine contributed to their rarity as free standing offerings, and, for the same reason, they were not desirable subjects as tombstones either. Sheep in ancient Greek sculpture mostly come as an attribute to Hermes, symbolizing the wealth that the god would protect, and the he-goat as a companion of Aphrodite, underlining the wild aspect of her nature. Female goats seem to be indissociably linked with their nurturing aspect.

The existence of altars of horns[182] associated with cults of Apollo and Artemis confirm the importance of the goat as a live offering for these gods: the impressive amount of horns required for such an altar enhances the attention paid to the number of victims. Building an altar of horn equals the commemoration of many victims that total to a very rich offering, while the sacrifice of a single goat would normally not be worthy of immortalization through a statue because of the victim's modest value.

As free-standing, however, only the bronze he-goat **(C3)** to Hermes celebrated in an epigram appears as a statue made as a substitute for an offering; its size and location are, however, unknown.

3. Scarcity and specificity of sheep and goat *anathemata*

Sheep and goat freestanding statues are extremely scarce: no sheep survives or is attested, and only three goat offerings, two males and a female, are attested in literature. One statue base from Delphi might have been a support for three statues of sheep or goats, and might have been accompanied with another base, to enact a sacrificial procession with several victims.

The only free-standing offering of a ram **(Ca1)**[183] with a known context was set in commemoration of a very important sacrifice, because the safety of the whole city of Kleonai depended on it, and the oracle had specifically asked for a ram to be sacrificed in that instance. That made it more than a usual ram

[182] See the section on Altars of Horns in this chapter

[183] See the section on Typology in this chapter; Pausanias, 10, 11, 5

sacrifice: through the request of the oracle and the successful outcome of the religious undertaking, the sacrifice had acquired a quasi-mythological status that justified to set an image of the victim at Delphi.

As for the statue of a goat **(Ca2)**[184] set as an offering on the market place of Phlius, in spite of its proximity to a temple of Demeter, it was really an offering to a rural deity of its own effigy. Indeed, as the vines were often destroyed as the constellation of the goat rose in the sky, the local peasants brought it a statue in the shape of a goat as a peace offering. Because the stellar goat didn't have a temple per se, this offering could almost be considered as a cult-statue for a specific deity[185] to which it was otherwise uncommon to pray.

The statue of a he-goat offered to Hermes **(Ca3)** confirms the links shown between the god and flocks of smaller animals: the epigram directly connects the anathema to the characteristics of Hermes as a protector of the flocks, the one who protects the production of cheese and milk.

[184] See the section on Typology in this chapter; Pausanias, 2, 13, 6

[185] Faraklas, 1972, p. 21, considers that the goat was Amalthea, to whom the inhabitants were giving a local cult, but Pausanias' text or the context do not justify such a precise identification.

Pigs and Boars

I. Live wild boars and domesticated pigs in Ancient Greece

1. General Context

It is largely accepted[1] that both wild and domesticated Eurasian pigs belong to the same species – *Sus scrofa*. The domesticated pig derives from the wild boar of the same regions and is both known as *Sus scrofa domesticus* or *Sus domesticus*.

Sus scrofa are found at nearly every archaeological site across the Mediterranean and have played a fundamental role in human subsistence since the Paleolithic, reaching an apex during the Bronze Age[2]. Fillios, in her social and zoological study of the Early Bronze Age in Greece, underlines the paucity of study accorded to the pig in socio-economic context in Greece considering its importance, but uses studies led in the Near-East to estimate pigs as nearly 40% of the total food species recovered during the Neolithic and the Bronze Age – these figures do seem to drop slightly during the later historic periods, but pigs remain a high percentage of the species consumed throughout antiquity.

Faunal remains tend to indicate that domesticated pigs became larger than their wild counterparts from the Neolithic up to the late Bronze Age[3], smaller during Antiquity, and then larger again with increased animal husbandry[4]. The main morphological differences that have been observed in the evolution from wild to domesticated pigs are the shortening of the lachrymal bone, the shortening of the snout and the reduction in tooth size with crowding, especially the width and length of the third molar[5].

It is difficult to set very clear morphological differences between the wild and domesticated pigs in Antiquity as, biologically, traits acquired through human artificial selection can only be maintained in the context of an effective reproductive isolation from the wild population[6].

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[1] Nowak, 1999, p. 1053
[2] Fillios, 2007, p. 53
[3] Bokonyi, 1974, p. 209
[4] Haber and Dayan, 2004
[5] Fillios, 2007, p. 62
[6] Haber and Dayan, 2004, p. 1588

Male pigs (*Suidae*), both wild and domesticate, have canines that keep growing throughout their lives into mighty tusks. However, humans usually cut the canines of their male pigs and castrate the individuals that are intended for meat production rather than reproduction. The probability of males having been castrated in Antiquity to keep them tamer also might have increased the chances of reproduction between domesticated sows and wild boars when the herds were kept around the settlements rather than in an enclosed space – thus keeping biological differences less evident.

Boars usually carry one litter of two to ten (with an average of five or six) farrows per year. Ancient sources indicate that domestic sows could have up to two litters a year.[7] Females reach maturity at the average age of a year, while it takes one more year for males. Gestation lasts about 4.5 months and lactation about 3 months; that might explain the perception of sows as very maternal.

Fig. 1 – Indigenous Greek black pigs

Pigs in Ancient Greece were certainly more alike to wild boars than the usual pink pigs of modern farms: they had a dark brown to black coat of thick hair and, often, a short mane running from the top of their head to the middle of their spine, characteristics that still can be observed in their direct descendants, the Greek indigenous black pigs **(Fig. 1)**[8], included in the list of Greek endangered animal species.[9] The indigenous pigs vary in morphology from other breeds of modern pigs; for instance, Greek black sows usually have 10 teats, while the bigger and more genetically modified modern species have between 12 and 14. Indigenous pigs reach their adult weight later and remain smaller than the modern breeds. Wild boars in the Mediterranean usually reach

[7] Pliny, *Natural History*, 8, 77-205

[8] Photo: courtesy of Fotiadis Farm

[9] Information obtained from Dr. Anagnostis Argiriou for CERTH, Center for Research & Technology Hellas (EKETA in Greek). I have also led a field study with 6 small farmers who raise black pigs in the Peloponnese and Central Greece: they wished to remain anonymous, and Nikolaos Fotiadis, owner of the large farm Farma Fotiadi, specialized in livestock farming of indigenous Greek black pigs, who confirmed that his animals have 10 teats (rather than 12 or 14 in modern breeds), and reach their adult weight, 110 kg, within one year (rather than 5 months as the modern breeds).

a weight of about 50 kg (half the size of individual from the same species in northern and eastern Europe, where males can average 120 kg and females 95 kg): while Greek black pigs reach an adult weight of 110 kg, they might have retained a smaller weight in antiquity, due to lower nutrition. For comparative purposes, a boar was about twice the size of a hunting hound.

2. Boars in Ancient Greece – hunt and ivory

Even though pigs and boars might not have been clearly differentiated on a biological and morphological level, the earliest written sources show a tremendous difference of perception between the two animals. Boars were considered wild and ferocious animals. Doted of strong tusks, they could easily kill a man in one charge. They would be a danger for the crops, and when a boar needs to be exterminated in Greek mythology, it is usually because it has been destroying the crops of a whole region.[10]

Hunt meat was possibly seen as nobler as the wild animals probably had a cleaner diet, but killing a boar was not as much about hunting it for its meat as showing one's bravery, and proudly collecting the tusks of the animal. The use of boar tusks in Mycenaean helmets **(Fig. 2)**[11], for instance, is display of the warrior's courage: one helmet required thirty of forty pairs of tusks[12] – and warned the enemy that the proud bearer of the helmet had killed that many beasts. Finds from the Shaft-graves show several occurrences of helmets made entirely of boar tusks, proving that they were in use in the Palace period and later[13].

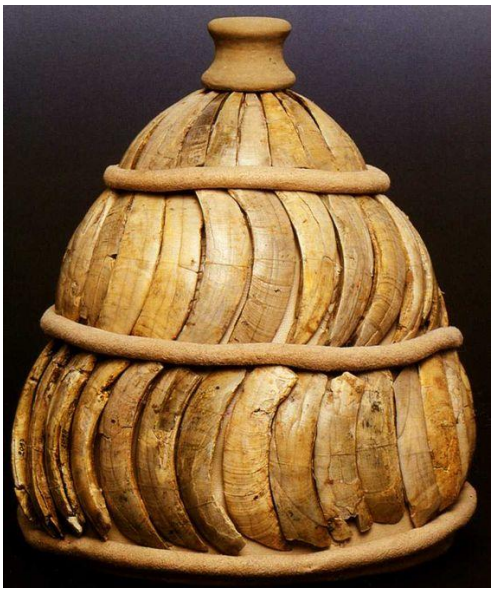

Fig. 2 – Boar tusk helmet, Spata

[10] Cf. part on Mythology later in this chapter.

[11] Photo: Greek Ministry of Culture, in Demakopoulou, 1988, p. 237. This helmet was reconstructed from the boar tusks found in a 13th century tomb at Spata.

[12] Snodgrass, 1999

[13] Snodgrass, 1999

3. Domestic pigs in Ancient Greece – value, food and sacrifices

a. Meat and sacrifice

Pigs were herded already in Greece in Mycenaean times. The Linear B tablets from the Late Bronze Age found at Pylos mention a few pigs[14]. The tablets divide the animals between males and females, and indicate that some pigs had been fattened[15]. Homer also refers to the fattening of pigs in several occurrences[16] and it is also indicated in the Odyssey that the bulk of pigs kept in a herd were females[17]; the animals kept in herds were likely mostly female also in the subsequent periods[18]: few males were sufficient for to assure reproduction, and if other males were kept to be fattened, they were likely castrated.[19]

Swine were exclusively kept for meat, as they didn't provide workforce, like cattle and equids did, or milk, like sheep and goats. Their only secondary products were leather, used to make bags and shoes[20] and fat: both products could only be collected after slaughtering the pig. Tusks could also be used, if they were left to grow on male pigs (although they were probably often cut when the animals were still young, as it is done in modern pig herding, for safety reasons): tusk objects are likely made from the tusks of wild boars.

Together with sheep, goats and cattle, pigs were among the species that provided the main sources of meat to the ancient diet. Pig bones, however, only amount to 5% of the identifiable bones of the Classical period[21] and rarely more than 10% of the bones recovered at any sanctuary[22], far behind sheep and goats and even cattle (which amounts to 15% of the victims). There seems to have been a comparative increase of pig bones at Hellenistic sanctuaries.[23] Pig bones

[14] Mancz, 1989
[15] Mancz, 1989; Fillios, 2007
[16] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 208; 21, 363; *Odyssey*, 3, 300; 15, 83; 17, 181; 20, 163; 20, 251
[17] Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 239-243
[18] Osteological analysis of the pig bones from the Heraion of Samos reveal one male to ten females, Ekroth, 2014, p. 156
[19] Galen, 3, 6 (K675-676), quoted in Ekroth, 2014, p. 154; Ekroth also indicates that castration of young make pigs might have been practiced to avoid "boar taint" in the meat, a taste provoked by the development of male hormones, p. 152. Besides, fat cuts were better appreciated than lean meat in antiquity, p. 169.
[20] Shoes made of pig were likely common: the rules of Ialysos forbade their usage inside the sanctuary, Chandezon, 2003, p. 299.
[21] Van Straten, 1995, p. 55
[22] Ekroth, 2007, p. 257
[23] Ekroth, 2007, p. 262, on the gradual increase of pig bones at Kommos, in Crete

usually showed marks of butchery and sometimes burning, which suggests their sacrifice in the context of a *thysia*, sacrifices accompanied with a ritual meal. Ancient reports of pig sacrifices indicate that pigs were commonly sacrificed to most deities.[24]

Pig sacrifices are attested the five known sacrificial calendars from Attica in the 5th and 4th century BC: the calendar followed by the deme of Thorikos[25], the fragmentary Athenian law code associated with Nikomachos[26], the cultural calendar of the deme Erchia[27], the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis[28] and the sacrificial calendar of the *genos* of the Salaminioi[29]. In these calendars, pigs amount to 20.8% of the recommended sacrifices – and each instance calls for a single victim[30]; a great majority (91%)[31] of the swine sacrifices recorded in the calendar were suckling pigs (*χοῖροι*), sometimes as holocausts in purification rituals. Pig blood had purifying properties: before they could start the opening ceremony at the Heraean Games at Olympia, the sixteen priestesses of Hera had to purify themselves with a pig.[32]

Sacrifices to Demeter, and likely Kore, involving pigs but not their consumption, were practiced for the yearly women-only mystery of the Thesmophoria, one of the most widespread Greek festivals: for the occasion, piglets were thrown into a pit, representing the Hades, and their rotten remains were only retrieved the next year, mixed with seeds and planted.[33] This ritual emphasized the necessity of decay for rebirth, and the symbolic death of the maiden preceding the time of fertility in women's life. Pigs also had fallen together with Persephone in the underworld, at least according to later sources.[34] While small piglets are appropriate victims for Kourotrophos[35], pregnant sows appear to be exclusively associated with Demeter[36], in rites likely

[24] Bevan, 1986, p. 68
[25] *SEG* 33, 147
[26] Sokolowski, *LSS* 9-10
[27] Sokolowski, *LS* 18
[28] Sokolowski, *LS* 20
[29] Sokolowski, *LSS* 19
[30] Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[31] Van Straten, 1995, p. 177
[32] Pausanias, 5, 7, 8
[33] Burkert, 2003, p. 365-370
[34] Frazer, 2012, vol. 8, p. 19, about the Scholium in Lucian, which tells of the fall of Eubouleus' herd in the Hades.
[35] SEG, 33, 147: she receives them on two occasions at Thorikos. See Lupu, 2005, p. 117-118
[36] Lupu, 2005, p. 142, details the pregnant animal sacrifices from sacred laws. Sokolowski, *LS* 20: one pregnant sow with missing recipient; two to Demeter Eleusinia and Demeter Chloe and another one for Demeter Chloe and one for Demeter of the

related to fertility. Demeter mostly receives her pregnant sows in the winter.[37] The choice of the season suggests that these sacrifices of pregnant victims for the goddess of fertility was linked to the seasonal cycle to which she was tightly linked as she made produce grow in her joy but also die in her sorrow: worshippers likely buried seeds or sacrificed pregnant animals, in the hope of growth in their fields and births in their livestock during the following season.

b. Monetary value of pigs

Even though their number is very small in ancient reports – no pigs were mentioned in the records of sacred animals kept on the sanctuaries' pastoral annexes[38], they were part of the economy.

Even though pigs have less secondary products to provide than other domesticated animals, such as cows, goats or sheep, and would mostly be farmed for their meat and skin, they do provide a large amount of meat per animal, and substantial amounts of fat. Besides, they require a lesser space to be kept on as they do not need to graze, and can rid a settlement of its perishable waste (that is confirmed in later Roman sources[39]) as their diet comprises a very wide selection of foods: roots, green plants, crops, seeds, nuts, fruit, vertebrates and invertebrates[40]. Being omnivorous only makes pigs a burden to humans in times of famine. They also need to be kept away from the crops and are difficult to herd – they are more suited for a completely sedentary society[41]. We can conjecture that in earlier and smaller settlements, pigs have escaped the notion of private property[42] and have been a more important source of nutrition than in cities. Besides, studies[43] show a higher relative number of pigs in smaller than in larger settlements – which can also be related to the fact that larger settlements are surrounded with intensive agriculture

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crops; Sokolowki *LS* 19, 92: a pregnant sow to Demeter; Sokolowski, *LSS* 87: a pregnant sow also likely for Demeter. Demeter and Kore are known receive a pregnant ewe as "The Demeters" in Sokolowski, LSS 95, 4-5; but all the pregnant sows appear to be exclusively addressed to Demeter.

[37] studied by Smith, 1973, p. 24, no. 23: SIG³ 1024.12 (Mykonos): one pregnant sow is offered to Demeter on Poseidon 12th (December-January) and another to Demeter on Lenaion 10th (early February) and Sacred Law, 1, 26. 9 (Athens): two pregnant sows were sacrificed in the month of Athesterion (February-March).

[38] Chandezon, 2003, p. 293

[39] Pliny, 8, 77; 8, 206

[40] Schley and Roper, 2003

[41] Flannery, 1983

[42] Fillios, 2007

[43] Ioannidou, 2003

based on crops rather than small scale gardening like smaller settlements.

The sacrificial calendars[44] are indicating the value of the victims required for the regular sacrifices: a small piglet (*χοῖρος*), the most common victim for introductory sacrifices or sacrifices not accompanied with a meal, only costs 3 to 3.5 drachmas in all four calendars, while an adult (*ὗς*, likely a fattened castrated male) costs 40 drachmas and is only offered by the genos of the Salaminians, and a pregnant sow (*ὗς κῦουσα*), only offered by the deme of the Marathonians, costs 20 drachmas (the price suggests that the victim was a young pregnant sow). Piglets were very inexpensive victims, probably because a sow could have many piglets in a litter and several litters a year, but it was expensive to fatten a pig to maturity. In comparison with other domestic mammals, adult pigs cost about half the price of cattle, and were 3.5 more expensive than sheep and goats. Piglets, however, were the cheapest victims, cheaper than young sheep and goats offered in sacrifice (respectively 4 and 5 drachmas), because piglets offered in non-consumed sacrifices were likely younger than young sheep and goats, only sacrificed when there was enough meat on them to eat.

4. A thin distinction between pigs and boars in ancient texts

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, despite a clear difference in perception, the morphological differences between pigs and boars might not have been very clear. In Homeric literature, the difference of perception is indeed clear between the two animals when it comes to their perception: the wild boar is a mighty beast compared to lions and even bears[45] and the pigs are nothing but pitiful animals screaming in a pen («*κλαίοντες*», «*χαμαιευνάδες*»[46]). However, a closer look to the semantics used to refer to pigs and boars in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, reveals that Homer essentially uses the same word to describe both animals: « σῦς» / «ὗς» is the word that is mostly used to describe both species. In the *Iliad*, it appears 5 times to refer to domestic pigs[47] and 13 times to refer to boars[48], and in the Odyssey, 33 times

[44] Sokolowski, LSS 9-10; Sokolowski, LS 18; Sokolowski, LS 20; Sokolowski, LSS 19
[45] Homer, *Iliad*, 11, 293; 17, 21; *Odyssey*, 11, 611
[46] Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 239-243
[47] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 208; 9, 467; 11, 697; 21, 292; 13, 32
[48] Homer, *Iliad*, 4, 253; 5, 783; 7, 257; 8, 338; 9, 539; 9, 548; 10, 264; 11, 293; 12, 146; 13, 471; 16, 823; 17, 21; 17, 282

to refer to domestic pigs[49] and 13 times to refer to boars[50]. A phrase used in two occurrences is particularly interesting: «ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι / ἀρνειὸν ταῦρόν τε **συῶν τ᾽ ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον** / οἵκαδ᾽ ἀποστείχειν ἔρδειν θ᾽ ἱερᾶς ἑκατόμβας / ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι / πᾶσι μάλ᾽ ἐξείης. θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἁλὸς αὐτῷ»[51] and ἔρξανθ᾽ ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι,«ἀρνειὸν ταῦρόν τε **συῶν τ᾽ ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον**, / οἵκαδ᾽ ἀποστείχειν, ἔρδειν θ᾽ ἱερὰς ἑκατόμβας / ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι, πᾶσι μάλ᾽ ἐξείης:θάνατος δέ μοι ἐξ ἁλὸς αὐτῷ»[52]; this phrase has usually been translated in English as “boar that mates with sows”[53] and is used to describe a sacrifice to Poseidon in which a ram and a bull and a boar are offered to the god in order for the offerer to be safe at sea. The term “boar” to translate “κάπρον” can hardly be disputed, although it is interesting to see it included in the same category as a ram and a bull, which are presumably part of a flock. However, the “sows”, “συῶν”, with which the boar used for the sacrifice mates, could very well be flock animals.

A careful reading of the book 14 of the Odyssey, in which Odysseus meets again with his faithful servant and pig herd Eumaeus, leads me to think that the pigs and boars described in Homer’s texts were probably the same species, but the great difference between them came from their status as domesticated animals, which has encouraged their reduction in size and lowered their need for long tusks. The zoological research on indigenous black pigs seems to confirm this theory.[54]

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[49] Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 239; 10, 243; 10, 283; 11, 131; 11, 413; 13, 405; 13; 407; 13, 410; 14, 8; 14, 83; 14, 372; 14, 410; 14, 412; 14, 414; 14, 419; 14, 423; 14, 454; 14, 532; 15, 39; 15,396; 15, 556; 16, 3; 16, 341; 17, 181; 17, 593; 17, 604; 18, 29, 105; 20, 251, 363; 23, 74; 24, 215

[50] Homer, *Odyssey*, 4, 457; 8, 60; 8, 476; 11, 131; 11, 611; 19, 393; 19, 439; 19, 449; 19, 465; 21, 219; 23, 74; 23, 278; 24, 332

[51] Homer, *Odyssey*, 11, 131-134

[52] Homer, *Odyssey*, 23, 277-281

[53] Ex. English translation: A.T. Murray, *PH.D. in two volumes*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London, 1919.

[54] Personal communication from Dr. Anagnostis Argiriou for CERTH, Center for Research & Technology Hellas (EKETA in Greek).

II. Boars in ancient Greek literature and art

1. The boar in Greek literature and mythology

A boar-tusk helmet is mentioned in the *Iliad*[55] as a beautiful object worthy of a four-verse description:

> *"Μηριόνης δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆϊ δίδου βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην*
> *καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε*
> *ῥινοῦ ποιητήν: πολέσιν δ᾽ ἔντοσθεν ἱμᾶσιν*
> *ἐντέτατο στερεῶς: ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες*
> *ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*
> *εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως: μέσσῃ δ᾽ ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει."*

As seen earlier, archaeological finds prove that such helmets would require the tusks of many boars, between thirty and forty. This passage of the Iliad underlines the pride there was in wearing such a trophy-helmet (even though, if my theory that pigs and boars are somehow the same animal is correct, it would explain more easily the trend of such helmets as the teeth could have been gathered from semi-domesticated males).

But other episodes in Ancient Greek literature also witness the glory found in boar hunts. It is a boar that gave Odysseus his scar by which his wet-nurse Eurycleia recognizes him; Odysseus gets his revenge by killing the beast[56]. In Homer's text, the boar is recurrently characterized by his "white tusks", "gleaming white tusks" or "great tusks"[57]. The natural weapon of the animal thus becomes its symbol and defines it as a fearsome opponent – it is a great distinction to triumph against a boar.

The Calydonian boar hunt gathers many heroes of the Hellenic world:[58] the beast had been sent by Artemis, to punish Oineus, king of Calydon, for sacrificing to the other Olympians but not to her for the fruit of his orchards, and the boar ravaged the orchards, from the trees to the flowers. Meleager, son of Oineus, managed to finish off the beast, after the shaft of Atalante, daughter of Arcadian Iasios, reaches it first – or even slew it in some versions[59]. But in any case, the hero would not have been able to fight the boar alone: he had to gather many strong men[60] and their hounds from several cities and

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[55] Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 260-265
[56] Homer, *Odyssey*, 19, 430-450
[57] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 420; 10, 254; 11, 291; *Odyssey*, 8, 60; 8, 469; 14, 417; 14, 532; 19, 465
[58] Homer, *Iliad,* 9, 524-599
[59] Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis*, 218 sq.
[60] Pausanias, 8, 45, 6

several heroes perished in the hunt[61]. Callimachus reports that the tusks of the Calydonian boar were brought to Arcadia in honor of the Arcadian Atalante's prowess[62], and could still be seen there; Pausanias[63] reports that the hide of the beast was kept as a votive offering at the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea (in Arcadia) and was falling apart by the time he visited the place and that its tusks[64] had been kept there too until they got carried away by the Roman Emperor Augustus.

The mythological killing of Adonis by a boar sent by Artemis[65] (who also set the Calydonian boar lose) also gives the beast the reputation of a dangerous animal. And bringing back the Erymanthian boar alive to Mycenae, Heracles' fourth task[66], shows again the boar as a heroic adversary.

Pausanias mentions boars 20 times. 13 of these are references to terrible mythological boars. Mentions are made of boar sacrifice to make oaths solemn: the "Boar's Tomb"[67] is a spot in Messenia where Herakles exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar. Pausanias also reports the habit of the athletes and their family to swear upon slices of boar's flesh[68] in the precinct of Zeus at Olympia, not to sin against the Olympic games - Pausanias explains that no human is allowed to eat the meat of the victim on which the oath has been sworn and makes the tradition date back to Homeric times, when Agamemnon swore on the slices of a boar that he had not lain with Briseis[69]: Agamemnon cut the throat of that animal and Talthybius threw it in the sea. He also mentions the consumed yearly sacrifice of a boar[70] to Apollo Helper in the market-place adjacent to the temple of Apollo Parrhasian, to the east of the Mount Lycaeus.

Pausanias also representations of boars within mythological scenes such as the Calydonian hunt and Admetus tying a lion and a boar to a yoke[71] – which was the task set by Pelias, king of Iolcus, to win the hand of his daughter, Alcestis: Apollo tied the lion and boar to the chariot and Admetus then drove it to the king and married the princess[72]. The parallel between lions and boars is

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[61] Homer, *Iliad,* 9, 524-599; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1, 66
[62] Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis*, 218 sq.
[63] Pausanias, 8, 47, 2
[64] Pausanias, 8, 46, 1
[65] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.14.4
[66] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2, 5; Diodorus, 4, 12; Euripides, Ἡρακλῆς μαινόμενος, 368
[67] Pausanias, 4, 15, 7-8
[68] Pausanias, 5, 24, 9-10
[69] Pausanias, 5, 24, 11; Homer, *Iliad*, 5, 265 and 20, 231
[70] Pauanias, 8, 38, 8
[71] Pausanias, 3, 18, 15-16
[72] Pseudo-Apollodorus*,* 1, 9, 15; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 50

also found in Homer in 10 occurrences[73], showing that the two animals are seen as formidable adversaries of at least almost equal might.

There are only few mentions of sows in Greek literature and mythology: Crommyonian sow stands as the only famous story involving a sow. The animal was named Phaia, after the woman who raised it; it was a wild pig, believed to be the daughter of Echidna and Typhon and finally killed by Theseus after it had been ravaging the region between Megara and Corinth. [74] The Crommyonian sow can be considered as a boar rather than a common pig as Strabo[75] considers it to be the mother of the Calydonian boar and Hyginus[76] describes the animal killed by Theseus as a boar (not mentioning its gender). On some representations, Theseus is represented fighting a male boar, as the legend varies[77].

2. The boar in Greek art

The boar is featured in Greek art since the Geometric period and throughout antiquity, primarily as a formidable adversary: the context of a boar hunt was an ideal way to depict a hero. In vase paintings, fierce boar hunts are represented. In the Classical period, the Calydonian boar-hunt was a popular subject, both in architecture and on vase paintings. The mythical hunt was represented on the East pediment of Athena Alea's temple at Tegea[78] and on the metopes of the Sikyonian treasure at Delphi **(Fig. 3)**[79] for instance. Water spouts in the shape of boar-heads used to decorate the temples of Artemis at Epidaurus and perhaps also at Ephesos[80], as an alternative for the more

Fig. 3 – Calydonian boar, Delphi

[73] Homer, *Iliad*, 8, 338; 11, 291; 12, 34; 16, 818; 17, 21; *Odyssey*, 5, 764; 7, 244; 10, 428; 11, 601
[74] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 1
[75] Strabo, 8, 6, 22
[76] Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 38
[77] Ex. Louvre G637, an Attic red-figure low foot cup, 460-450 av. JC, shows Theseus facing a male boar. Beazley ARV2 770,5; Add2 287.
[78] Athens, National Museum NM 178
[79] Delphi Museum. Photo: Linda Talatas.
[80] Bevan, 1986, vol.1, p. 22

common lion-head spouts.

Boar figurines were uncommon dedications, but the few examples show a strong association with Artemis rather than with any other deity.[81]

Boars were also a suitable motif for the grave of a warrior and boar hunts were a recurrent motif on tombs of heroized dead[82]. The Hellenistic boar[83] found at Sparta is a good example of boar representing virility in funerary art – it had been re-used in Roman times along with lion statues, also used as grave markers, likely from the same cemetery. It is shown stretching its head forward and up as in defiance; its tusks are fierce, its hair coarse, and the tension of its body and upraised ears showcase its alertness; its masculinity is emphasized under its upraised tail. **(Fig. 4)**[84]

Fig. 4 a. Life-size boar statue (L) – b. detail (R)

[81] Bevan, 1986, p. 75: boar representations were found at seven sanctuaries of Artemis, two of Athena, two of Demeter, one of Apollo, one of Zeus and one of Poseidon (one of the two boars from a sanctuary of Athena was in fact from the Brauroneion in Athens, likely dedicated to Artemis, and the two boars from sanctuaries to Demeter are two of the statues of pregnant sows from Knidos and represent, in fact, domestic pigs).

[82] Rouse, 1902 p. 25-26

[83] The Hellenistic boar statue (Sparta Museum, no. 5195) was found at the Roman nymphaeum of the Acropolis of Sparta, probably originally meant as a tombstone along with an early Roman funerary lion, later changed into a fountain spout with a hole running from the back of its head to its mouth.

[84] Sparta Museum, no. 5195; Photos: Linda Talatas.

III. Domestic pigs in Greece in early literature and art

1. The domestic pig in literature and mythology

Various references to pigs in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* also suggest the importance of pigs in the later Bronze Age's economy, diet and rituals and a literary interest for them: they appear as a source of wealth, and owning a pig of herd was a subject of pride. Homer describes the swine as fat or fattened[85]: their high-fat meat was greatly appreciated and their meat made for wonderful meals. [86] They were kept in enclosed sties[87] at night, and the males stayed outside – domesticated sows likely mated with wild boars.

Even though owning pigs makes a man proud and wealthy, domestic pigs themselves are considered as pitiful animals, mostly females, screaming in their pen.[88] When Circe changes Odysseus' companions into pigs, it is a shameful transformation.[89]

In Classical literature, this pejorative image of pigs remains: for instance, Plato uses the pig in a comparison implying a natural laziness and lack of fitness in the animal[90] and Aristophanes uses the pig as a dirty and witless animal in his comparisons.[91] Pausanias, a rich source for most other animals only refers to pigs twice, in the context of sacrifice and purification[92].

Domestic pigs do not have an important place in mythology, where they are only known from Latin sources: the fall of Eubouleus' herd in the Hades at the

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[85] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 453; 21, 361; 23, 32; *Odyssey*, 13, 366; 14, 19; 14, 72; 17, 166; 20, 226

[86] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 30; Odyssey, 11, 404

[87] Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 263-265; 14, 10-14

[88] Homer, *Iliad*, 11, 293; 17, 21; *Odyssey*, 11, 611

[89] Homer, Odyssey, 10, 240-250

[90] Plato, *Lovers*, 134 a-b, "For my part, Socrates, he said, I thought even a pig— [134b] as the saying is—would have known that moderate exercise causes them to be in good bodily condition, so why should not a fellow who is sleepless and unfed, with unchafed neck and slender, care-worn frame!" (trad. W.R.M. Lamb) / *"ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ᾤμην τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο κἂν* ***ὗν*** *γνῶναι ὅτι οἱ μέτριοι πόνοι εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰ [134β] σώματα, πόθεν δὴ οὐχὶ ἄνδρα γε ἄγρυπνόν τε καὶ ἄσιτον καὶ ἀτριβῆ τὸν τράχηλον ἔχοντα καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν; καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἥσθη τὰ μειράκια καὶ ἐπεγέλασεν, ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος ἠρυθρίασε."*

[91] Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 304-305: "I will copy that Circe of Corinth, whose potent philtres compelled the companions of Philonides like swine [305] to swallow balls of dung, which she herself had kneaded with her hands; and do you too grunt with joy and follow your mother, my little pigs." (trad. Eugene O'Neill)

[92] Pausanias, 2, 11, 7; 5, 16, 8

time of Persephone's rapt is mentioned in a scholium on Lucian[93], and, in Ovid[94], the obliteration of Kore's footprints by a pig when Demeter is in search for the girl. Frazer has interpreted the later story as a remnant of a stronger tradition in which Demeter and Kore's were originally conceived as pigs in an early zoomorphic form.[95]

2. Pig representations in sanctuaries

In Greek art, pigs are mainly represented in the context of sacrificial representations. They appear as ideal victim for wealthy but possibly family-size sacrifices. In the Classical period, they are represented on vase paintings less commonly than cattle, sheep and goats, the other common domestic sacrificial victims, with only 12.2% of occurrences[96], but are the most common victim represented on votive slabs, as they occur 43.8% of the times, and represent 44.4% of the victims (as they are sometimes represented in sacrifices of multiple victims).[97]

Pigs were also represented in small votive offerings, although in smaller numbers than other domestic animals or birds. Swine representations could mainly be found at the sanctuaries of feminine deities: Bevan, in her study of animal representations at sanctuaries of Olympian gods throughout Greece, found pig representations at several sanctuaries belonging to four goddesses – seven to Demeter, six to Artemis, four to Athena and two to Hera.[98] Figurines of women carrying pigs appear to be reserved to sanctuaries of Demeter, with 120 such figures at Tiryns[99] – probably in direct link with the rites of the Thesmophoria; a few statuettes of boys carrying pigs are also offered to Demeter at Eleusis, likely connected with the goddess' Great Mysteries and the masculine cult of initiation led at the Eleusinian sanctuary. The association between pigs and Demeter found in religious rituals is therefore confirmed in the repartition of swine offerings and representations at sanctuaries.

[93] Frazer, 2012, vol. 8, p. 19, mentions the scholium in Lucian
[94] Ovid, Fasti, 4, 463-466
[95] Bevan, 1986, p. 69; Frazer, 2012, vol. 8, p. 19
[96] Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[97] Van Straten, 1995, p. 173
[98] Bevan, 1986, p. 71
[99] Bevan, 1986, p. 72

IV. Typology of free-standing pig *anathemata*, sanctuaries of discovery and epigraphical material

Statues of pigs were only found at two sanctuaries: Eleusis and Knidos, both sanctuaries sacred to Demeter and Persephone.

These offerings are presented in five catalogue entries: the statue of a very young female piglet from Eleusis **(P1)** and four statues of pregnant sows from Knidos **(P2-P5)**.

No free-standing statue of boar was found at Greek sanctuaries.

No catalogue of free-standing offerings of pigs or boars are presented because no mention of such statues was found in ancient literary sources.

Item **P1 Piglet**
Category Pigs

Sanctuary **Eleusis**
Location **Eleusis - 5053**
Datation **420-350 BC**
Material **Pentelic marble**
Size **H: 15 cm**
L: 53 cm
Life-size

Description

This piglet is standing; its legs and tail are broken. Its small ears are folded and turned downwards. The large almond-shaped eyes and the softness of the curves render the animal's young age.
The work is very carefully detailed, and it reflects the artist's excellent naturalistic observation.

The gender isn't emphasized by distinct characteristics as the accent is put on the animal's young age, but the subject appears to be a female.

Photo: Linda Talatas

Sources
Preka-Alexandri, 1999, p.19, fig.12

Item	**P2 Pregnant Sow**
Category	Pigs
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.28**
Datation	**350-300 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 39.37 cm** **About 2/3 of life-size**

Photos: © British Museum

Description

Found in the winter 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and of the Infernal Deities at Knidos.**

An **inscription** of the plinth of the statue indicates that it is an **offering to Kore by Plathainis, wife of Platonos**.

The sow is standing on a rectangular plinth. The feet are missing but the statue is generally well preserved. The tail is resting on the left thigh of the animal and a bristly mane is carved along the spine, from the tip of the head to the rear.
The slight bending of the legs and the curve of the back of the animal give it an impression of movement.
The vulva is rendered, and the pregnant womb is designed naturalistic curves. The sow's teats are pointing, an indicator of her pregnancy, but also an indicator of her youth: not fully developed teats reveal that the animal is pregnant for the first time; the arched back emphasizes the heavy burden put on her unused spine.

Sources

Smith, 1900, p. 206, n°1305
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture 1305
BM Inscription 808

Item	**P3 Pregnant sow**
Category	Pigs
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.29**
Datation	**350-330 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 41.91 cm** **About 2/3 of life-size**

Photo: © British Museum

Description

Found in the winter 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and of the Infernal Deities at Knidos.**

The animal is standing in a frontal position on a plinth and a circular column to the middle of the plinth supports the belly of the animal. The middle parts of three of the legs are missing but the statue is overall very well preserved.
The feet are detailed and the features of the elongated head clear and naturalistic - the snout in particular is very nature-like. The almond-shaped eyes are topped by arched eyebrows, which give a more lively expression to the animal. A mane is visible on the spine along the shoulders and the back is curved on its middle and rises on the rear, which brings an impression of movement to the statue.
The animal is a female, and the vulva is clearly represented under her tail: her heavy set suggests that she is pregnant, as the other pigs found at the same sanctuary.

Sources

Smith, 1900, p. 205, n°1303
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture 1303

Item	**P4 Pregnant sow**
Category	Pigs
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.30**
Datation	**350-330 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 23.2 cm** **L: 33 cm** **W: 12.8 cm** **About 1/3 of life-size**

Description

Found in the winter 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and of the Infernal Deities at Knidos.**

The feet are missing. The animal is big and even if it is standing, its belly is resting on the plinth. A bristly mane stands along the spine from the top of the head up to the back of the animal.
The figure is very full, and the sow seems to be in the last stage of her pregnancy.

Photo: © British Museum

Sources

Smith, 1900, p. 206, n°1304
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture 1304

Item	**P5 Pregnant Sow**
Category	Pigs
Sanctuary	**Knidos - Temple of Demeter**
Location	**British Museum - 1859,1226.31**
Datation	**350-330 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 22.3 cm** **L: 33.4 cm** **W: 14.1 cm** **About 1/3 of life-size**

Photo: © British Museum

Description

Found in the winter 1857-1858 in the **Temenos of Demeter and of the Infernal Deities at Knidos.**

The snout is broken but the rest is rather well preserved.
The womb of the animal is so swollen that it starts under its chin and rests on the floor even though the sow is standing on its legs. The animal is facing forward and its tail is stretched sideways on the left thigh.
A mane is marked along the spine, from the top of the head until the tail.
The figure of the animal is very full and the sow is represented in the last and exaggerated stage of her pregnancy.

Sources

Smith, 1900, p. 206, n°1306
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture 1306

1. Classical offering of a piglet (P1) at Eleusis

a. Introduction to the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis

Eleusis was the main cult center of Demeter in Attica, located on an important axis leading from Athens to Corinth and the rest of the Peloponnese, about 20 km from Athens using the Sacred Way (the equivalent of a 4 hours walk at the average human pace).

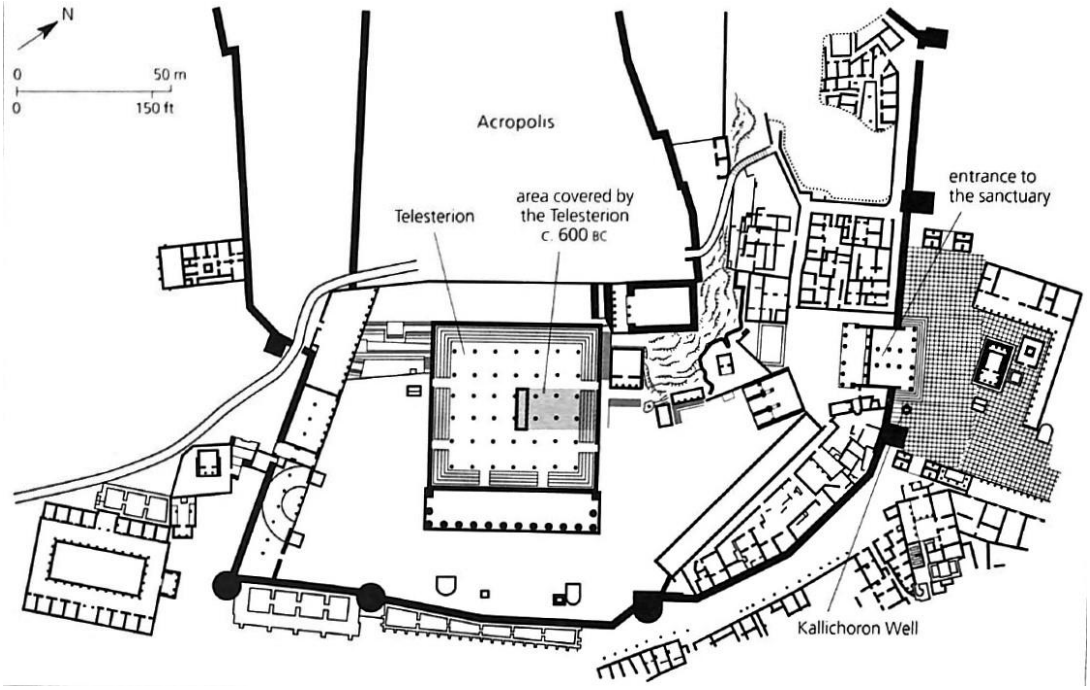

Fig. 5 – Plan of the Eleusinian sanctuary in the 2nd century AD

The sanctuary of Eleusis **(Fig. 5)**[100] was arranged in an atypical way: it included a large *temenos* with several buildings, but no temple in the traditional sense, and the sacrificial altar was set outside of the enclosed sacred area; there also were no cult statues of Demeter and Kore.[101] The most important building was the Telesterion, a large roofed square building supported by colonnades with rows of steps or seats around the sides. Pausanias, following a dream he had, does not describe the sanctuary, still surrounded with mystery in the 2nd century AD.[102] The area had been in use in the Bronze Age, but abandoned at the end of the Mycenaean civilization, and only appears to have been used as a Greek sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, Kore and the gods of the underworld

[100] Illustration: Bowden, 2010, p. 37, fig. 22. "The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Persephone) in the second century AD. The Telesterion is much larger than it had been nearly eight hundred years earlier, and the sanctuary has been expanded, with a monumental entrance and temples just outside the wall."
[101] Bowden, 2010, p. 37
[102] Pausanias, 1, 38, 7

since the 8th century BC. The early dominance of Athens over Eleusis was an important stage of the construction of the Athenian *polis*, and it was illustrated in the myths of origins of the city with Erechtheus' victory against Eleusis at the price of the life of his daughter, Chthonia, given in sacrifice, and of his own life: Poseidon struck him with his trident to punish him for killing Eumolpos, Poseidon's son with a Thracian princess, who was leading the Eleusinian army.[103]

The sanctuary was set at a location particularly charged with spiritual symbolism: it was the place where humans had come in direct contact with the divine. It is where, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*,[104] Demeter came disguised as an old woman after the rapt of Kore, acted soberly and modestly, drank the *kykeon*[105], laughed at Iambe's lewd jokes, acted as a nurse to a human child to whom she was ready to give immortality before getting interrupted. Only after being insulted by the queen, wife of Keleos, did the goddess reveal her divine glory, ordered the construction of her sanctuary and taught the humans rites to appease her wrath. When Kore was brought back to life, Demeter let the vegetation grow again and taught the several kings of Eleusis, Triptolemos, Diokles, Eumolpos and Keleos, the Mysteries of Eleusis. These Mysteries became the largest and best spread secret of the ancient world, and Athens controlled Eleusis very soon after their creation, as reported in the struggle between Erechtheus and Eumolpos.

While the Mysteries were committed in writing by an initiate, hints can be found in several ancient and medieval authors[106], some of whom were initiates and others Christians. These texts have been gathered by several authors;

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[103] Euripides, *Erechtheus* (fragments)

[104] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1-471

[105] Bowden, 2010, p. 27 – notes that the kykeon is made of barley, water and mint, a translation found in Loeb, but I differ: in "*ἄνωγε δ᾽ ἅρ᾽ ἅλφι καὶ ὕδωρ / δοῦναι μίξασαν πιέμεν γλήχωνι τερείνῃ*", *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 208-209, "γλήχωνι τερείνῃ" means tender pennyroyal rather than mint (γλήχων, being the Ionian form for βλήχων). The difference is important, because while mint is a tonic, pennyroyal, absorbed in large quantities, has abortive properties, and fresh pennyroyal in infusion can induce latent menstruations, a side effect that had certainly been noted for this autochthonous plant – and that might have played a role in the symbolism of the drink. On the other hand, the adjective shows that the herb used is fresh; discussions about narcotic properties of the drinks should be taken with precaution as the plant can only cause instant poisoning in the form of oil.

[106] Herodotus, 8, 65, 4; Plato*, Symposium*, 202e-203a and 210a; [Dem], *In Naeram*, 104; Plato, *Phaedo*, 69c; Plato, Phaedrus, 250ψ; Plato, Euthydemos, 277d; Aristophanes, *Peace*, 374-375; Dio Chrysostomos, *Orationes*, 12, 33; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 5, 70, 1-5, 71, 1; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 26, 1; SEG 21, 496 (References gathered by Clinton, 2003)

Clinton[107], Sourvinou-Inwood[108] and Bowden[109] have presented analytically the evidence available and, thanks to their work, we can get a general idea of what the Mysteries might have looked like. The Mysteries, led by priests descending from the original Eleusinian heroes, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, were accessible to worshippers of any gender, on the only conditions that they spoke Greek and had never committed murder. The Lesser Mysteries, in the month of Anestherion (in early March), prepared to the Greater Mysteries celebrated for ten days in the month of Boedromion (in early October). There were two degrees of participation – the first-time attendants were *mystai*, and those returning were *epoptai*.

Piglets were an indispensable sacrifice to participate to the mysteries: every celebrant had to accompany their ritual purification at Phaliron with the sacrifice of a small piglet. In Aristophanes' *Peace*, Trygaeus wishes to borrow three drachmas from Hermes to buy a piglet and be able to become an initiate, "*ἐς χοιρίδιόν μοί νυν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμάς: δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι*".[110] The piglets of the mysteries must have been especially memorable because of the large-scale of the event: several thousand participants could be initiated each year, and the same amount of piglets had to be sacrificed and carried by each participant who might not always have had a firm grip of the victim.[111] The whole purification day must have made for a very lively affair and the piglets were likely remembered and talked about for several days afterwards. The rites of the Mysteries involved sacred objects, transported from Eleusis to Athens and back, taken in and out of baskets, and the most important aspects of the cults happened in the Telesterion, which was a closed building with no windows. Torches played an important role in the cult, and initiates likely went from the darkness of Hades to the light of life. Clinton interprets the Mysteries as a dramatic reenactment of the rapt and return of Kore. Because the Mysteries were celebrated at night, they might have included a wandering in the dark in search of Kore before entering the Telesterion where the torches were lit; the rituals probably varied for the *mystai* and the *epoptes*: the latter might have acted as assistant-initiators. The Eleusinian Mysteries were certainly tightly linked with agriculture, part of the secret taught by Demeter to Triptolemos and revealed in Eleusis,[112] but their primary function

[107] Clinton, 1992 for iconographical documents; Clinton, 1993, p. 110-124; Clinton, 2003, p. 50-78
[108] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2003, p. 25-49
[109] Bowden, 2010, p. 40-48
[110] Aristophanes, *Peace*, 374-375
[111] Bowden, 2010, p. 34
[112] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1, 5, 2; Pausanias, 7, 18, 2-3

was to insure the initiated a better after-life.

Another important festival for Eleusis was the Thesmophoria: a women-only festival, celebrated in Athens from the 11th to the 13th of Pyanepsion (end of October): it was likely to be held on the same dates at Eleusis. Piglets were also very important for the Thesmophoria, as they played a central role in the cult itself[113]: indeed, for the occasion, women threw piglets in *megara*, deep chambers, and hauled up the remains of the piglets thrown in the previous year, which were then mixed with seeds and planted.[114] The piglets were therefore at the center of the celebration of the cycle of life, with the death of the victim as a necessary stage to allow for the growing of vegetation, which would in turn feed new animal life.

One possible link between the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinian Mysteries which hasn't been previously taken into consideration by scholars of these festivals is the integration of the putrefied pigs of the Thesmophoria in the night of the Greater Mysteries: indeed, the Greater Mysteries occurred a month before the Thesmophoria, and the remains of the pigs thrown off the cliff at the previous Thesmophoria were therefore eleven months old at the time of the celebration of the Mysteries. We know that the celebrations were led at night, and it almost certainly included a symbolic wandering through the Hades before reaching the light and revelations; sensorial aspects (visual, auditory and tactile) during a march in the dark have been suggested, but the possibility of the use of olfactive messages were ignored. If, however, the Mystery march passed through Demeter's *megara*, they could have been a vivid recreation of the Hades if the initiates walked on decayed bones and skin, heard the associated creaking in the dark, and were enveloped by the smell of putrefaction before reaching the Telesterion where torches would be lit and aromatics might have been associated to the rebirth (with incense burning or fresh aromatic herbs, available at that time of year). If this was the cases, piglets were important as a purification ingredient at the start of the Mysteries, and as a symbol of life (and death as a mean to reach eternal life or rebirth) at both Eleusinian Mysteries and Thesmophoria.

b. The votive piglet from Eleusis

Three statues of piglets have been found at Eleusis but only one of them **(P1)** is published[115] – the two others, however, are smaller than 1/3 of life-size

[113] Burkert, 2003, p. 365-370
[114] Burkert, 2003, p. 244
[115] Information obtained from the staff of the Museum at Eleusis.

and only qualify as statuettes rather than free-standing statues.

The statue **P1**, represents a very young animal about life-size. Its high-quality white marble appears to be Pentelic. The details are realistic and the rendering careful. The soft rounded curves, the delicate oval eyes, the absence of a mane, of hair or teeth are indicators of the animal's youth. The ears are small, folded and turned downwards. The legs and tail are broken but the rest of the statue is in a good condition. The absence of genitalia tends to indicate that the subject of the statue was a very young female. The artistic style of the sculpture suggests a date to the end of the Classical period, possibly around 350-330 BC.

2. Four Hellenistic pregnant sows from Knidos (P2, P3, P4, P5)

a. *Temenos* of Demeter at Knidos: context

The sanctuary of Demeter, Kore and other gods of the underworld[116] **(Fig. 6)**[117] was built ca. 350 BC. A very fine life-size statue of an enthroned Demeter an exceptional masterpiece[118] and likely the cult statue of the sanctuary is well preserved. A statuette of Persephone was also found on the site. Fragments of many other sculptures of women, representing either the worshippers or the goddesses were also found in the excavations led at Knidos by Newton, many of them dated from the second half of the 4th century, during the hegemony of

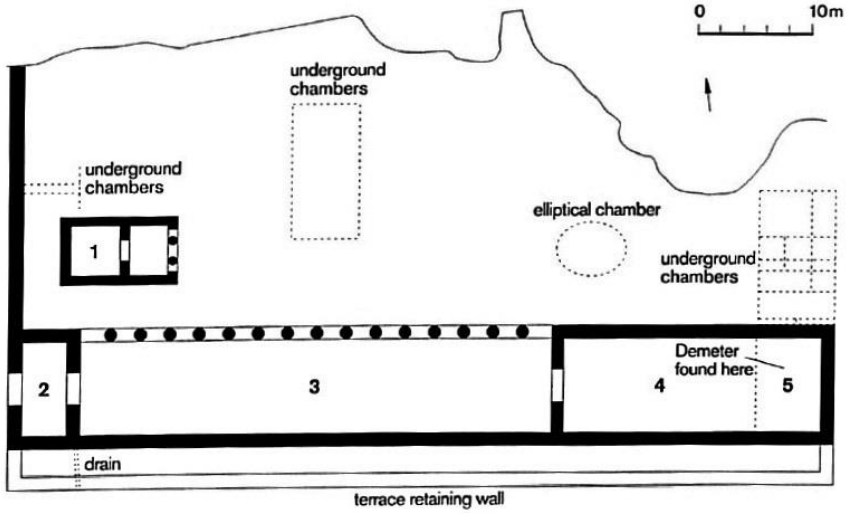

Fig. 6 – Plan of sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Knidos

[116] Jenkins, 2008, gives a general presentation of the sanctuary where he led excavations in recent years to complete the work done by Newton in the 19th century.
[117] Illustration: Jenkins, 2008, p. 41
[118] Jenkins suggests that this high-quality work might have been done by one of the Attic workshops commissioned to work on the Mausoleum.

the sanctuary. A shorter overview of the sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos was presented earlier in this dissertation as a pair of heifer calves **(B2, B3)** were also from there: the four swine statues were found in the same deposit pit as the calves. It should be noted that an important amount of pig figurines[119] and a fragment from another small marble swine[120] were found in the same location; the clay figurines of higher manufacture appear to present the same characteristics as the swine statues under study **(Fig. 7)**[121]. The finds also included a series of weights in marble, many terracotta lamps and figures, and a series of lead rolls with inscriptions invoking the goddesses in their infernal aspect.[122]

Fig. 7 – Swine figurine from Knidos

The four swine statues **(P2, P3, P4, P5)** were found in the Temenos of Demeter, a narrow platform at the foot of a cliff, on the south side of the Acropolis of Knidos[123]. Three niches were carved in the face of the cliff for the reception of votive objects and Smith reports that the excavator, Sir C. Newton, thought that there had been a small shrine on the spot, which was destroyed and that small chambers were built for the reception. Inscriptions indicate that votive offerings found in the temenos were sacred to Demeter and Persephone, but some others indicate that some other deities shared the sacred space with the two goddesses – Pluto Epimachos, Hermes, and perhaps Hekate and the Dioscuri. [124]

The earliest sculpture and inscriptions found in the *temenos* show that it was starting to acquire sanctity in the first half of the 4th century BC and that terracotta offerings continued to be deposited until Roman times[125]. All four swine statues found in the *temenos* are dated from the second half of the 4th century. Smith also mentions the forepart of a smaller boar[126] (about 7.5 x 8 cm), that can hardly be counted in our monumental offerings – the fragment isn't visible but considering the similarity of features between the statues that he classifies as pigs with boars, it seems safe to assume that the fifth

[119] Now exhibited in the same room of the British Museum
[120] Smith, 1900, p. 206, no. 1307: "Forepart of a small boar, from the eye to behind the forelegs. The snout and lower part of the forelegs are broken away." H: 3", L: 3.25"
[121] British Museum: 1859,1226.194. Terracotta figure of a pig with coating, ca. 300 BC. H. 6.5 cm; L. 10.4 cm; W. 3.4 cm. Photo: © British Museum.
[122] Smith, 1900, p. 201
[123] Newton, 1862, pl. 58 and pl. 89; Smith, 1900, p. 200-206
[124] Smith, 1900, p. 200-206
[125] Smith, 1900, p. 202
[126] Smith, 1900, no. 1307, p. 206

fragmentary statuette represented an animal similar to the four swine statues displayed at the British Museum.

All the dedications made in the Temenos of Demeter at Knidos were made by individuals and not public bodies[127], which suggests that the sanctuary likely had a private and familial character[128]. The inscriptions on other statue bases are considered after the presentation of the four sows.

b. The pregnant sows P2, P3, P4 and P5

The four swine statues **(P2, P3, P4, P5)** are about two-thirds of the size of live animals. Two of them, **P4** and **P5** are catalogued as pigs **(P4 and P5)** and two, **P2** and **P3**, as pregnant sows in the catalogue of the British museum. Smith[129] only identified **P5** as a very fat sow, while he characterizes **P2, P3 and P4** as standing pigs. On closer examinations, however, it appears that all the statues are pregnant sows. The coarse ray of hair running along the spine of the animal is reminiscent of boar representations, but the statues are showing domestic pigs. On **P2** and **P3**, however, the vulva is clearly sculpted; **P2** also displays small teats. These two statues show pregnant animals in a very naturalistic way. **P4** and **P5** are less careful works, and the female parts can't be detailed but show even fatter animals than **P2** and **P3**: their belly touches the plinth, making their pregnancy evident.

The number of nipples of **P2** is a further proof for my argument that the animals represented in the Knidian *anathemata* are domestic swine rather than wild boars. Indeed, female black pigs usually have ten nipples (while the modern breeds of domesticated pigs often have between 12 and 14 nipples). **P2** has eight apparent nipples **(Fig. 8)**[130], and space of two more to the front.

Fig. 8 – Detailed view of pregnant sow (P2)

If we compare the appearance of the statue with live sows, the animal on the representation appears to be a young sow, pregnant for the first time, and her teats are showing but aren't yet fully developed as on individuals that have already given birth. The sculpture is very detailed, and the surface of the belly

[127] Newton, 1862; Smith, 1900, p. 203
[128] Newton, 1862, p. 716
[129] Smith, 1900, p. 206, no. 1306
[130] Photo: courtesy of Helena Meskanen.

reveals the uneven shape of the piglets that she is expecting.

3. Inscriptions

Only one dedication connected to a swine offering has been found, inscribed on the plinth (H. 4 cm; L. 46 cm; W. 21 cm) of the pregnant sow statue **(P2)** from Knidos, to the left side of the statue. Its most likely restitution is **"[Δάματρι καὶ Κού]ραι Πλαθαινίς Πλάτωνος γυνά"**[131]. It had been read by Smith and Newton as "[Κού]ρᾳ Πλαθαινὶς Πλάτωνος γυνά"[132], but the stone is broken to the left before the foreleg of the sow, and the positioning of the animal indicates that the complete plinth would have been large enough to host all the letters of "Δάματρι καὶ Κούραι".

Even though only one inscription was found directly connected to a sow **(P2)** at Knidos, the other inscriptions from the same sanctuary are of a great help to understand it.[133] Of all the 16 inscriptions from statue bases[134] found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Knidos, 14 were given by women, one by a man, and one is too fragmented to know the gender of the dedicator; the dedicators are generally married women, who join their husbands' names to their own, and only sometimes indicate their fathers' names; two of the women join their children "και παῖδες" to their dedications[135], which indicates the family character of the cult. The dedicators are mainly wives and mothers. The oldest inscription, dating from the 3rd century BC and written in the form of an epigram, was made by a married priestess, Chrysina, who dedicated the temple and the cult statue to "Κούραι καὶ Δάματρι", and mentions Hermes as an additional deity in the last line.[136] Only the male dedicator names the other gods in his dedication – but places them after the main deities of the sanctuaries: "Δάματρι, Κούραι, Πλούτωνι, Ἐπιμάχωι, Ἑρμᾶι", seemingly respecting an order of importance. The other inscriptions mentioning the other gods of the sanctuary refer to them as the ones under Demeter, or the ones under Demeter and Kore. The two inscriptions addressed to Kore alone are made by priestesses[137] and do not bear wedding ties: Kore might have had virgin priestesses while Demeter's priestess was a wife and mother.

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[131] IK Knidos 1, 136. Blümel, 1992, p. 80, restitutes this reading, and sees an eroded "υ" for Κούραι.
[132] Newton, 1862, pl. 58, fig, 3; Smith, 1900, p. 206, 1305; BM 1859,1226.28
[133] IK Knidos 1, 131-159
[134] IK Knidos 1, 131-146
[135] IK Knidos 1, 133 and 144
[136] IK Knidos 1, 131
[137] IK Knidos 142 and 144

Plathaïnis, who dedicated the most sophisticated of the pregnant sows found at Knidos **(P2)**, also made other sculptural offerings at the same sanctuary, where two other of her dedications were found on statue bases.[138] A limestone base[139] (H. 19 cm; L. 40 cm; W. 31 cm) carried a simple inscription, very similar to the one found on the plinth of the sow **(P2)**:

"Πλαθαινίς, Πλάτωνος γυνά,
Δάματρι καὶ Κούραι"[140]

The other inscription by Plathaïnis was found on a block of blue marble[141] (H. 47 cm; L. 66 cm; W. 58 cm):

"Δάματρι καὶ Κούραι καὶ τοῖς
θεοῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δάματρι καὶ
Κούραι χαριστεῖα καὶ ἐκτίμα-
τρα ἀνέθηκε Πλαθαινίς, Πλά-
τωνος γυνά."[142]

The dedication was longer than the two others but also had Demeter and Kore as the main receivers, accompanied with the other unnamed gods under them. The offering was done with gratitude and respect,[143] likely after a wish made by the woman had come true. One could even conjecture that the two other offerings (the one on **P2** and the other similar dedication), which do not explicitly state a reason, were wish-offerings, *euches*: two other dedications from the statue bases at same sanctuary also addressed to Demeter and Kore were wishful offerings.[144]

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[138] Aside from the two other dedications presented here, Smith connects these offerings to another dedication inscription found in Kos in which the name Plathaïnis occurs (in Ross, *Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae*, no. 178k). The inscription found at the Asklepeion of Kos, now referenced as Insc. Di Cos ED 179, appears to several decades posterior to the Knidian dedications. The Plathaïnis, daughter of Lykaithou, mentioned in Kos was likely another woman, but it confirms the name Plathaïnis as popular in the eastern Aegean.

[139] British Museum GR 1859.12-26.37

[140] IK Knidos 1, 137

[141] British Museum, GR 1859.12-26.47

[142] IK Knidos 1, 138

[143] Blümel, 1992, p. 81, notes the controversy on the translation of "ἐκτίματρα" as it had been written by Hirschfeld before him that the term cannot be translated as "mark of veneration" because it was not the "proper word for honours paid to the deities by a mortal" and deduces that "the word ἐκτίματρον must have here a special meaning, not known to us". Newton, 1863, p. 716, was unsure of the meaning of the word but suggests that it could be an atonement offering. A χἄριστεῖον was a thank-offering, and considering the root of ἐκτῑμάω, it is safe to assume that its substantivized adjective carried a meaning including honor and respect.

[144] IK Knidos 1, 135: "Νικόκλεια Νικοχόρου, γυνά δὲ Ἀπολλοφάνευς, Δάματρι και Κούραι καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δάματρι εὐχάν" and IK Knidos 1, 140: "Ξενὼ Δήμητρι καὶ

V. Significance of the free-standing pig *anathemata*

The five known pig offerings are one female piglet from Eleusis **(P1)** and four young pregnant sows from Knidos **(P2-P5)**: they all came from sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore where the goddesses were honored in a strong association with the gods of the Underworld. The only surviving dedication, on the plinth of **P2**, addresses the offering was made to Demeter and Kore. The pregnant sows of a higher manufacture, **P2** and **P3**, appear to be young animals, likely pregnant for the first time. All four pig offerings are made of marble that can be considered local (the Pentelic marble used for P1 was extracted about 40 km from Eleusis and the sows of Knidos appear to have been made with Carian marble); three of the five statues, **P1**, **P2** and **P3**, were very careful and well-executed works using choice blocks of marble, while **P4** and **P5** used a coarser marble, which has chipped on P4, and were made with a lesser attention to detail. The inscription on **P2** indicates that the dedicator, Plathaïnis was a married woman: her own name is followed with her husband's name – she defines herself as a spouse. Two other dedications made by the same woman were found inside the same sanctuary: one similar to **P2**, only indicating that the offering was made by Plathaïnis, wife of Platonos, to Demeter and Kore, and the other was a longer text, addressed to Demeter and Kore, but also to the gods below them, indicating that the offerings (in the plural) were made as *charisteia*, thank-you offerings, and *ektimatra*, a term more difficult to define, but indicating the dedicator's reverence for the goddesses and the deities below them. The pregnant sows might have been *euches* and other statues later offered as *charisteia* – or the pregnant sows might have been part of the *charisteia*. It is also possible that pregnant sows were offered both as *euches* and *charisteia* on different occasions, possibly in the context of fertility wishes. Because most of the inscriptions found at Knidos were dedications made by women, the three other pregnant sows **(P3, P4, P5)** from the same side were also likely made by married women, who sometimes had children, as indicated on several inscriptions. At Eleusis, where piglets were not only associated to the Thesmophoria but also with the Eleusinian Mysteries, it is more difficult to make assumptions about the gender of the dedicator, but the choice of the offering was in direct connection with the cult to Demeter and Kore as Chthonian goddesses.

The animals represented on the free-standing offerings correspond to sacrifices considered suitable for Demeter and Kore: piglets were a common victim for chthonian deities and for purification rites, while all sacrifices of

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Κούραι εὐχην".

pregnant sows found in inscriptions were addressed to Demeter. The cult of Demeter is, however, inseparable from her search of her daughter, and sacrifices to Demeter are somewhat shared-in by Kore, especially when the victim is not consumed but its blood or body are given to the ground and the underworld, where Kore was taken. Female piglets and young pregnant sows in their first pregnancies were likely a symbol of the cycle of life, and of the necessity of decay to gain a new life: as Kore comes back to the surface after her abduction into the Underworld, the piglets and pregnant sows killed before giving birth for the first time are nonetheless a step towards rebirth as shown in the rites of the Thesmophoria. Free-standing votive statues representing these animals can therefore be considered as the representation of the most meaningful sacrifice to Demeter and Kore, and as the representation of Kore, a most pleasing image for Demeter, but also for Kore herself and her consort in the Underworld – who is not named but remembered in prayers of rebirth.

Birds

I. A historical overview

1. General context – most common bird species in Ancient Greece

The oldest of animals, birds (*aves*), have always been part of man's surroundings. They also vary very much in size, colors, characteristics – there are about ten thousand identified bird species in the world today. While bigger animals have been the objects of dangerous hunts and time consuming domestication, some birds were relatively easy to catch with simple traps, and poultry cheap to domesticate; eggs of wild birds easily accessible to primitive men and poultry eggs an easy food to procure.

Birds, *ὄρνιθες*, were often referred to with the name of their particular species: the large lexical variety of bird names illustrates the attention that the Geeks paid to the large avian fauna. For instance, the small owl (*Athene noctua*) was called *γλαύξ* for its glaring eyes and considered feminine; the eagle *ἀετός* and used as a masculine; a water bird, maybe the kingfisher, *ἀλκυών*; a swan *κύκνος*; a dove *πέλεια*; a nightingale *ἀηδών*; a sparrow *στρουθός*, etc. Exotic birds were given compound names: *φοινικόπτερος* for the flamingo or *στρουθοκάμηλος* for the ostrich.

2. Domestic birds: poultry and pets

Chicken weren't native to Greece but reached it around 3000 BCE and were adopted as a domesticated animal, for their meat, eggs, and the entertainment that cockfights provided.[1] There wasn't a clear limit between birds used as livestock, entertainment animals and pets. Cockfights was one of the oldest forms of entertainments, with such shows in practice even at a special amphitheater in Pergamon. Hens were the one bird that didn't fly, which made them a very easy animal to keep, and cheap to feed, as they are omnivorous, and would feed on any leftover on top of everything they would find for themselves in the yard where they were kept. They would also help keeping little snakes and other pests such as insects and mice away from the house by consuming them. Moreover, chicken manure, rich in nitrogen, phosphorus and

[1] Adler and Lawler, 2012

potassium, would provide an excellent fertilizer – even better than cattle or horse manure. Even though Greek literature doesn't provide much details on the domestication of chicken, the Roman Columella[2] writes about chicken husbandry in the 1st century AD: he gives advice about chicken hatching, that should preferably done in the spring, and describe the painless castration of males (capons were less aggressive than roosters and put on weight faster); he reports that most of the Greeks, and especially the Delians, were famous for their excellent skills in bringing up chicken, which brought a non-despicable income, and also that the roosters from Tanagra, Rhodes and Chalcis were particularly brave in cockfights.

Pigeons were kept for eggs and meat, or even as pets; it isn't uncommon to see an archaic kore or a little girl on a classical grave stela **(Fig. 1)**[3] holding a dove – aside from its symbolic function, this tends to show that it was not incongruous for girls to tame domesticated birds and keep them as pets. The associations between the hearth and pigeons can also come from the animal's homing abilities: even though it is not before Caesar[4] that we have documentation on the use of courier pigeons, their ability to choose a home and go back to their nest had certainly been observed in Greek antiquity. Turtledoves, smaller than the common pigeons and often remembered in folk cultures for their melodic and amorous call, would make a good tame bird.

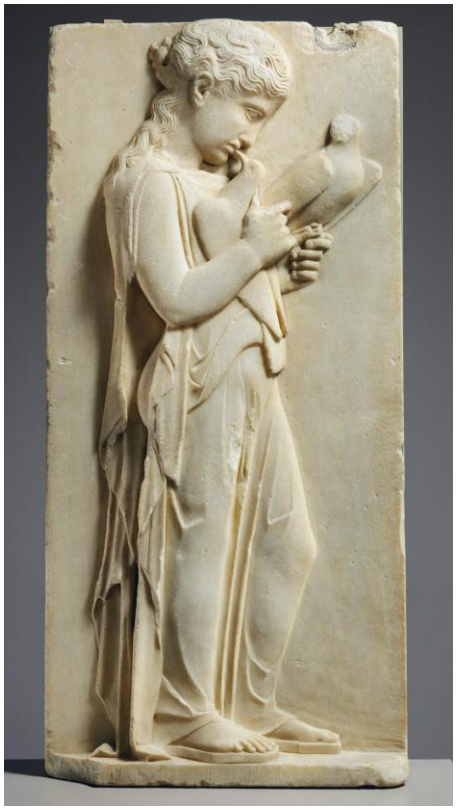

Fig. 1 – Grave stele of a little girl holding doves - 450-440 BC

Ducks and geese were found in the wild, but also domesticated on occasions; children were sometimes represented next to a goose, and women are also represented in the company of ducks or geese in the context of their household. Penelope[5] says of her twenty geese, that roam about the house and feed on grains, that she loves to

[2] Columella, 8, 2, 3

[3] Parian marble stele, MET 27.45. Photo: © Metropolitan Museum.

[4] Levi, 1977, on a very complete study on pigeons, notes that the animal was domesticated for its meat since 3000 BC in Egypt and quotes a passage from *Bellum Gallicum* where Caesar describes his army communication system using pigeons as messengers

[5] Homer, Odyssey, 19, 535

watch them. That sentence shows the thin line between poultry and pets: even though these animals will most likely end up as a meal, an emotional bond ties them to the family that keeps them, especially since they share the same living space, unlike cattle or sheep. Moreover, female duck, geese and hen could be kept as companions for a long time and provide eggs to the household without being killed.

3. Bird sacrifices, purification rituals, meat consumption and sacred birds

Even though birds, especially roosters, were common victims, the sacrificial calendars[6], on which I have profusely dissertated in other chapters, remain completely bird-less. This emphasizes the casual and modest aspect of poultry sacrifice: it was suitable for a family to offer a cockerel but it was not a big enough sacrifice to be an honorable gift from a town, even a small one, and definitively not an offering worthy of being written down in any record. Household sacrifices were common[7] and barnyard fowl were a suitable victim for these as they were easily available, affordable, and provided a family-size meal following the sacrifice.

As for the evidence revealed by osteological analyses so far, birds (mostly chicken and pigeon, and, less commonly, vultures) only represent a small fraction of the bones found in sanctuaries, with cattle, sheep, goats and pigs representing on average 90% or more of the bones found in each sanctuary under study.[8]

The rarity of birds bones within sanctuaries are, however, by no means a proof of a lesser consumption of chicken meat: a rooster was, indeed, a victim of ideal size for private sacrifices, as the meat would provide a family size meal rather than adequate portions for a larger group of people. Most of the cock sacrifices were made for Dionysos, Kore, Hermes and Asclepios[9]; all these divinities had chthonic aspects and/or human origins. In his *Mimes*, Herodas[10] shows women sacrificing a rooster, “herald of domestic walls”, to Asclepios, while excusing themselves for bringing such a modest gift as they weren’t rich enough to bring an ox or even a fatted sow instead. One of the women indicates that another should cut the animal carefully; one leg should be given to the

[6] See chapters on Cattle; Sheep and Goat; Pigs; Van Straten, 1995; Ekroth, 2007; Jameson, 1988
[7] Mikalson, 2005, p. 124
[8] Ekroth, 2007, p. 256
[9] Burkert, 2003, p. 368, 1.1, no. 2; Matz, 1963, p. 44-52
[10] Herodas, 60

neokoros, the honey-cakes and oil-cakes placed in the serpent's cave, while they would take the rest with them to eat at home. That kind of sacrifice would not have left abundant traces in sanctuaries. The popularity of rooster offerings for Asclepios can easily be explained by the fact that even the poorest would come, ask for favors and give thanks to the god of medicine. Asclepios was born to a mortal woman, which made him more accessible: a god of mortal origins could be kind and understanding, and accept even modest gifs from the men and women who would come to him, regardless of their fortune. The sacrifice of a cock to Asclepios is also attested in an inscription from Epidaurus from ca. 400 BC[11] and by the dream-analyst Artemiodorus[12].

According to Plutarch[13], Lykourgos was in favor of cheaper sacrifices, and to celebrate a victory, the Spartans would only sacrifice a rooster. Since the rooster was also a symbol of bravery, the modest sacrifice was nonetheless a fitting one.

Roosters could be used in purification rituals: for instance, Pausanias[14] reports folk customs from Methana in Troezen, where two men would cut a white cockerel in halves and run the sides around their vines in opposite directions each carrying a half of the bird until they met again at the starting place and buried the remains there. They believed that this would appease a wind that often came in gushes from damaging their vines. Harrison[15] points out that in this case, the cock is a *σφάγιον* and, while victims of magic rites that don't involve consummation are usually black, the white color might be an indication of the benevolence of the ritual, reduced to a "magical-instrumental function", as Burkert puts it[16]. Besides, even though winds were usually considered to be divinities of the underworld, they had a tendency to turn into Ouranian deities – who are more readily pleased with white animals.

Porphyry[17] reports the sacrifice of cocks to the chthonian Demeter at Eleusis in and other places: he uses the word *ἀφιέρωσαν*, suggesting the hiding and non-consumption of the victim. He gave as a reason that the mystics had to abstain from barn fowls, fish, beans, pomegranate and apples during the mysteries in order to be considered pure. In the same passage, Porphyry mentions a sacrifice a cock that Socrates owed to Asclepios and uses the same

[11] IG IV² 1, no. 41; Well, 1998, p. 68
[12] Artemiodorus, 5, 9
[13] Plutarch, *Lykourgos*, 19, 8
[14] Pausanias, 2, 34, 3
[15] Harrison, 1991, p. 67
[16] Burkert, 2003, p. 82
[17] Porphyry, 4, 16

word. Harrison[18] points out the special status of Asclepios, a "half-deified hero", to whom it is appropriate to give a sacrifice "laid under a taboo" as for a chthonian deity. Cock sacrifices are also present in hero cults and funerary rituals, in Attic gravestones hero-reliefs and gravestones[19] show processions carrying small offerings in these contexts: a rooster, a cake or a fruit for instance.

The use of barnyard fowl in purification rituals and chthonian sacrifices to the divinities of the underworld or to the dead, which required the victim to be entirely destroyed, buried or left to rot, was a sensible choice because of the much cheaper value and easier breeding, transport and upkeep of poultry compared to domestic mammalians.

The other very common birds in a domestic context were doves. Doves were sacrificed to Aphrodite *Pandemos* in Athens and Delos[20]. An early Hellenistic decree dating from 284 BC[21] indicates that the Athenian sacrifice had a purification purposes. Athens and Delos are the two only Greek sanctuaries where dove sacrifice is attested, but doves enjoyed many other connections to Aphrodite[22]. At the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, in Caria, flocks of doves were protected and sacred to the goddess[23], at least in later Antiquity: it was forbidden to catch, keep or scare them, as indicated on a marble base dating from the 1st century AD[24]. This shows that the dove was not a very common sacrifice, and one made more for symbolic purposes (within a cleansing ritual) than for meat consumption, at least amongst larger groups: this is only logical as pigeon meat doesn't make logistical sense for feasting outside of the household structure as each animal provides very little flesh. Pigeon meat is, however, still consumed in part of Greece: Tinos, for instance, keeps traditional pigeon houses throughout the island to help fertilize the land and their meat is considered a delicacy; besides, the white pigeons of the island have a much cleaner look than those found in modern contexts and give an idea of the difference in pigeon and dove imagery in Ancient Greece compared to the negative contemporary connotations of pigeons, that have become unwanted and unhygienic parasites in our overpopulated metropoles. Raising pigeons for meat is therefore not to be excluded, but they probably had several functions; like poultry, they provided eggs and very good quality compost while

[18] Harrison, 1991, p. 150
[19] Harrison, 1991, p. 326
[20] Brody, 2001, p. 100
[21] IG, II², 659; Sokolowski, LSCG, p. 73-74; Pirenne-Delforge, 1994, p. 29
[22] As seen in other sections of this chapter
[23] Brody, 2001, p. 99
[24] Sokolowski, LSA, p. 189-190

requiring little to no maintenance. Doves were also a companion for the women of the house as they shared their domestic lives while men were dealing with the outside world. Even now, in many folk cultures around the Mediterranean, turtledoves have remained a symbol of love, songs and companionships: the term refers to all the smaller species of pigeons and their color vary, but their call is what distinguishes them as it is often associated to courting songs. Even though, unlike chicken, pigeons could fly, they were easy to tame and catch and didn't necessarily need a cage to be kept in: a mere pigeon house to which they could come back on their own could be enough. These birds were probably kept close to the house for these many uses: they provided meat, maybe sometimes in the context of household sacrifices, companionship, and were possibly used in magic rituals requiring a low-price victim with a strong symbolic aura: this theory is, however, a mere speculation based on the ritualistic use of the cock at Methana; evidence for folk magic is often lacking because, most of the times, it wasn't recorded.

II. Birds in literature and art

1. Birds in Ancient literature

a. Homer

The lexical field of birds is rich in Homer, who refers to various species of birds for their natural, symbolic or religious particularities. The first sentence of the *Iliad* reminds us of the horrors of the battle fields, where carrion birds "*οἰωνοῖσί*", along with dogs, feed on the bodies of dead heroes.[25]

Birds are an instrument of divination through the observation of their flight and cries: Calchas, son of Thestor, was considered to be the best of bird-diviners, "*οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος*"[26]. They can carry very strong omen, like the eagle flying over the battlefield, and carrying a bloody and monstrous snake, still alive, in its claws: in a twist of situation, the snake managed to twist and bite the eagle, and the bird let go of the snake before reaching its nest where it would have given it to its chicks.[27] In this passage, the eagle, "*Διὸς τέρας*"[28], represents the energy of Zeus, originally partial to the Trojans, while the

[25] Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 1-8
[26] Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 69
[27] Homer, *Iliad*, 12, 200-220
[28] Homer, *Iliad*, 12, 209

serpent is probably a symbol of Athena, who had sided with the Achaeans and had a snake on her *aegis*: the omen symbolized the turning of events about to come and the unexpected Greek victory. The eagle is confirmed as an ambassador of Zeus in several occurrences.[29] But it can also appear in other omens with different meanings – like the eagle coming from the right of Telemachus and carrying a great white goose, interpreted by Helen as representing Odysseus getting back to his home-nest and preying on the suitors.[30] When, however, the bird comes from the left hand, it is ill-omen: an eagle holding a dove coming from the left of the suitors who were plotting about the murder of Telemachus is unanimously accepted by all the men as a sign that the plan was deemed to fail.[31]

The hawk could act as Apollo's messenger: when it flies over Telemachus' right hand with a torn-out dove in its claws, "*ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις, κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος: ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων*", it indicates that the young man will maintain the prestige of his house in Ithaca.[32] The hawk was known for its swiftness and was used as a comparison to emphasize the speed of heroes.[33]

Wild fowl, especially wild geese, cranes, long-necked swans and herons were all part of the river-side landscape of Troy[34]. The halcyon bird was known for its sorrowful cry.[35] Some birds have several names: in the Iliad, one same mountain bird with a clear voice is called *chalkis* by the gods and *kymindis* by the men[36]: Hypnos uses that voice to lull even the gods to sleep. The nightingale, *ἀηδών*, was known for its sad night song, explained mythically, because the first nightingale was supposed to be the daughter of Pandareus, and had accidentally killed her own son, Itylos, fathered by the king Zethos, and sang her torments forevermore in the shape of a bird.[37]

The timid doves would bring Ambrosia to Zeus, "*πέλειαι τρήρωνες, ταί τ᾽ ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν*"[38], and they are expected to pass everywhere, even where other birds don't go.

The she-bird represented excellent motherly care: the mother would feed

[29] Homer, *Iliad*, 8, 242; 12, 209; 13, 821
[30] Homer, *Odyssey*, 15, 161-178
[31] Homer, *Odyssey*, 20, 240-247
[32] Homer, *Odyssey*, 15, 525-534
[33] Homer, *Iliad*, 13, 63
[34] Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 460; 10, 254; 15, 692; 17, 460
[35] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 563
[36] Homer, *Iliad*, 14, 290
[37] Homer, *Odyssey*, 19, 517-523
[38] Homer, *Odyssey*, 12, 62-64

her chicks by regurgitating her food and come back to them even when she was tired.[39] Sparrow chicks, "*στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί*"[40] are presented as the epitome of vulnerability, and when they are devoured by a snake, their mother mourns them with eloquence and even attacks the monster with no regard for her own life until she gets eaten herself.

The metaphor of bird of ill-omen, "*ὄρνις κακὸς*"[41] was already used also to refer to a person.

Domestic geese appear in the Odyssey, when Penelope tells of a dream she had: an eagle killed all of her geese.[42] In reality, she had about twenty geese that she liked very much; they lived in her house and she fed them mash. Penelope was so attached to her domestic animals that she wept for the loss of her birds. The strong vocabulary of grief used, "*κλαῖον καὶ ἐκώκυον*", "*οἴκτρ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένην*" show that her geese were therefore much more than just future meals to her. In the end of the dream, the eagle revealed himself as her husband coming for his revenge while the geese were the suitors, and Penelope woke up to her geese being alive. The episode, even though the geese only died in a dream, tells us about the wife's domestic habits with her tame fowls.

In the *Iliad*, live doves are also objectified in the context of games[43]. Achilles ties a shy dove, "*τρήρωνα πέλειαν*"[44] by the foot for the archery contest; he sets twelve axes and twelve double-axes for the winners – the simple axes for the archer who would only manage to hit the string holding the dove down, and the double ones for the one who would manage to actually hit the bird. Apollo, as the patron of archers, plays, of course, a role in the contest. First to shoot, Teukros neglects to promise a hecatomb of lambs to the god and therefore only hits the rope, while Merion does promise the sacrifice and hits the dove. No-one seems interested in collecting the carcass of the dove, which is merely used as a moving target; the connection between the bird and Aphrodite may have played a part in the symbolic of the scene, because the goddess of love was averse to the Greeks, but Homer, who is usually very explicit in his symbolic connections, doesn't mention her at all in this scene. It seems safe to assume that shooting pigeons was a mere sport, as it has been in many later periods of history.

[39] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 322
[40] Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 311
[41] Homer, *Iliad*, 24, 217
[42] Homer, *Odyssey*, 19, 535-543
[43] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 850-883
[44] Homer, Iliad, 23, 855

b. Aristophanes

The mention of "birds" immediately brings Aristophanes' play to mind. Performed in 414 BC at the Athenian Leneia in honor of Dionysos, the *Birds* stages two Athenians, Euelpides and Pisthetairos who, fed up with their fellow humans, only interested in political quarrels. The two men reach the dwelling of Tereos, former king of Thrace, who had been transformed into a hoopoe. They manage to convince the birds to adopt them and build a city in the air, from where the sophists and sycophants would be excluded. The two men chew on a magical root to be themselves transformed into birds, and the city in the sky is named Νεφελοκοκκυγία and they start building it. A religious service is established for the new gods: the birds, who will be able to profit from the fumes of the human's sacrifices for the Olympians. Iris, messenger of the gods, manages to sneak in the city, but is soon detected and allowed to fly back to her father, Zeus. Several men come and try to be part of the new utopia, but are turned away because of their greed or dishonesty. At last, Prometheus visits the birds and warns Pisthetairos that the Olympians are starving because the smokes of sacrifices don't reach them anymore and that negotiations with Zeus shouldn't be done until the god surrenders his scepter and his mistress, Basileia, the Sovereignty. Taking that advice, when three delegates of the gods, Poseidon, Herakles and a barbarian god, come for a visit, Pisthetairos stands his grounds, refuses to negotiate, and is ultimately presented with Zeus' scepter and marries his bride Basileia: he therefore becomes king of the heavens.

Aristophanes, in the play, parodies the contemporaneous Orphist theories according to which the first god is born from an egg – in the play, the birds are born from that original egg.[45] Interpretations of the play have been subject to many discussions, that don't have a place in this dissertation, but it is interesting, in the context of birds in religious studies, that it is the category of animals chosen for creating a utopia because of their liminal status between earth and sky creatures. The many jokes, songs and sounds that give life to the theater representation use the many bird names present in the Classical repertory, as well as invented bird names, illustrating the vastness of the bird species.[46] Many birds are exotic and the bird kingdom contains at least as many types of birds as there are types of humans for Aristophanes.

2. Birds in Ancient Greek Mythology

[45] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 698-702
[46] Kanavou, 2011, p. 101-102

a. Divine associations

Several birds were well known for their associations with the gods or their mythological origin through human metamorphosis.

The eagle was indissociably linked with the king of the Olympus. Zeus entrusted his faithful golden *αέτος* with his personal matters and other missions: the eagle went and fetched the pretty Ganymede[47] for his master; (even though Ovid[48] later recounts that Zeus himself turned into his beloved bird to carry off the boy). After his death, Zeus' eagle was granted a place in the heavens as the constellation of the Eagle[49]. Zeus had other tame eagles too: fire-bearing eagles[50]; eagles in general were called the "bird of Zeus"[51]. According to some[52], Zeus singled out the eagle from the other birds, because he alone flew into the rising sun.

The question of the origin of Zeus' pet eagle was addressed mainly by Roman authors. According to Antonius Liberalis[53], Periphas, who was a king so virtuous that men honored him as a god, was almost destroyed by Zeus but, on the advice of Apollo, the king of the god transformed him into an eagle instead of killing him, and granted him with the responsibility of guarding his divine scepter for the piety that Periphas had shown during his life as a human – Zeus also changed Periphas' queen into a vulture, to honor her request to be changed into a bird to remain a companion to her husband, and granted her with the privilege of being a good omen for mankind.

It was also an eagle, the Caucasian Eagle[54] that Zeus sent to eat the liver of the chained Prometheus, until Herakles killed the bird to free the man. Several authors[55] considered that particular eagle as a construction of Hephaistos to which Zeus had given life.

To determine the center of the earth – the navel of Gaia, it was two eagles that Zeus sent flying from two extremity of the word: the two birds crossed each other's path above Delphi, since then considered the navel of the world.

The owl was sacred to Athena and recurrently appears, along with the snake

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[47] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 141; Strabo, 13, 1, 11
[48] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10, 243
[49] Pseudo-Hyginus, 2, 16
[50] Aeschylus, *Niobe*, Fragment 81 (from Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1247)
[51] Aelian, 9, 10
[52] Pseudo-Hyginus, 2, 16
[53] Antonius Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 6
[54] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 507; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 115
[55] According to Pseudo-Hyginus, 2, 15

and the cockerel (and more often than either) as a companion of the goddess. Roman mythographers[56] believed that Athena's owl used to be a human girl, Nyctimene, daughter of the king Epopeus of Lesbos, who had been raped by her own father and then changed into the bird by the goddess, who felt pity for her. This is how they explained that the owl, out of shame, didn't come out during the day but only appeared at night. The association between Athena and the owl was at least as old as Homer, and the owl appears as a symbol or companion of Athena on many vase paintings. It was also used as the symbol of the city of Athens on the tetradrachm coins, more commonly referred to as *glaukes*, since the last quarter of the 6th century BC[57]. The little bird was also a native species of Attica and very present in the Athenian landscape, which would make it a logical attribute for the local goddess. Besides, its wide eyes, ability to see and hunt in the dark, serious pose and clear hooting made it easy to associate with wisdom, an important characteristic of Athena.

Doves were often associated with Aphrodite. The long courting of pigeons, their cooing, the sensual call of the turtledoves, their life-long attachment to their partner, their "kissing" rituals that precede mating had probably been observed and played a role in their association with the goddess of love. The fact that pigeons come back to their nest even when allowed to fly away certainly made them easier to observe.

As previously noted, doves were sacrificed to Aphrodite Pandemos both at Athens and on Delos[58], and there was a purifying aspect to that sacrifice (and the feminine is used to refer to the animal in the Hellenistic religious decree referring to the purification ritual: *περιστεράν*)[59]. At other sanctuaries, live pigeons are sacred to Aphrodite: at her sanctuary of Aphrodisias, in Caria, it was forbidden to catch, keep or scare the doves[60]. These rare and purifying sacrifices, and special protection show the special status of the dove as one of the goddess's attributes. The dove enjoyed an important symbolic place in the cults of Aphrodite, and was certainly more connected to the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos rather than Ourania. The sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Hiera Odos leading from Athens to Eleusis, where 18 marble pigeons ranging from life-size to under-life-size were found, was a place of devotion for Aphrodite Pandemos, and many of the offerings found in the same location reveal a cult strongly

[56] Pseudo-Hyginus, 204; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2, 589
[57] Raven, 1968, p. 58
[58] Brody, 2001
[59] IG, II², 659; Sokolowski, LSCG, p. 73-74
[60] Sokolowski, LSA, p. 189-190

connected to the flesh and fertility: genitalia, pomegranates and an egg were presented to the goddess along with the marble doves that will be the object of a closer study further in this chapter. One small marble dove was also found to the west of the Asklepion on the Akropolis, and possibly came from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemios on the slope of the Akropolis[61]; close by, excavations also revealed a Pentelic marble architrave with a 4th century BC dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos[62], and on which six doves are represented, accompanying a procession. The inscription dedicates to Aphrodite the offerings made in the area. Many smaller dove offerings were found in Greek sanctuaries[63], and doves were also printed on Greek coins from places where Aphrodite had important worship centers, such as Sicyon, Corinth, Cythera, Cassiope, Eryx and Paphos.[64]

Breitenberger also shows how doves used to be an important attribute in the eastern worship of Ishtar-Astarte[65], from which the Greek Aphrodite draws many of her characteristics. The connection between doves and eastern goddesses could also explain early links between Hera and the bird.

According to Aelian[66], doves were sacred both to Aphrodite and to Demeter.

Water birds[67] appear to be deeply connected with goddesses, especially in early periods: they are often attributes to the Potnia Theron. Because of that early associations, they are often connected with goddesses with an early history, more particularly, Artemis, Hera and Aphrodite.

Hera was associated with birds very early on: like Artemis, she kept some aspects of an older goddess who was also a mistress of the animals. In a lesser extent than Aphrodite, she seems to have a connection with the doves – that relation could come from the importance of doves in cults linked to Ishtar-Astarte underlined by Breitenberger[68] in the context of a study on Aphrodite, but that could be extended to Hera as she could have inherited from aspects of

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[61] Dontas, 1960, p. 4-9

[62] IG II² 4596: "τόνδε σοι, ὦ μεγάλη σεμνὴ Πάνδημε Ἀφρ[οδίτη κοσ]μοῦμεν δώροις εἰκόσιν ἡμετέραις./ Ἀρχῖνος Ἀλυπήτ[ο]υ Σκαμβωνίδης Μενεκράτεια Δεξικράτους Ἰκαριέως θυγάτηρ, ἱέρεια τῆς [Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης — — — Δ]εξικράτους Ἰκαριέως θυγάτηρ Ἀρχίνου δὲ μήτηρ"

[63] Cf. later in this chapter, in “Small bird offerings: bronze and clay figurines”

[64] Breitenberger, 2007, p. 15

[65] Breitenberger, 2007, p. 14

[66] Aelian, 10, 33

[67] Bevan, 1989, led an extensive work on the subject and, in her article “Water-birds and the Olympian Gods”, observes that they are found in sanctuary of female rather than male deities, and discusses the cultural and ritual reasons for that choice

[68] Breitenberger, 2007, p. 14

an eastern goddess older than the Greek Pantheon. Peacocks, native to Persia, were not a common bird, but they were known to the Classical Greeks[69] and a place was made for them in their mythology, it was said that Hera put the hundred eyes of Argos on the feathers of her bird as a remembrance of her faithful herdsman after Hermes killed him to free Io[70]. In Hellenistic imagery, Hera's chariot was drawn by peacocks.

Apart from Zeus and his eagle, gods seem to be less often connected to birds than goddesses: when they are, it is with birds that are clearly viewed as male, for their strength and speed or for their fighting abilities. Hawks were associated to Apollo in the Homeric texts as seen earlier in this chapter. Roosters are often associated with Dionysos and Ares. In Delos, a rooster (even though modified – his head was replaced by a penis), decorates the front of a square column at the entrance of Dionysos' sanctuary. And it is Ares who transformed the ill-fated Akectryon into a rooster when the youth failed at waking him and the adulterous Aphrodite before Helios shed his light on their illegitimate embrace. The rooster became a common ornament of the shield of Ares, and, after its divine punishment, the rooster Alectryon didn't fail anymore at announcing that morning had come.

b. Metamorphosis and ritual assimilations

Priestesses at Dodona, who served at the sanctuary of Zeus' oracle, were called "Doves", *Πέλειαι*[71]. The bird had a connection with the oracular world: Pindar attests the doves, or Egyptian priestesses as founder of the oracles at Egyptian Thebes, in Libya and Dodona.[72] Herodotus makes, later, the same associations, but he might have gotten his information from previous literary sources. He claims that he learnt the myth of origin of the sanctuary from Dodonian prophetesses: two black doves would have come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona; the one that arrived in Dodona landed on an oak tree, spoke in human language and declared that an oracular sanctuary to Zeus should be held in that place.[73] The material found at Dodona doesn't indicate a link with Egyptian Thebes, but the importance of the bird is

[69] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 101
[70] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1, 625
[71] Pausanias, 7, 21, 2; 10, 12, 10
[72] Pindar, F2, fr. 58; Rutherford, 2001, p. 352
[73] Herodotus, 2, 55

attested in the votive offerings of the Archaic period.[74] According to Herodotus, the reason why the priestesses were named "doves" was because of their strange cries, resembling those of birds, because they spoke a foreign language; Herodotus adds that the doves that the myth of origin of the sanctuary involved two black doves because the skin color of the Egyptian priestesses. However, he doesn't exclude the possibility of their name being purely symbolic, as the priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called "Bees".[75] As Breitenberger points out, the oracular birds aren't directly related to the deity but act as mediators between the words of gods and the words of men. The liminal status of the dove is transferred onto the human performer of the cult. Their role as a messenger of Zeus emphasizes the Ouranian character of doves that is also noticeable in their relation to Aphrodite. Many myths give a human origin to birds, and some humans turn into already existent bird species through a metamorphosis that was often fated by their names.

The transformation of Zeus into a swan to seduce Leda was uncontestably the most famous swan metamorphosis: that encounter produced two eggs, from which were born the Dioscuri, Helen and Clytemnestra. The strangeness of the mix between a mortal woman and a godly animal combined with the relation between Leda and her husband, Tyndareus, produce four children: two were mortal and two immortal – Helen often being understood as Zeus' daughter and Clytemnestra as Tyndareus. These heroes produced from human, bird and god, are at the limits of the acceptable: the two boys will become liminal divinities at a junction between the world of the living, the sea and the Hades, while one girl will, by her immense beauty, bring on the first Panhellenic war, and the other kills her own husband at his return from that war.

Several mythical characters, went by the name Kyknos and ended up being transformed into one: they are listed by Menoni[76] . One of them was the son of Ares by a mortal woman, Pelopia or Pyrene, who lived in Thessaly; he was known to be a cruel man and killed all of his guests until he was defeated by Herakles; in some versions, rather than let his son die, Ares transforms him into a swan. Another Kyknos, son of Poseidon and the mortal Clalyce, was king of Kolonai – he was exposed at his birth and begot his name either beacause a swan flew over him when he was found, or because he had a pale skin and fair hair; he participated to the Trojan war where he sided with the Trojans and his

[74] Breitenberger, 2007, p. 19

[75] Herodotus, 2, 57

[76] Menoni, 2016, p. 25-27, in his chapter "Cycnus" lists and tells the complete story of each of the heroes whose name meant "Swan" and provides complete references on the subject

divine origins made him invulnerable to spears and swords. However, Achilles managed to defeat him by suffocating him, and Poseidon turned his son into a swan after his death. Another Kyknos was king of the Lygies and an outstanding musician, mourning in his song his dead lover Phaeton: Apollon transformed him into a swan after his death.[77] The last young man by that name to be transformed into swan is only mentioned into Roman sources but has a similar story: son of Apollo, he was very handsome but mean and arrogant – when he lost the love of a boy who wanted to be his lover after he made him go through several labors, he committed suicide by throwing himself into a lake; his mother followed him, and Apollo changed both into swans. All these metamorphoses place the swan in a different category than the other water birds: swans are more linked to male deities in their imagery, as well as to masculine beauty, cruelty, pride and arrogance. It is a bird fit for a god to change into, and for several demi-gods to change into; and all the heroes transformed into swans underwent the change at the brink of death of after death. The swan shape appears to be a liminal state between life and death for the heroes, and between divine and mortal for the god.

Metamorphoses of humans into other kinds of birds often accompany the death of the transformed or their inability to handle their grief: women overwhelmed by grief are changed into a sad-singing nightingale[78], and when Aklyone lost her husband Ceyx in a terrible sea storm, even though the couple had been sacrilegious by calling each other "Zeus" and "Hera" according to Apollodorus, the god took them in pity and changed the couple into halcyon birds, a kind of kingfishers. Once again, birds appear to have a liminal signification linking them with a form of afterlife.

In the *Odyssey*, goddesses can fly and are compared to birds for that reason[79]: the wings, that characterizes Nike in all periods, also were represented on the back of other goddesses in earlier times, and give them a special character, that transcends human limitations by making them spiritual creatures with bird features.

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[77] Pausanias, 1, 30, 3

[78] Homer, *Odyssey*, 19, 517-523, says the nightingale used to be the daughter of Pandareus, who couldn't overcome her sadness after she killed her own son by accident; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 6, 424-674, relates a Greek myth according to which Philomena, wife of King Tereus of Thrace, was changed into a nightingale after being raped and mutilated by her brother-in-law.

[79] Homer, *Odyssey*, 1, 319-320: "*ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, ὄρνις δ' ὣς ἀνόπαια διέπτατο*"

3. Artistic representations of birds at sanctuaries

a. Birds on vase painting

Birds are one of the oldest animal motive on Greek vase painting[80]: in Geometric times, stylized birds with long necks would casually alternate with geometric motives on many potteries of all shapes. Proportions weren't a great concern of the artists and the bodies were filled with various linear motives. Often, long necked water birds, probably cranes, were represented as single figures in separated fields, simply standing, their neck graciously curved, their long beak slightly pointing down. Some birds, chicken, ducks or geese, are shown pecking on the ground[81]. Some others are represented flying[82]: swallows, waders, flamingoes, wild waterfowls, seagulls and pigeons are all in the early Greek repertory throughout the land. The eagle gains in popularity in the 7th century and so does the rooster; they were given a big place in Corinthian art (that focused a lot in animals in general) and eagles were often seen accompanying riders. Owls are more common from the archaic period too, and are especially widespread in Attica.

From the Archaic period forward, birds remain an essential feature of Greek art as it was used as a decorative motive often even on vases that had a different main subject, but, gradually, the species of the bird becomes clearer as the artists go into more details. Birds on vase paintings could be compared to vegetal motives: they were an important esthetic feature that didn't necessarily carry a strong symbolism. But their use says much about the way the Ancients saw the word: birds, like flowers, were a pleasing part of everyone's life, and that beauty found its place in men's art. The ancient landscape, even in cities, was greener than ours, and while other wild animals recoil at the sight of men, wild birds, on addition to poultry, must have been very present close to human settlements, where they could more easily find scraps to feed from.

Bird sacrifice wasn't a common theme on Greek vases, but in some instances, birds had a place that was more than purely esthetical: mythological birds were often represented from the Archaic period onward[83]. The owl was

[80] Benson, 1970, shows that birds appear just after horses in post Bronze Age pottery
[81] Large Dipylon style amphora, Louvre, A516; see detail sketched by Morin-Jean, 1911, p. 19, fig. 7 – bird pecking off the ground: maybe a duck or goose
[82] Beotian cup decorated with flying birds – end of 8th /early 7th century, Collection Morin, n°1701; see sketch by Morin-Jean, 1911, p. 18, fig. 6: maybe seagulls or pigeons
[83] See part on mythology in this chapter

represented with Athena and the eagle was depicted as Zeus' companion or eating away Prometheus' liver. Ganymede was often shown holding a cockerel[84], a present from Zeus. It was also common to represent lovers giving roosters to young boys (a habit parallel to Zeus' gift to his young wine-pourer). Lovers were also depicted on Classical vases giving hares or a lamb leg to their boy-interests; the rooster probably held a value not far away from these other offerings. When roosters were depicted facing each other, it could refer to the popular cockfights. The owl often appears on the main field of the vase, as a symbol of the goddess Athena or of the city of Athens[85].

A few vases showed sculpted birds topping columns: we will study these in the section on sculptural offerings of this chapter.[86]

b. Votive bird statuettes and figurines

Bird figurines are among the first offerings to be found at Greek sanctuaries and their shape is very related to the form given to human figurine in the Geometric period: women fashioned in clay often seem like they are an evolution of the bird figurine found at the same sites. The beaks evolve into noses, the open wings into upraised arms with long falling sleeves, and the tails into covering clothes falling to the ground and hiding the legs. Several studies[87] have shown that bird statuettes and figurines were mostly found in sanctuaries of female deities: Artemis and Hera are the main recipient of such offerings, and Aphrodite soon behind them, with many little dove offerings[88] at numerous small sanctuaries where the goddesses were worshipped in local cults. These small and inexpensive offerings were likely often dedicated by female worshippers.

[84] Example: Attic red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Berlin painter, Louvre G175, dated 500-490 BC, showing on one side Ganymede holding a hoop with one hand and a cockerel with the other hand, and to the other side, Zeus in pursuit of the boy

[85] Like the lone owl atop a double-curved twig with the inscription "ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΣ" next to it on an Attic black-figure amphora in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 9406

[86] See in this chapter: III, 5

[87] Bevan, 1986 and 1989; Johannesen, 2015 (unpublished)

[88] Brody, 2001, p. 100; Pirenne-Delforge, 1994, p. 415

Fig. 2 – Poros owl from Athens

Owls, eagles, or other clearly distinguishable birds were rarer than generic bird shapes, fowls and water birds, and are more often represented from the Archaic period; votive statuettes of specific birds were sometimes made in stone like the little poros owl found in Athens **(fig. 2)**[89]; owls are usually found in sanctuaries of Athena or in her city of Athens while eagles statuettes, often made of bronze, are often found in sites where Zeus was worshipped, such as Dion or Dodona. Doves are mostly found in Aphrodite's sanctuaries, and sometime Hera's, like the Proto-Corinthian bronze dove found at the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachrora **(Fig. 3)**[90]. When considering the votive bird statuettes of a recognizable species offered in Archaic Greece and the following periods, they clearly appear to be specific to the receiving deity.

Fig. 3 – Bronze dove from Heraion at Perachora

c. Sculptural groups including birds from sanctuaries: *korai* and birds

Birds are one of the most common offerings held by animal bearers in Greek sculpture from the Archaic period. Korai, both from sanctuaries and cemeteries, often hold a bird. It is their most common accessory, along with flowers and pomegranates. The birds held by the korai often appear to be doves, sometimes small fowls or quails. As with animal statues, the sculptures of korai holding animals are difficult to replace in context when they were not found in situ: many of these statues were smuggled abroad and purchased illegally in the 18th and 19th century, and in many cases, it makes it impossible to know if the statue was a votive offering from a sanctuary, or a funerary sculpture as very similar statues of animals and animal bearers are found in both contexts.

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[89] Berlin Staatliche Mussen SK 1722; Photo: J. Laurentius © Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz; early archaic statuette found in Athens; H. 9.3 cm

[90] Athens National Museum, NM 195983; Photo: D-DAI-ATH-4893; Payne, 1940, p. 133, pl. 40, 3-4 and 41; Dimensions: L. 18 cm; H. 10 cm

There are only three korai holding birds that originate with certainty from sanctuaries: two were found on the Acropolis of Athens, and one at the Heraion of Samos. Another one was found to the east of the Samian Heraion and might also come from the sanctuary. The Acropolis of Athens was the sanctuary were most korai holding birds were found.

The "Kore of Lyon"[91], dating from 550-540 BC, a slightly under life-size statue of Pentelic marble, holds a bird that can be identified as a dove. The bust is kept at the museum of Lyon (H 1993), France, where it was taken in the 17th century while the lower part remains in Athens (Acropolis Museum 269). The left arm is missing, and so is the head of the dove, but the surviving parts are in outstanding condition. The statue represents a robust young woman and the sculpture is very refined, with a clear Ionian influence in the costume. It used to be painted, but the pigments are mostly gone. The young woman's hair is braided, held tighter behind her ears and fall to the front with two long braids on either side, reaching her waist. She holds her head held high and has a mysterious archaic smile on her face, and is dressed with a long-sleeved chiton and a pleated himation covers her left shoulder and breast. She is also wearing elaborate earrings carved in the marble. The dove is sitting willingly on her right hand, that she holds against her waist. The bird has its wings folded against its body, and the kore only appears to hold the feet of the bird in her hand: the dove appears to be tame, and the young woman is holding it as a familiar animal. The woman is wearing a *polos* on her head: a high rounded hat often considered to be representative of goddesses, although the interpretations of it are not unanimous, and they could also be the attribute of a priestess or a worshipper. The upper part of her polos is chipped, and could have held a tenon, which has led to interpret the kore of Lyon as a caryatid for a *naiskos*.

The Pentelic marble kore holding a bird (Acropolis Museum 683)[92] **(Fig.4)**[93] was found to the East of the Parthenon, dating from 510 BC; a fragment was found on the Agora. The statue was half of life-size (H: 80.5 cm), and retains some of its original pigments: the hair was painted brown, the shoes red and the eyebrows black. It has been associated[94] to a small column with a flared top that could have been its base (Epigraphical Museum at Athens EM 6348) – the column bears the inscription: **"Λυσίας ἀνέθεκεν Ἀθεναίαι ἀπαρχέν. Εὐάρχις**

[91] Photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon; Lyon H 1993
[92] Dickins, 1912, p. 235-237, no. 683; Richter, 1968, no. 120
[93] Acropolis Kore no. 683. Photo: David Gill CC.
[94] Raubitschek, p. 313-314, no. 292

ἀνέθεκεν δεκάτεν Ἀθεναίαι."[95] (Lysias dedicated the first-fruits to Athena. Euchis dedicated the tenth to Athena).

Fig. 4 – Acropolis kore with bird

The statue, reconstructed from several fragments, is rather complete: only the head of the bird and the tip of the right-hand fingers are missing. The woman represented is rather young but does appear to be of a mature age: it is a woman rather than a girl. She stands straight on a thin plinth where her pointy red shoes are resting. Her wavy chiton falls on her hips but uncovers her behind and is worn on top of a draped fabric, tightly wrapped around her lower body. She might have been holding something on her right hand. She has very thick curly long hair, with a lot of volume; a large crown holds them to the back while her face is framed by a fringe. Her high breasts peak under the fabric, and her features are very pronounced: a long nose, raised eyebrows, a tight mouth with a discrete smile, a prominent chin, and large ears, left uncovered by the crown piece. Her head is disproportionately large for the rest of her body, and her upper body appears rather larger in proportions than her lower body. Her general allure contrasts with the majesty of the other Acropolis korai and has owned her the nickname of *Χωριατοπούλα*[96] ("Peasant Girl") amongst modern observers.

The bird she holds seems rather large, and could be a pigeon or a small fowl. It is characterized by its tail, in a fan-shape. Both male and female fantail doves **(Fig. 5)**[97], an old breed of pigeons[98], spread their tail in that manner during their mating seasons. Until they lay eggs, it is very difficult to

Fig. 5 – Fantail doves

[95] IG I² 620
[96] Harrison, 1955, p. 170
[97] Unprotected image: animals for sale advertised on Appletons' website
[98] Levi, 1977

differentiate the gender of pigeons because aside from their plumage being similar, both males and females have a cloaca rather than external sexual organs: the spread tail would, regardless, have been associated with the mating rituals of pigeons and was certainly perceived as a symbol of fertility.

Several korai with birds were dedicated at the Heraion of Samos. The marble kore, dating from 540-530 BC, is now kept at the archaeological of museum of Vathi[99], in Samos, was found in 1936 at the Heraion. Its head and right arm are missing, and she is holding a bird against her plexus with her left hand. The bird could be a partridge.

Another kore, holding a dove, was found to the east of the Heraion could also come from the same sanctuary.[100]

Children are also recurrently associated with birds in votive sculpture, as well as in funerary art. The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron produces the richest source of child sculpture in Greek antiquity, with many girls represented hold a dove or a fowl, sometimes a rabbit. At Brauron, girls are shown holding the doves and other domestic birds carefully **(Fig. 6a)**[101], in a protecting way, while the little boys depicted in the statues hold small wild birds in their first, as if they had just caught them, with no care for the animal, seen as a toy **(Fig. 6b)**[102]. These depictions of relations between children are very different depending on the child's gender, and they

Fig. 6 – a. Little girl holding a dove, Brauron (L)
b. Little boy holding a swallow, Brauron (R)

[99] Vathi Museum, no. 775; Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974, p. 43-48, no. 20, pl. 11
[100] Freyer-Schauenburg, 1974, p. 43-48, no. 21
[101] Marble statue of a girl, early 3rd century BC, holding a dove in a nesting position in the crease of the overfold of her long chiton. Photo: Linda Talatas.
[102] Marble statue of a boy, end of 4th century BC, holding a swallow in his wrist.

can help us understand the emotional ties encouraged since childhood between women and birds. These connections between women and birds are, indeed, reflected in the feminine cult of Aphrodite, in which doves are often present.

d. The *kaloumene geranos* of Delian inventories: sacred crane

Several of the Delian inventories[103] indicate that a *kaloumene geranos* ("so-called crane") was amongst the *anathemata* of the Delian Artemision. Since the end of the 19th century, the silver "crane" has been the object of an unsolved controversy amongst Delian scholars, unsure whether to consider it as the statue of a bird or of dancers of the famous Delian dance also known as Geranos and performed before the altar of horns.[104]

The crane was first found in an inventory dating from the mid-4th century BC - it is recorded in 364 as *"η καλο(υ)μένη γερανός, σταθμὸν XXXX HHHH ΔΔ Γ III [...] ὅρμος ὁ περὶ τεῖ γεράνωι, περίχρυσος ἄστατος."*[105] It appears again in inventories of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, but its denomination changes after the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC, when it is simply referred to as *"γέρανος ἀργυρᾶ, ολκ."*; in the last reference, the name of the offering is missing from the damaged inscription, but other fragments of the offerings are mentioned in complement to it: *"μῆλα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλύσεως, ὧν ὁλκὴ σὺν τοῖς λιναρίοις και τῶι κηρῶι"*, and weighted separately. In the first inscription, the *geranos* was weighed at 4428 drachmas and its weight diminishes later to 3860 drachmas, to finally be recorded as 3900 drachmas in its last mention – a likely rounded number. The *ormos* placed under and around the *geranos* cannot be defined with precision, but it could be either a necklace, or a chain of dancers.[106] Fruits or woolen threads could also have been associated as symbols of the dance,

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[103] Amphictionic inv. from 279 BC, l. 61-62: IG 11, 161, B. Inv. from 278 BC: IG 11, 162 B, l. 50; Inv. from ca. 243 BC: ID, 296, B, l. 48-49; inv. from 192 BC, O, 1, 399, B, l. 12-13; Athenian inv. from 140 BC: ID, 1444. All references are quoted in the original version by Vallois, 1936, p. 413-414

[104] Vallois, 1936, p. 413-415; Déonna, 1948, p. 109; Homolle, 1886, p. 464; Homolle, 1891, p. 139.

[105] Hieropes inv.: IG II², 2, 1, l. 83-84.; Homolle, 1886, p. 464

[106] Lucian, De saltatione, 11-12, in his description of a Laconian dance, shows that it was not uncommon to compare dances and strings of beads forming a necklace together: *"Ὅμοια δὲ καὶ "οἱ τὸν ὅρμον καλούμενον ὀρχούμενοι ποιοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ ὅρμος ὄρχησίς ἐστιν κοινὴ ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ' ἕνα χορευόντων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅρμῳ ἐοικότων· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἔφηβος τὰ νεανικὰ ὀρχούμενος καὶ ὅσοις ὕστερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσεται, ἡ παρθένος δὲ ἕπεται κοσμίως τὸ θῆλυ χορεύειν διδάσκουσα, ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὅρμον ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας πλεκόμενον. καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὄρχησίς ἐστιν."*

which was inspired by Theseus' wandering in the labyrinth, helped by Ariadne's woolen thread.

Even though it is tempting to consider, as Déonna did, that the *geranos* was the silver statue of a crane, this interpretation is to be taken with caution: it was not unusual to give interpreters of rites the name of an animal. I believe that the most plausible interpretation of the offering is that the *geranos* was the central dancer of the figure, and she might either have been surrounded by a symbolic thread of Ariadne with various symbolic objects attached, or she could have been physically propped up by the choir of dancers, represented as a base in a much smaller scale, with less silver involved, and holding up the *geranos*, which would have stretched up as a crane's neck, peeping over the rest of the labyrinth dance.

It was not uncommon to characterize Artemis' attendants with animal names: the *geranos* could have been a sacred dancer as the little *arktoi* were little priestesses. The expensive and recurrently recorded anathema of the *kaloumene geranos*, while it should not be counted as the anathema of an animal statue, gives a strong indication of the locally sacred character of cranes and confirms the important relations between birds and feminine aspects of the divine.

4. Depictions of free-standing bird offerings on vase paintings

Cockerels are often represented in pairs of votive Doric columns on Athenian Panathenaic amphorae and other vases, as they represented the palestra, and the goddess Athena would stand between the column. On some other vases, the cockerels are replaced with owls (like on the Panathenaic amphora Agora P24661)[107], while some others carry panthers or vases. Other deities are represented standing between such columns: Herakles Kallinikos and Hermes Enagonios are represented standing by two columns – the one topped by a cockerel and the other by an owl. [108] Athena is also sometimes shown artmed and standing between two columns with cockerels (which appear to be free-standing dedications) on top of them.[109]

[107] Donos, 2008, p. 99

[108] Ross, 1841, p. 25

[109] Tiverions, 2006, p. 8, fig. 13, on a Panathenaic prize amphora (British Museum BM B606)

5. Birds in funerary contexts: comparison with sacred art

Even though large-scale bird statues don't appear common in Greece, figurines and statuettes of birds were a common grave offering, and are found in many burials of all periods in antiquity. Korai holding birds are also a rather common grave marker for women, and these statues are similar to the ones of korai holding birds from the Athenian Acropolis and the Samian Heraion and are more often found in funerary contexts than in sanctuaries; they are often Ionic, like the Kore at Theangela[110] Caria. These *korai* holding birds might be the representation of the deceased girl bringing a last offering to the gods of the underworld, or simply a way to immortalize the youth and tenderness of the departed girl through her interaction with an animal in which she likely took pleasure during her lifetime.

[110] Example: The half-size kore holding a dove from Theangela, Caria, ca. 525-500 BC, now at the British Museum (BM 1889,0522.2)

III. Typology of the offerings of monumental statues of birds in sanctuaries – catalogue of archaeological finds and additions from literary sources

Only three large-scale free-standing statues of birds were found at sanctuaries (an Archaic pair of colossal doves on Delos, **A01**, **A02** and a colossal Classical owl on the Acropolis of Athens, **A07**); four live size Classical marble doves were found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, in a group of 18 similar offerings – the other 14 are smaller than life-size.

The other five offerings presented in the catalogue of surviving statues **(A08-A12)**, are slightly under life-size to life-size unpublished Roman offerings of eagles to Zeus Hypsitos at Dion. Another similar offering will be presented, but is under the same limitations. These statues are listed here for comparative purposes, but will not be entered in the statistics as they do not belong to the Archaic to Hellenistic time frame of this dissertation.

Pausanias sees two pairs of eagles (**Aa1** and **Aa2**) at two sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia; apart from these, the only other bird statue offered at a sanctuary and mentioned in ancient literature was a peacock **(Aa3)** offered by Hadrian to Hera in Argos, a Roman offering, which can't be counted in our statistics as it is outside our time frame, but its significance is taken into consideration.

Item	**A01 Dove**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Delos**
Location	**Delos - A 3122**
Datation	**Late Archaic**
Material	**Island marble**
Size	**L: 69 cm** **H: 49 cm** **W: 35 cm** **5x larger than life-size**

Photos: Linda Talatas

Description

This colossal dove is missing its head, feet, and the tip of its tail, but the rest of the body, even though its surface is eroded, remains in decent condition.

It was found on Delos in 1905 in the yard of the Agora of the Italians and mistaken for a siren.

The bird is almost certainly a dove: even though some parts of the statue are damaged, the proportions clearly indicate the shape of a pigeon's body, with wings slightly upraised and folded against the body and a broad chest. What is left of the top of the thighs indicate a fleshy bird.

A lifesize pigeon measures about 24 cm, from its head to the tip of its tail; without head and with a cut tail, it would be about 13 cm: this bird was consequently about 5 times larger than lifesize.

It was part of a pair with another bird, **A 3123**, also at the museum of Delos.

Sources

Bruneau, 2005, p. 96
Holleaux, 1905, p. 776
Vallois, 1929, p. 188, fig. 2; p. 197

Item **A02 Dove**
Category Birds

Sanctuary **Delos**
Location **Delos - A 3123**
Datation **Late Archaic**
Material **Island marble**
Size **L: 50 cm**
H: 39 cm
W: 35 cm
5x larger than life-size

Description

This colossal dove is missing its head, feet, and the tip of its tail, but the rest of the body, even though its surface is eroded, remains in decent condition.

The bird is almost certainly a dove: even though some parts of the statue are damaged, the proportions clearly indicate the shape of a pigeon's body, with wings slightly upraised and folded against the body and a broad chest. What is left of the top of the thighs indicate a fleshy bird.

It was found in 1881 to the north of the Portico of Antigonus, in the same neighborhood as **A 3122**, also at the museum of Delos: the other dove is better preserved as the missing part towards the tip of its tail is smaller, but both are in a very similar condition.

Photos: Linda Talatas

Sources

Bruneau, 2005, p. 96
Vallois, 1929, p. 197
Holleaux, 1881

Item	**A03 Dove**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Sacred Way - S. of Aphrodite**
Location	**Athens - NM 1592**
Datation	**ca. 350 BC**
Material	**Pentelic marble**
Size	**H: 20.5 cm** **L: 25 cm** **W: 8 cm** **Life-size**

Photo: © Athens National Museum

Description

Inscription IG II² 4577
(on the right wing of the bird):
ΦΑΛΑΚΡΙΩΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕΙ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

The life-size dove was found in 1891-1892 at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (in the modern neighborhood of Skaramanga in Daphni) together with many smaller marble doves as well as a small marble egg. This is the most complete of the group, and only 4 out of the 18 bodies of pigeons discovered there are about life-size. The inscription indicates that the dedication was made by a man, Falakrion, to Aphrodite.
The bird is rather well preserved, even though its head, facing upfront, is very eroded and the tip of its tail broken. The wings are peacefully resting against the body, very slightly upraised above the tail. A piece of marble of the same block as the bird is left unworked under the tail and the feet are broken but the trace of their presence remains at one third of the body length. They were probably resting on a missing plinth to which the uncarved block under the animal's tail was also connected.
The two rows of the inscription cover all the length of the wing and half of its height: it was made to be very obvious to the viewer.
Both the style of the bird and the inscription set the sculpture in the middle of the 4th century.

Sources

Machaira, 2008, p. 51; tab. 21, no. 2

Item **A04 Dove**

Category Birds

Sanctuary **Sacred Way - S. of Aphrodite**

Location **Athens - NM 6796**

Datation **ca. 350 BC**

Material **Pentelic marble**

Size **H: 16 cm**
L: 24 cm
W: 10 cm
Life-size

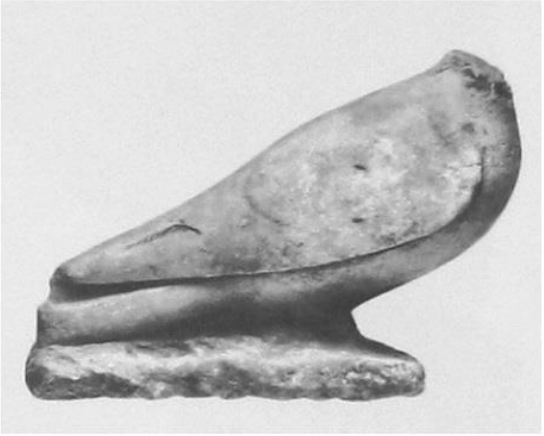

Photo: © Athens National Museum

Description

This life-size pigeon was found at the north-west of the rock where the sanctuary was, and outside of the peribolos, in a disturbed layer. It was found together with its plinth (H. 2 cm; L. 19.5 cm; W. 8.2 cm).

The head and the tip of the tail are missing. The feet are not shown, and the body simply rests on the plinth on its two thirds while the torso stands prominently in a frontal position. The wings are folded against the body and their tips meet above the tail. The surface is smooth.

Many other marble pigeon offerings were found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Daphni, but this is one of the 4 life-size doves, and the only to have a fully preserved plinth.

Sources

Machaira, 2008, p. 74; tab. 21, no. 3

Item	**A05 Dove**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Sacred Way - S. of Aphrodite**
Location	**Leiden - ROIA 22m[1]**
Datation	**ca. 400 BC**
Material	**Pentelic marble**
Size	**L: 20 cm** **Life-size**

Photo: © Leiden Rijksmus

Description

This life-size pigeon was found by Fauvel in 1806 and sold to Rottier; it was later resold to the Dutch National Museum and is now kept in Leiden.

The statue is missing its head but is, in style, one of the finest offerings found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. Its wings, folded against its body, show carefully sculpted and naturalistic feathers. The feet are missing but their trace remains at the half of the body; a small circular piece of marble from the same block subsists, behind the feet: it probably used to connect the bird to a plinth.

Sources

Machaira, 2008, p. 74; tab. 32, ζ

Item	**A06 Dove**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Sacred Way - S. of Aphrodite**
Location	**Leiden - ROIA 22m²**
Datation	**ca. 400 BC**
Material	**Pentelic marble**
Size	**L: 24.5 cm** **Life-size**

Photo: © Leiden Rijksmus

Description

This life-size pigeon was found by Fauvel in 1806 and sold to Rottier; it was later resold to the Dutch National Museum and is now kept in Leiden.

The statue is missing its head and the tip of its tail but is otherwise very well preserved: the wings are folded peacefully against the body, and reveal the tail under them. The lower half of the body is directly resting on what remains of the plinth, while the two feet, rather thick, are carved out and also resting on the plinth. The bust is rounded and prominent, and the bird is facing frontally. The body and wings are smooth.

Sources

Machaira, 2008, p. 74; tab. 32, ς'

Item	**A07 Owl**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Acropolis of Athens**
Location	**Acropolis - 1347**
Datation	**475-450 BC**
Material	**Island Marble**
Size	**H: 0.95 cm** **4x larger than life-size**

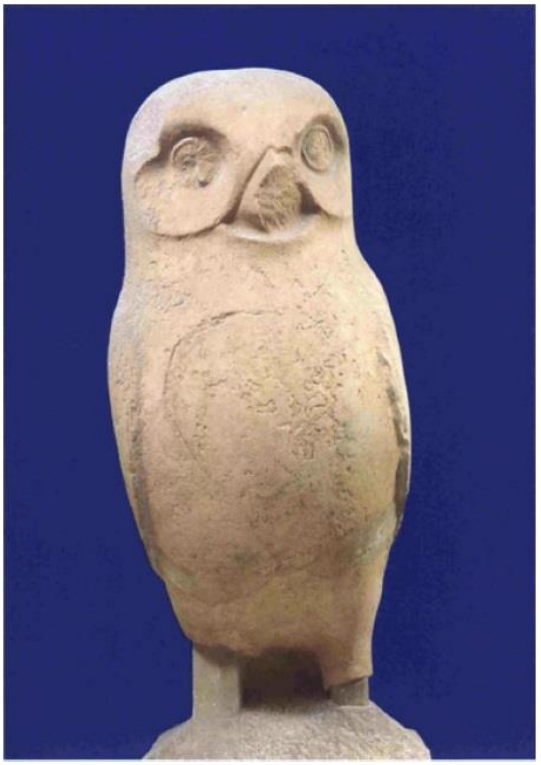

Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture

Description

Inscription:
ΤΙΜΟΘ[Ε]Ο[Σ
ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟ[Σ

This marble owl was found close to the Sancutary of Artemis Brauronia on the **Acropolis of Athens**, somewhere between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, where there might have been a **sanctuary of Athena Ergane**. The lower part of the body, detached, was found later.
It was probably set on **top of a column** that was found next to the owl, with two bronze attaches on its upper surface and **inscribed with the name of Timotheos from the deme of Anaphlytos**.
The statue reflects a severe archaic style. The feathers are represented in stylized ranks along the wings while the chest of the bird was showing a smooth surface. The face is also stylized. The feet are missing and he beak mostly broken.
The little owl (Athene noctua), usually Athena's attribute, is easily recognizable in the rendition. The live bird measures between 22 and 26 cm: the statue is about 4 times larger than life-size.
This owl is similar in its artistic rendition to a small poros statuette of owl (Acropolis Museum - 56), that was probably associated to a figure of Athena now missing from the pediment of with the triple-bodied monster from the Hekatompedon.

Sources

Brouskari, 1974, p. 23; fig. 11
Smith, 1892, p. 292 (British Museum cast)
Ross, 1841, pl. C, p. 25
Frantzi, 1978, fig. n°14

Item	**A08 Eagle**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Dion - Zeus Hypsitos**
Location	**Dion**
Datation	**Roman**
Material	**Marble**
Size	**H: ca. 40 cm (eagle statue)** **ca. 30 cm (base)** **Under life-size**

Photo and description removed – unpublished and unauthorized material.

Item	**A09 Eagle**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	Dion - Zeus Hypsitos
Location	Dion museum
Datation	Roman
Material	Marble
Size	H: ca. 70 cm Life-size

Photo and description removed – unpublished and unauthorized material.

Item	**A10 Eagle**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	Dion - Zeus Hypsitos
Location	Dion museum
Datation	Roman
Material	Marble
Size	H: ca. 50 cm Life-size

Photo and description removed – unpublished and unauthorized material.

Item	**A11 Eagle**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	Dion - Zeus Hypsitos
Location	Dion
Datation	Roman
Material	Marble
Size	H: ca. 50 cm Slightly under life-sized

Photo and description removed – unpublished and unauthorized material.

Item	**A12 Eagle**
Category	Birds
Sanctuary	**Dion - Zeus Hypsitos**
Location	**Dion**
Datation	**Roman**
Material	**Brown-grey marble**
Size	**H: ca. 25 cm** **Slightly under life-size**

Photo and description removed – unpublished and unauthorized material.

1. Archaic offerings: two colossal marble doves from Delos

The contextual presentation of the sacred island of Delos is presented in more details in the chapter on lions.

Two Archaic doves, very alike and about five times larger than life-size were found on Delos, and likely formed a pair. The most complete dove **(A1)** was found in 1905 in the yard of the Agora of the Italians[111], while the other **(A2)** was found in 1881 to the North of the Portico of Antigonus.[112] The place where they were originally offered is unknown but, because they were both found in the area to the south the Lake, they could have been dedicated at the Archaic Letoon, although no archaeological proof was found to back this association.[113]

Both birds are missing their head, their legs under the thighs and the tip of their tails. They are both made of white island marble, an expected material for a Delian offering: the absence of bases or inscription make it difficult to conjecture about the giver. The doves (or pigeons), are standing straight, their wings closed against their body, yet slightly upraised as to show all of the bust of the birds. The thighs are marked from the rest of the body. The whole composition is very smooth, with no trace of carved feathers, but the execution is careful, and the curve separating the upper wings from the back is quite elegant. The body of the doves is meaty yet healthy: the artist chose to represent well-fed birds kept in good condition, birds worthy of a gift to a goddess. The statues were likely painted, and the smoothness of the surfaces suggest a date to the end of the Archaic period.

2. Early classical offering: marble owl from the Acropolis of Athens

a. Contextual remarks about the Athenian Acropolis

The transition between Archaic and Classical periods on the Acropolis of Athens was marked by the sack of the Acropolis by Xerxes' army in 480 BC, while the Older Parthenon was still under construction: the debris of the desecrated sculptures and votive offerings from the Archaic period were ceremoniously

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[111] Holleaux, 1905, p. 776, first identifies it at a siren when it was found in 1905 during the excavations lead by Bizard at the Agora of the Italians

[112] It was found by Hauvette, who records in the excavation diary, on Agust 12th 1881 the discovery of a "siren" matching the description and dimensions of the dove in a trench to the North-West of the Portico of Antiochus – now known as the Portico of Antigonus (information provided by Francis Prost)

[113] The museum catalogue and the *Guide de Délos* (Bruneau, 2005, p. 96) attribute the doves to the Heraion based on a mistake.

buried by the Athenians, and the space was reorganized for the building of new temples on the city's ancestral sacred space. The Parthenon, and many other structures, were rebuilt under the lead of Pericles, between 460 and 430 BC: the two emblematic statues of Athena Promachos and Athena Parthenos, two of Pheidias' masterpieces, were only built in the middle of the 5th century. The colossal marble owl was dedicated on the Acropolis in the transition period between the Persian sack and the rebuilding of the sanctuary.

b. The colossal owl

The colossal owl, now standing in front of the entrance to the New Acropolis Museum, is a 95-cm high bird – that is, at least four times larger than life-size, bears an inscription: it was given by Timotheos, of the deme of Anaphlytos.[114] The owl dates from ca. 475 BC, shortly before the construction of the Parthenon, and its style is still very Archaic. It is standing peacefully, its wings folded against its body, its head up, its eyes wide open. Its head is almost unperceivably tilted to the left, which gives it an impression of life. The body is very smooth, and the features reflect of a reminiscent archaic style: no frivolous detail; the chest is smooth and bare and stylized ranks represent the feathers along the wings. The eyes are made with mesmerizing concentric circles and the beak is prominent. The statue is in very good condition: it is only missing its legs – the right one is broken at the thigh and the left one a little bit under; the top right side of the head has suffered a blow and the beak is mostly broken. The prominent chest gives an impression of majesty. There were two bronze attaches on its upper surface.

3. Classical offerings: doves from the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis

a. Introduction to Aphrodite's sanctuary on the Sacred Way

The sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, situated in the modern neighborhood of Skaramanga close to the Daphni monastery was a simple open-air sanctuary **(Fig. 7)**[115] measuring 73 x 21 m and surrounded by a *peribolos*, and one of its most characteristic features is the rock with 33 niches ranging from 15 cm to 1.19 m[116]. The findings from the

[114] Brouskari, 1974, p. 23; Frantzi, 1978, fig. no. 14; Ross, 1841, p. 25, pl. C
[115] Machaira, 2008, tab. 42
[116] Machaira, 2008, p. 23, no. 2 and no. 5 respectively

sanctuary, were published in 2008 by Vasiliki Machaira.[117] It includes a series of 18 marble pigeons. Four of them are life-size and, consequently, belong to the context of this study and to my catalogue, but they must be considered together with the other pigeon offerings found in the same context.

Many of them are small and were an ideal place for small offerings such as the marble pigeons. The whole group seems to be dated between the end of the 5th century and the middle of the 4th. Most are about half or two-third of life-size.The sanctuary had been known to travelers at least since the 17th century: two of the four doves included in the present catalogue had been taken by Fauvel in 1806, who sold it to the Dutch colonel Rottier, and, as a result, these two finds are now kept in Leiden. Afterwards, the site was excavated during two campaigns by the Archaeological Society at Athens: one led from 1891 to 1892 by D. Karambouroglou, and the second from 1932-1939 by K. Kourouniotis and J. Travlos.

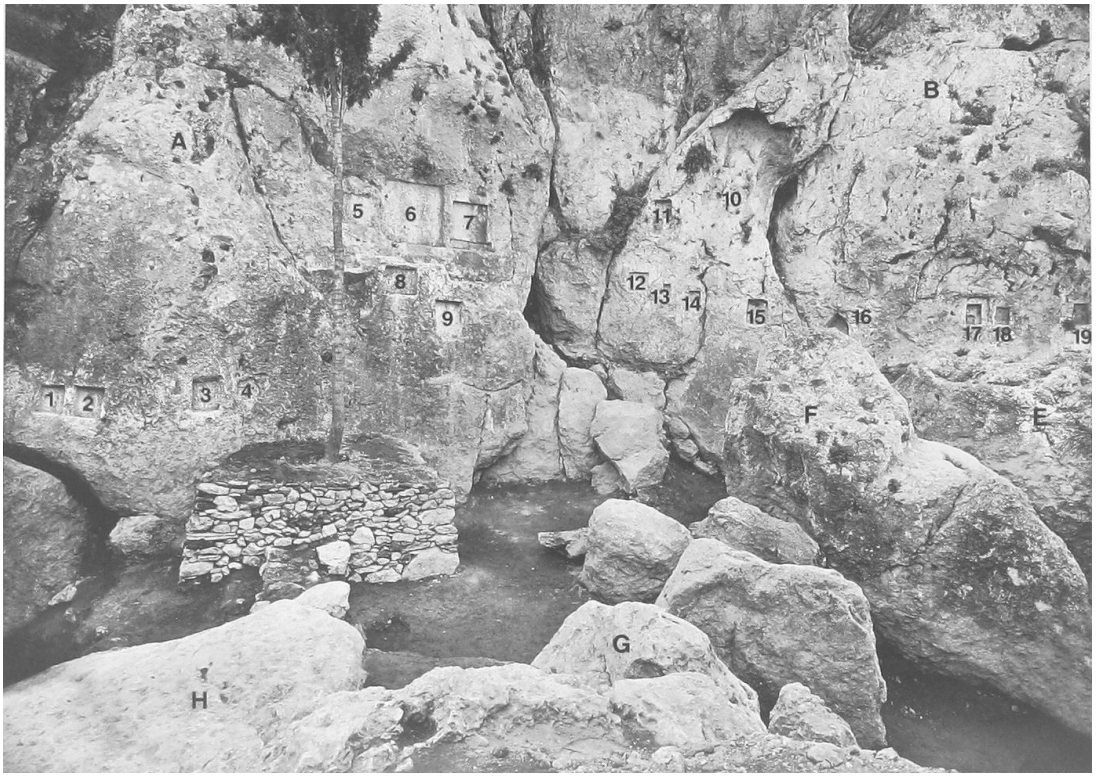

Fig. 7 – N-E view of the wall with niches for dedications at the open-air sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way

[117] Machaira, 2008: the whole volume is dedicated to the presentation of the sanctuary and its offerings.

b. The marble doves from Aphrodite's sanctuary on the Sacred Way

Of all the marble pigeons found at Daphni **(Fig. 8)**[118], the four birds in our catalogue **(A03-A06)**, as well as one smaller statuette[119], are the best preserved.

The life-size dove **(A03)** has its inscription on the surface of its right wing: this suggest that it was set sideways, as to display the dedication. It reads: "**Φαλακρίων Ἀφροδίτει / ἀνέθηκεν**"[120]. The style of the letters and the artistic execution of the statue suggest that it dates from the middle of the 4th century, which matches with the approximate dating suggested by the style of the bird. The inscription indicates that the offering was made by a man, and Machaira remarks that his name, Phalakrion, is rare in Attica[121].

The inscriptions found on the site indicate that both men and women brought offerings to this sanctuary. Every time the deity to which the dedications are addressed is readable, they are directed to Aphrodite rather than to Eros or both.[122] Several fragments of smaller bases bearing inscriptions were found, and some of them could have been used as a support for the bird offerings under study. However, many sculptural genitalia, wombs, pomegranates and small statues of human form[123] were also present on site and were also standing on marble bases. Moreover, both the state of the preservation of the bases and the eroded, damaged or missing plinths of the pigeon statue make it impossible to make certain connections between doves and bases. The only dove **(A04)** with a well-preserved plinth (measurements of the plinth: H. 2 cm; L. 19.5 cm and W. 8.2 cm) could have been standing on a plinth such as a base EM 8789 kept at the Epigraphic Museum at Athens **(Ab1)**, and another base **(Ab2)**, now lost.

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[118] Photos: Machaira, 2008, tab 21 (1-16) and 32 (ς' and ζ).

[119] Machaira, 2008, p. 52; tab. 21, no. 1: a very well preserved pigeon, with its wings folded against its body but slightly raised upwards at the tip, with an eroded head – only this one and (**A03**) still have their head.

[120] IG II² 4577

[121] Machaira, 2008, p. 52, notes that the name is rare in 4th century Attica

[122] Machaira, 2008, pp. 34-46, presents all the inscriptions from the sanctuary

[123] Machaira, 2008, tab. 22, 24-25, 35, 47-49

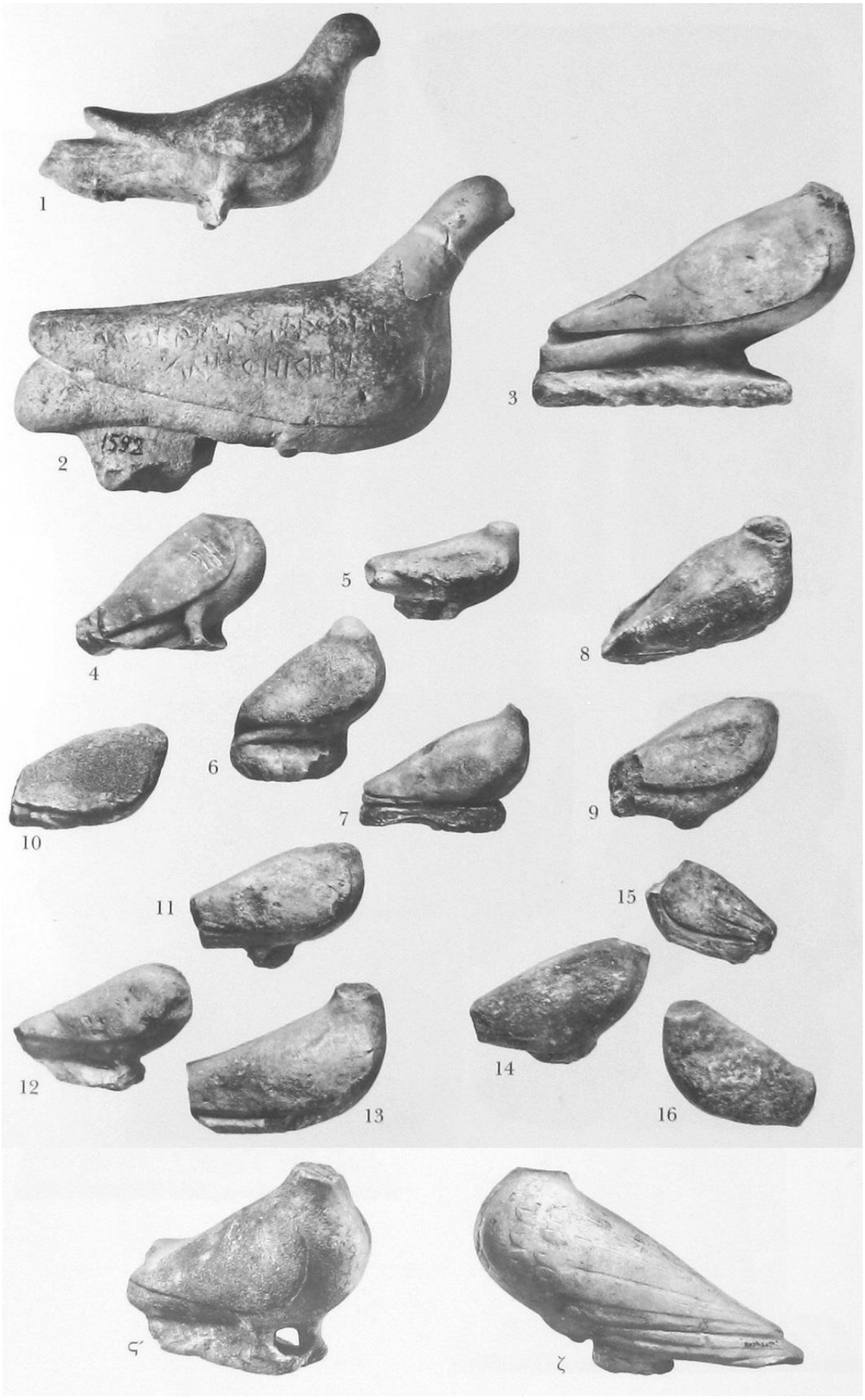

Fig. 8 – Marble doves found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way (Machaira, 2008, tab. 21 and 32)

c. Possible bases for life-size marble doves at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way

Ab1[124]**– Fragmentary base of Hymettan marble (Fig. 9)**[125] (preserved dimensions: H. 6 cm; L. 20 cm; W. 13 cm). Only the front right corner is kept. It bears an inscription, but at least two letters to the left are missing because of the break, and the upper right corner of the inscription is also damaged. It can be reconstituted as **"[…]η εὐξαμέν[η] / [Ἀ]φροδίτει ἀνέθηκ[ε]"**[126]. The name of the dedicator is missing but the appears to be feminine, and the dedication is addressed to Aphrodite. It could have served as a base for a pigeon statue. The adjective indicates that the supplicant addressed her offering in the hope of receiving a favor from the goddess: it was given as an *euche*. The style of the letters places the inscription around the middle of the 4th century.

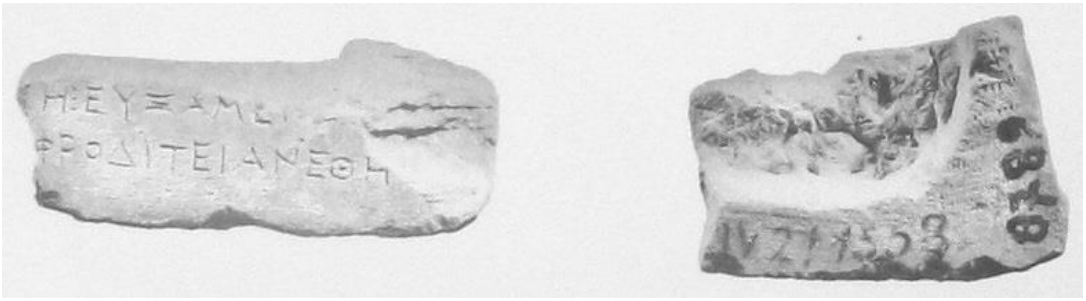

Fig. 9 – Possible base (Ab1) for a dove from the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way

Ab2[127] **– Fragmentary base of Pentelic marble (Fig. 10)**[128] (dimensions: preserved L. 7 cm; full W. 13 cm, full plinth W. 8.5 cm). It could also have supported a small pigeon offering. It has now been lost, but had been previously recorded, photographed and sketched. Only its right side had been found, and it is preserved on all the width. The height hasn't been recorded but appears to be around 10 cm on the sketch and photograph.

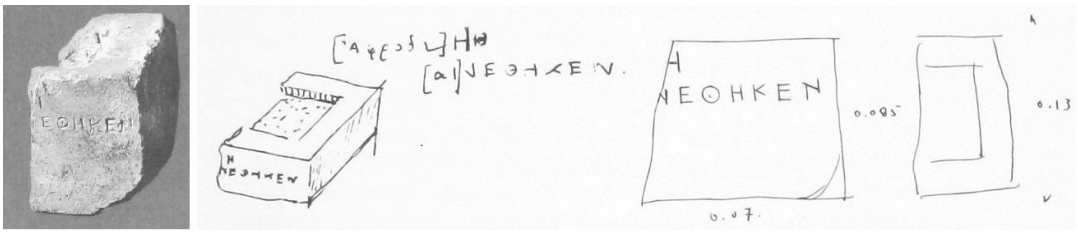

Fig. 10 – Possible base (Ab2) for a dove from the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the S. Way

[124] Epigraphical Museum at Athens EM 8789; Machaira, 2008, p. 36, no. 7 and tab. 18γ-δ; *ΑΔ*, 1892, 4, β

[125] Photos: Machaira, 2008, tab. 18, γ-δ

[126] IG II² 4579

[127] Machaira, 2008, p. 42-43, no. 20 fig. 14; *ΠΑΕ*, 1937, 30, β, fig. 6β

[128] Photo and sketch: Machaira, 2008, p. 43, fig. 14

The pigeons were probably placed sideways in the niches, and could be set on bases of about 13 cm long, on which simple dedications could be inscribed and the dove **(A04)**, which had a plinth but no inscription on it, might correspond to one of the many small bases found during the excavations.[129]

Several inscriptions have been found on the site, directly on the rock, under some of the niches[130] on bases that haven't been connected to objects and on representations of female genitalia – some could have been connected to the dove offerings, but they are to eroded to be deciphered.

4. Roman offerings of eagles to Zeus Hypsitos

a. Five unpublished eagles from Dion

Five marble eagles made of local marbles were found at the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsitos at Dion – they are not published. They were all close to life-size or life-size, and were made in one block with their plinth; the inscribed base for one of the eagles **(A08)** was found, and one eagle had a small inscription directly carved on its side **(A10)**. The two other eagles likely stood on inscribed bases, now lost. Four of them **(A08-A11)** stand with their wings open, in a heraldic attitude, while **A12** is standing with its wings closed against its side, and resembling Egyptian representations.

b. A Roman eagle from Chersonisos in Crete

A white marble statue (H. 25.5 cm) of an eagle with its plinth and missing its head, dating from the 1st century AD, was found at sanctuary of Zeus Hypsitos at Chersonisos, in Crete.[131] The eagle stands with its wings open, like the eagles **(A08-A11)** from Dion. A dedication (dimensions: 17.5x5.5 cm) is written on three lines on its plinth and reads: "ΤΕΡΤΥΛΑ ΘΕΩ / ΥΨΗΣΤΩ / ΕΥΧΗΝ"[132].
The name of the dedicator is Roman, and the dedication is addressed to Zeus Hypsitos.

[129] Personal communication from Vasiliki Machaira
[130] Machaira, 2008, p. 34
[131] The eagle was found in 1932 and is now kept at the museum Candiense.
[132] *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 1935, vol. 1, VII, 7

5. Catalogue of free-standing bird dedications in ancient literary sources

The only freestanding bird statues at ancient sanctuaries mentioned in literature were two pairs off eagles **(Aa1-Aa2)**, mentioned by Pausanias and likely dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. Pausanias also mentions the Roman offering of a peacock **(Aa3)**.

Aa1 – A pair of identical eagles were set on two tables at a sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios on the agora of Megalopolis in Arcadia was seen by Pausanias from outside of the sanctuary, which was enclosed in *peribolos* with no entrance: "*περίβολος δέ ἐστιν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι: τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοί τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι*".[133]

Aa2 – A pair of gold-plated eagles was also seen at another sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios on the peak of Mount Lykaion; they were set on two column before the altar, made of a mound of earth at the very top of the mountain: "*ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ὄρους γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμός, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλά ἐστιν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος: πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἑστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τά γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποίηντο*."[134] Pausanias considers that the eagles had been made a very long time ago, which doesn't really help date the statues. As for the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Megalopolis, entry was forbidden: Pausanias relates that the violation of that code would bring the death of the visitor within a year; he only believes the story according to which no man or animal could cast a shadow inside that sanctuary and prudently only observes the contents of the sanctuary from outside of the *temenos*.

Aa3 – Dedication of peacock made of gold and precious gems was offered to Hera at Argos by the emperor Hadrian. [135] Pausanias specifies that the peacock was sacred to Hera. This offering, because of the identity of the dedicator, can be dated to the 2nd century AD.

[133] Pausanias, 8, 30, 2
[134] Pausanias, 8, 38, 7
[135] Pausanias, 2, 17, 6

IV. Significance of life-size and colossal free-standing bird offerings

1. Preferred sanctuaries for offering bird statues and links between them

Bird statues dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods are only attested in three sanctuaries: Delos, the Acropolis of Athens, and the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis. On Delos, the exact provenance of the doves is uncertain, but they might have one stood in front of the Letoon, as they were found in the area neighboring the lake. It seems that all bird statues dating from our time frame were offerings to female deities.

The larger birds were colossal statues, which appear to belong to the end of the Archaic period (Delian doves **A01** and **A02**) and to the beginning of the Classical (owl **A07**). Unsurprisingly, the colossal statues, four to five times life-size, were offered at large Panhellenic sanctuaries, where they would be viewed by many visitors.

The smaller, life-size, 4th century marble doves **(A03-A06)** offered to Aphrodite on the Sacred Way were not destined to be viewed by a wide audience: they were offered at a local sanctuary, on a road where there was intense traffic, because it connected two major cult centers of Attica: Athens to Eleusis, but the sanctuary of Aphrodite was not a major destination by itself.

2. Offerings of eagles for Zeus

The pairs of eagles **(Aa1-Aa2)** seen by Pausanias at sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios are likely offerings made from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, but could also have been dedicated in Roman times. Their association with a mysterious cult of Zeus suggests that their presence had an almost architectural value: they were not part of a large series of offerings, but symmetrical statues set on tables or columns at open-air sanctuaries with no entrance. At other sanctuaries of Zeus, eagles are an important part of the architecture and decoration of the temple, and they also can have a place by the god on his cult statue. Pausanias does not mention a cult statue at the sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios that he visits in Arcadia – only the eagles; one set of which are gilded. These eagles might have stood as a symbol of the god instead of a temple and a cult statue. It is also interesting that the only eagle statues mentioned by Pausanias at sanctuaries of Zeus occur in sanctuaries where the god might have been honored as a flesh-eater (Pausanias refuses to pry on the particular kind

of sacrifice that occurred on Mount Lykaion)[136]: this religious factor combined with the taboo concerning the entrance to the sanctuaries suggest an apotropaic value for these eagles. The birds might have represented Zeus' flesh-eating bird, who ate the liver of the creator of mankind.

Bronze figurines of eagles are found on accessories from Zeus' sanctuary in Dodona in all antiquity, and eagles are represented in sculptures of the god from the Classical period onwards –on Zeus' throne or on his scepter, on the chryselephantine statue of the god at Olympia for instance. There is no archaeological evidence, however, of free-standing eagle offerings before the Roman period.

The reason why it is interesting to take Roman offerings into consideration in the study of bird offerings from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, is that most of the surviving statues of birds are Roman eagles: all the surviving statues are eagles offered to Zeus Hypsistos, both at Dion **(A08-A12)** and in Crete. The bird was already associated with Zeus in Homer and Hesiod, and figures on objects found at sanctuaries of Zeus since the Archaic period

3. Hera's peacock a later fashion of Roman times

While all bird statues dating from Archaic to Hellenistic Greece discovered in excavations led at sanctuaries were linked to goddesses, the only bird statue, aside from Zeus' eagles, recorded by Pausanias, was a peacock for Hera, accompanied with the mention that the peacock was sacred to the goddess. Pausanias likely saw other bird statues than Hadrian's peacock but was probably unimpressed by these, and omits them in his descriptions: the peacock **(Aa3)** might caught his eyes for its lavish materials, colors and shine.

4. Colossal birds: doves from Delos and owl from Athens

Even though the original place of dedication of the colossal marble doves **(A01-A02)** from Delos is unknown, they were almost certainly associated with a female deity: maybe Leto, or another Archaic goddess with a primitive bird association. The heritage of the Potnia Theron, often accompanied with birds amongst other beats, and the plethora of small bird offerings at feminine sanctuaries in the Archaic periods, when bird figurines evolved into female silhouettes, come to mind. The birds might have been offered as companions for the deity, or represented primitive goddesses in their theramorphic form,

[136] Pausanias, 8, 38, 7

or as a symbol of their divine spirit – a pair of monumental birds could have represented a pair of important female deities – such as Leto and Artemis, in the Delian context (elsewhere, we could have thought of Demeter of Persephone: but pairs of mother and virgin goddesses were not uncommon in ancient religion). The presence of two large doves suggests that they were a pair; in Delos, lions were also offered by pairs – and in a larger group, but no other fragment indicates the presence of more doves. Like the lion pairs, the doves were likely placed at the entrance of sanctuaries. Their aspect, however, doesn't suggest an apotropaic function as menacing lions and lionesses do. If the birds were sacred to the goddess honored within the sanctuary they guarded, they would nonetheless have protective properties. Birds were used in Classical times as purifying victims: this function may have emanated from an earlier function as protectors.

The colossal owl from the Acropolis of Athens differs from the colossal doves from Delos, because it appears to be a lone offering, rather than part of a pair.

The dedication of colossal birds was likely done in celebration of goddesses' original aspects and attributes: in the case of a pair, it could activate a protection or purification spell at an entrance, and form a symmetry, especially appreciated in the aesthetics of the Archaic period. Bird statues offered in Archaic times might also have been a theramorphic form for the goddesses, and pairs could have represented a pair of feminine deities.

The colossal owl **(A07)** offered on the Acropolis was an offering made in the transition period between hardships and a rebirth of glory for the city of Athens: the Greeks had come out of the conflict victorious, but the Athenians' home sanctuary had been desecrated, looted and burnt to the ground. The colossal owl was therefore a certain sign of civic pride.

5. Modest gifts of doves for Aphrodite

The life-size doves offered to Aphrodite **(A03-A06)** belong to the same tradition as the many smaller bird offerings found at the sanctuary of the goddess: we are including them in the study because they are life-size, but they are cheaper offerings made by private individuals, to a goddess who deals with personal undertakings. The inscription on the dove **A03**, indicating that the bird was offered by a man, points at the fact that even though dove offerings are reserved to female deities, the gender of the dedicator could vary.

Horses and other equids

I. Live horses and other equids in ancient Greece

1. General context: morphology and origins

Horses (*Equus ferus caballus*) differentiate themselves from other equids such as donkeys (*Equus africanus asinus*) or zebras by their tail, entirely covered with long hair, longer limbs and smaller in proportion to their size, as well broader hoofs[1]. The horses also have a shorter gestation period of eleven, while donkeys gestate for about twelve months. The modern horse has a life expectancy of 25 to 30 years[2]: ancient horses probably lived 15 to 20 years, which is the average lifespan of a horse in poorer countries. Sizes vary greatly depending on breeds, but horses have a height ranging between 145 and 180 cm (from hoofs to withers) and weigh from 380 to 1000 kg; the smallest and lightest breeds are racehorses while the heaviest animals are usually draft animals. It takes about four years for horses to reach maturity, even though they can reproduce from the age of 18 months.

In Ancient Greek, the word *ἵππος* was used for a full-grown horse and *πῶλος*[3] for a foal: both words could be either feminine or masculine, and the distinction between stallions and mares, colts and fillies was understood through the use of the article, the accordance of the adjectives and the context.

Originating from the Eurasian Steppes where they were first domesticated in the first half of the 4th millennium BC[4], horses were still new and relatively rare animals in Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete. Horse bones appear in higher concentration after about 1800 BC and their earliest representations in Greek art were found in the 16th century BC shaft graves at Mycenae. [5] On Linear B clay tablets from Knossos from the 15th century BC, horses are associated with chariots and armor[6]. Anderson[7] advances the hypothesis that Linear B tablets

[1] Fagan, 2015, p. 139
[2] Ensminger, p. 44
[3] Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon, TLG online version
[4] Outram et al., 2009
[5] Karo, 1930, pl. 24, no. 240: a gold seal shows an archer on a chariot drawn by two ponies hunting a stag
[6] Ventris & Chadwick, 1956, p. 379-380
[7] Anderson, 1961, p. 3

coincide with the arrival of the horse, and the language change from the Linear A tablet could mean that horses had come with Indo-European speaking warriors (who would have spoken Greek in its earliest form) and that these horsemen and their war chariots would have managed to dominate over the less-armed and more artistically-versed Minoans.

Cimmerian and Scythian horsemen, both inhabitants of the Eurasian Steppes, rode regularly into Urartu, Assyria, Asia Minor and Greece from the mid-8th century BC[8]. The nomadic horsemen engaged in trading with the countries south of the steppes[9], and the import of racehorses was probably an important part of their transactions. The selection of horses as a useful military aid was certainly perceived very early on and taken into consideration when purchasing import animals.

Donkeys, on the other hand, were domesticated around 3000 BC in Egypt or Mesopotamia[10]. They rapidly spread across the ancient world, appreciated for their endurance as draught or pack animal. Female donkeys give birth to a single foal. Their lifespan is shorter than the horses: in poorer countries, they live 12 to 15 years on average. They weight from 80 to 480 kg.

Even though horses and donkeys evolved separately, with a different number of chromosomes, and came to Greece through their separate ways, mares and male donkeys were successfully bred together to produce mules, common in Greek antiquity: these were more patient, robust and sure-footed than horses, and faster and less obstinate than donkeys[11]. An average mule weights about 400 kg, the weight of a light horse. Mules were therefore a very useful work animal, but could only rarely breed.

2. Horses at the games: breeding and competitions

A quick look at the statistics of equine lexical occurrences in Pausanias[12] show the centrality of horses in the world of the games. There are 304 occurrences of words referring to horses (253 to male horses, 36 to mares and 15 to foals) in Pausanias' description of Greece and 154 references to chariots (132 to chariots and 22 to charioteers).

Pausanias claims that the Lacedaemonians were the best of Greek breeders,

[8] Hyland, 2003, p. 126
[9] Zvelebil, 1980, p. 255
[10] Nowak, 1999
[11] Hauer, 2014
[12] Statistics drawn by the author

and took to the activity after the Persian invasion[13], and several Spartan horse-breeders had their statues set at Olympia: Pausanias quotes the portraits of Lykinus, Arcesilaus and his son Lichas[14]. Even women could practice this renowned profession in Lacedaemon: Kyniska, daughter the Spartan king Archidamus, was the most illustrious of them – not only was she the first woman to breed horses[15], but she also won Olympic victories and was the first woman to win a chariot race at Olympia[16] in the second half of the 5th century BC. Women were, however, not allowed to participate in person and could only enter the chariot races, by proxy: Kyniska owned the horses but wasn't present at her own victories. Her horse-breeding and participation in the games did nevertheless bring her great fame: she dedicated a bronze statue of a chariot and horses, a charioteer and a statue of herself in the temple of Zeus at Olympia[17], and a hero-shrine was built in her honor in a Spartan grove[18]. The round and black stone pedestal of one of the statues offered by Kyniska at Olympia was found[19] and bears Kyniska's inscription[20] in early 4th century lettering. The text of the inscription is also registered in the *Anthologia Palatina*[21]. The exact facts surrounding Kyniska are unsure, and familial political propaganda might have played a part of the unicity of this princess' horse-breeding activities – and the admiration of her as an exceptional woman would then only have come in later times, to the contemporaries of Pausanias. The glory conferred to her even if her personal participation can be discussed shows the high esteem awarded to successful horse breeders in Ancient Greek society.

Decennia later, other women follow the example of Kyniska, like the Lacedaemonian Euryleonis, who won two chariot races at the Olympics in 368 BC, and was the first victor recorded in literature to have their statue erected in Sparta.[22]

We also learn about the history of chariot and horse races at the Olympic Games and the Pythian Games from Pausanias. His chronologies of both Games clearly place the chariot races much earlier in times than the riding races; and even chariot races were a later addition to foot races. He dates the first-time

[13] Pausanias, 6, 2, 1
[14] Pausanias, 6, 2, 1
[15] Pausanias, 3, 8,1
[16] Pausanias, 3, 15, 1
[17] Pausanias, 5, 12, 5
[18] Pausanias, 3, 15, 1
[19] Kyle, 2003, p. 183-204
[20] Dittenberg, *Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 5.160
[21] Anthologia Palatina, 13, 16
[22] Hodkinson, 1998, p. 62

recognition of the chariot race with full-grown horses (one horse per chariot) at the Elian Games to the 25th Olympiad[23] in 680 BC[24], the horse race (without rider) was only introduced at the 33rd Olympiad[25], 32 years later, in 648 BC. At the occasion of the 70th Olympiad, in 500 BC, the mule cart race was introduced, followed on the 71st by the trotting race[26] (in which competitors would ride a chariot drawn by mares and then jump off and run next to the animal that they held by the bridle[27]). Both of these additions were relatively short-lived and were abolished by a decree pronounced at the 84th Olympiad, in 444 BC. Chariots drawn by pairs of adult horses, *synoris*, were introduced at the 93rd Olympiad[28], in 408 BC. Chariots drawn by foals became soon after part of the competitions, at the 99th Olympiad[29]: Pausanias indicates that races of chariots drawn by a pair of foals and races with riders mounting single foals soon followed. Pausanias does not give us the date of introduction of the four-horse chariot race at Olympia, although he informs us that was already in practice by the time of the 48th Olympiad, in 588 BC, and that it was specific to the Olympic Games[30], and he mentions the victors of that race in seven instances[31].

The managing of the horses that would participate to the Olympic Games was no light affair: one judge, then two, nine and finally up to twelve judges[32] were appointed by the Eleans to certify that the conditions of the competition were respected. When, at the 99th festival[33], in 384 BC, there were nine appointed judges, three were in charge of the chariot races, three of the pentathlon and the remaining three overviewed the rest of the competitions: that is to say that, at least by the beginning of the 4th century, chariot races were ranked as important as the traditional sports included in the pentathlon. The judges of the competition had a reputation for their incorruptibility[34] and sometimes disqualified animals – for instance, if foals were considered too big, they wouldn't let them participate to the foal race but the animals could be

[23] Pausanias, 5, 8, 7
[24] Timeline established by the author based on known correlations (cf. Frazer, 1898, vol. 3, p. 486-487)
[25] Pausanias, 5, 8, 8
[26] Pausanias, 5, 9, 1
[27] Frazer, 1898, vol. 3, p. 488 associate this reference from Pausanias with a relief representing an athlete leaping off a four-horse chariot
[28] Pausanias, 5, 8, 10; confirmed by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 2, 1
[29] Pausanias, 5, 8, 11
[30] Pausanias, 10, 7, 5
[31] Pausanias, 6, 1, 7; 6, 12, 6; 6, 12, 7; 6, 13, 11; 6, 16, 6; 6, 17, 5; 8, 42, 9
[32] Pausanias, 5, 9, 3; Frazer, 1898, vol. 3, p. 489
[33] Pausanias, 5, 9, 5
[34] Pausanias, 5, 24, 10

entered for the full-grown horse race[35].

The athletic contest at the Pythian Games were much newer than the Olympic Games: while the contests held at Olympia dated from 720 BC, the first Pythiad, counting from when the games passed from the hands of the Delphians into the control of the Amphictyonic Council[36] at the time of the third year of the 48th Olympiad, in 586 BC. From that date, the Pythian Games started to be celebrated every 4th rather than 8th year and were made to include physical competitions when it had previously been restricted to musical and poetical contests. For first Pythian Games, the same competition was adopted at Delphi as the ones in place at Olympia at the time except for the four-horse chariot[37]. It seems that the four-horse chariot remained a specialty of Olympia, as Pausanias doesn't mention it neither at Delphi nor for at any of the other PanHellenic Games. The two-horse chariot race was introduced for the 48th Pythiad[38], in 398 BC.[39] The chariot race where each chariot was drawn by a foal was introduced at the 53rd Pythiad[40], in 378 BC. The races of foals mounted by a rider only reached Delphi for the 55th Pythiad, in 370 BC and the two-foal chariot race at the 69th Pythiad, in 314 BC, both in imitation of Elis[41]. This chronology showed that Delphi adopted the various horse competitions much later than Olympia: when horse races had been an archaic tradition with early classical additions in Elis, it only really developed during the classical period, and rather towards the end of it, at the Pythian Games.

Pausanias' history of the games also shows that the oldest form of horse races (*ἵππων δρόμος*) was the archaic horse race without rider, closely followed by the chariot (*ἅρμα*) race. In the classical period, chariots attached to more than a pair (*συνωρίς*) of horse gained in popularity. Equestrian races with a rider (*κέλης*) were the latest horse sport to reach the PanHellenic games.

[35] Pausanias, 6, 2, 2
[36] Strabo, 9, 3, 7
[37] Pausanias, 10, 7, 5
[38] Pausanias, 10, 7, 7
[39] Timeline established by the author based on the dates of the Olympiad and knowing that the Pythiads were counted from the third year of the 48th Olympiad and occurred every third year of each Olympiad.
[40] Pausanias, 10, 7, 7
[41] Pausanias, 10, 7, 7

3. Warhorses

In his historical account of the first Messenian war[42], fought in the second half of the 8th century, Pausanias states that the mounted men were few and achieved nothing exceptional: the battles were principally or entirely fought by the heavy-armed infantry because the Peloponnesians were not good horsemen at the time.

The mastering of horseback riding gave a clear superiority to the armies who acquired it first, and the Thessalians were famous for their breeding of warhorses: these might even have been superior to the the Cimmerian and Thracian horses[43]. Before the Persian Wars[44], at the end of the 6th century, the Phocians had no chance of victory against the cavalry of the Thessalians and their only chance to keep their land from being invaded at Hyampolis was a subterfuge: they buried earthen water pots under the battle field so that the horses would break their legs and throw or kill their riders.

When Pausanias tells the history of Epaminondas, however, Pausanias describes the battles led by the cavalries of the Athenians, Mantineans and Beotians, in the first half of the 4th century: Greeks from all over the land had become expert at riding their horses into battle.

The striking contrast between the plethora of reference to racing horses in Pausanias and his only 5 references to horses used in the context of army descriptions show that the horse was still a more attractive subject as a race animal than as a war weapon even in later antiquity, when horses were used in a military context.

4. Selection criteria for a “good horse”

Xenophon, in two treatises[45] dating around 350 BC, and Simon of Athens, whose works about horses and horsemanship written in the 5th century BC were quoted by Xenophon in both treatises, are the two main direct sources on the how Ancient Greeks defined a fine horse. Vigneron[46] notes that they describe an ideal, and therefore not an exact definition of the common horse of their time; he also observes that the ancients’ descriptions of horses were, to most regards, very similar than those made by modern hippologists. The ancient

[42] Pausanias, 4, 8, 12
[43] Worly, 1994, p. 28
[44] Pausanias, 10, 1, 3
[45] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*; *Hipparchicus*
[46] Vigneron, 1968, p. 4-15

treaties on horses give, however, an overview of what Ancient Greeks appreciated in a horse, and are of particular interest when put in perspective with sculptural works that also aimed at reproducing ideals of perfection.

The purchase of a fine young and yet unbroken (*ἀδάμαστος*) horse had to be based on the observation of physical characteristics as the character of the horse can only be known once it has carried a man on its back[47]. The most important factor to take into consideration were the hoofs: up to the Hellenistic period, horseshoes weren't in use[48], and horses becoming lame because of the wear of their hoofs was a considerable issue[49] and a warhorse that was otherwise fine by all further criteria but with bad feet was completely useless[50]. Consequently, thick hoofs were preferred as they had a firmer tread, and high above the ground as long as they were equally high in the front and in the back, to favor an equal wear on the whole surface[51]. The fetlocks should not be too high, which could cause inflammation nor too low, which could cause the feet to become sore after riding on uneven ground[52]. The shanks should be thick, long and muscular but not too veiny[53], and the knees supple[54]. A large chest was appreciated, both because it would ensure strength and stability, and for its esthetics[55]. The neck should stand straight, towards up, yet remain flexible: Xenophon considers that a horse with a neck hanging downwards will run away more easily[56] and thus be harder to break in because horses who run away tend to stretch their head forward, which can be avoided with the reins on an animal with a natural upward bearing of the head.

Horses were ridden bareback or with a (sometimes padded) saddlecloth[57]; that made the shape of the back particularly important: the ideal was an animal with high withers for a better grip and a double back, softer and considered more beautiful[58]. Deep flanks and a swollen belly combined with a broad and short loin, and proportionate but fleshy haunches would offer the steadiest

[47] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 1
[48] Ridgeway, 1905, p. 298
[49] Thucydides, 8, 27, tells that the Athenian cavalry had suffered greatly at the end of the Peloponnesian War because of the constant scouting of their horses had worn down the horses' hoofs and the animals had become lame.
[50] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 2
[51] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 3
[52] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 4
[53] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 5
[54] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 6
[55] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 7
[56] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 8
[57] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 11
[58] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 11

sitting with the optimal ease of movement for the animal[59].

Large, shiny[60], alert and prominent eyes[61], that gave a better field of vision to the animal, were preferred. Both Xenophon and Simon agree that nostrils should be as large as possible, because that characteristic indicates that the animal can breeze better but also that it has a more spirited temper[62]. Animals with still and sagging ears were sometimes deaf while those with ears leaning towards the back were considered vicious: the best animals had their ears pointed forwards when resting, and the ears should be short and mobile[63]. The jaws should also be carefully studied: both sides should be equally soft or hard and therefore equally sensitive[64]; otherwise, the horse might not respond properly to the bit when bridled. A large crest combined the small ears was esthetically pleasing[65]. The testicles of a horse should preferably not be big, but Xenophon points out that it's impossible to observe this in a foal[66] – this indicates, however, that horses were not castrated.

5. Monetary value of live equids

Over 570 tablets found in the yard of the Dipylon Gate[67], close to the Kerameikos and another 145 lead and clay tablets from the *Hipparcheion*[68], found in the north-west corner of the Agora, where the cavalry used to train, give useful indications as to the price of live horses. In these documents[69], the highest price for a horse was 700 drachmas in the 4th century (17 tablets were dated from the 4th century) and 1200 drachmas in the 3rd century, a price given for 3 excellent horses (over 500 tablets were dated from the 3rd century); in both centuries, the average price was at 500 drachmas. Cheaper horses were sold between 250 and 100 drachmas. In the 5th and early 4th century BC, a cheap but adequate horse was valued at 300 drachmas and an excellent horse about 1000 drachmas.

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[59] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 12
[60] Simon, 7
[61] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 9
[62] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 10
[63] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 11; Simon, 7; Vigneron, 1969, p. 5, notes that "good ears" are defined in a similar way in modern horsemanship
[64] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 9
[65] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 11
[66] Xenophon, *On Horsemanship*, 1, 15
[67] Hyland, 2003, p. 141; Braun, 1970
[68] Kroll, 1977, p. 83-140
[69] Figures based on Hyland, 2003, p. 142 and Kroll, 1977, p. 84

If we compare the price of horses to the price of oxen, which were considered a luxurious animal for sacrifice, we realize just how precious horses were. Prices of quality cattle (considered good enough to be offered in sacrifice) varied between 40 and 100 drachmas in the 5th and 4th century BC[70]. A horse was therefore about 5 to 10 times more expensive than a bull, or about 50 to 75 times more expensive than a good sheep or goat[71].

A pair of mules would cost 5.5 to 8 minas[72] – that is 550 to 800 drachmas[73]: one mule was therefore valued between 225 and 400 drachmas: 3 times cheaper than a horse, but still about 4 times more expensive than a bull.

No pertinent indications survive as to the price of a donkey[74], but we can guess that it was worth about half the price of a mule because donkeys were valued for their carrying power and weren't a very strong animal: the donkeys that carried firewood to Athens from the estate of Phaenippus could bear a maximal load of about 35 kg[75].

6. Equid sacrifices in sanctuaries and meat consumption

Ekroth's very complete study[76] on meat in Ancient Greece shows that the analysis of horse bones at different locations indicates the consumption of horse meat (in much lesser proportions than meat from other animals). Among the archaeological evidence for the consumption of equid meat, however, several instances occur within the sacred sphere: unburnt but butchered equid bones indicating the portioning of the ribs were found at the sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos – however only three out of 103 bones were from equids[77]; at the Artemision of Ephesos, 20 bones, accounting for 1.2% of skeletal animal evidence came from equids[78]; 101 equid fragments out of 5092 bones were identified at a pit in the center of the sanctuary of the Heroes and Demeter at

[70] See chapter on "Cattle"
[71] See chapter on "Sheep and Goats"
[72] Isaeus, *Philoctemon*, 33
[73] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution,* 10, 2 on the conversion of minas to drachmas
[74] Michell, 1957, p. 72, n. 9; Lucian, *Lucius*, 35 and 46, the donkey in Lucian's tale, is sold for 30 drachmas and then for 25. This story isn't of much help, however, when estimating the average price of donkeys in Antiquity, because the tale is written in Roman times, and because it is a work of fiction in which the donkey-character needs to appear undesirable.
[75] Demosthenes, *Against Phaenippus*, 7
[76] Ekroth, 2007
[77] Gardeisen, 1996, p. 819
[78] Wolff, 1978, p. 108-110

Messene, seemingly from horses and donkeys[79]; and the fragmental skull of a donkey was found among the bone deposit from the kitchen of the sanctuary of Poseidon on Tenos[80]. These bones, however, are all unburnt and seem for the most part disconnected from the traditional sacrifices made to the Olympian bones[81]. Ekroth[82] has suggested a very tangible hypothesis: that the equid meat, could have been butchered outside the sanctuaries and added as a complement to the sacrificial meat in the boiling pots, therefore a part of the sacrificial banquet but not of the sacrifice itself – for that, cheap cuts from old animals would have been used. However, the presence, even if minimal of the bones occurs in sanctuaries of divinities that show a link with horses: equid bones are only attested in sanctuaries of Poseidon, Demeter, Artemis and heroes.

Literature tends to point at equid meat as an uncommon last-resource meal for soldiers: according to Herodotus, draught animals were eaten when the Persian Cambyses went against the Ethiopians in the 6th century and finished the food they had brought along earlier than planned[83]. In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, donkeys were taken from the carts to be eaten when the expedition was out of food[84], and when in Arabia, the Greek mercenary horsemen took to hunting wild donkeys and found out that their meat was a delicacy, similar to deer meat, but more tender[85]. These references show that equid meat was not commonly consumed and normally not sought-after in Greece: the delicious donkeys were a wild Arabian breed, and the (maybe imaginary) fact that Persians served roasted horses, donkeys or camels on their birthdays was exotic enough for Herodotus to mention it as an anecdote[86].

According to Pausanias[87], Tyndareus had sacrificed a horse and made the Helen's suitors swear an oath to defend her and her future husband on the cut pieces on the animal; the horse was then buried on the spot and became the Tomb of the Horse. Indeed, like most sacrifices tied to curses, the animals sacrificed for oaths were not eaten[88]. Moreover, even though animal sacrifices were common to seal an oath, the use of the horse in that context was very

[79] Nobis, 1997, p. 105
[80] Leguilloux, 1999
[81] See chapters on "Cattle", "Sheep and Goats" and "Swine"
[82] Ekroth, 2007
[83] Herodotus, 3, 25
[84] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 2, 1, 6
[85] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1, 5, 2
[86] Herodotus, 1, 133
[87] Pausanias, 3, 20, 9
[88] Sommerstein and Bayliss, 2013, p. 153-154

rare: Aristophanes[89] mocks the antiquated practice when one of Lysistrata's companion offers to swear an oath on the pieces of a white horse – the heroin rejects the offer and decides to swear on a wine skin instead.

Drowning horse sacrifices were organized in honor of Poseidon by the Argive: by the time of Pausanias[90], these had fallen out of use, but he mentions horses being adorned in the olden days before being thrown into the Dine at the *Genethlion* in Argolis as well as in the *Cheimerion* in Thespolis, all in honor of Poseidon. Similar sacrifices appear in several ancient sources, starting with the *Iliad*[91], and establish a clear connection between the horse and Poseidon while setting a taboo on horse meat, which wasn't consumed as in the traditional sacrifices made to the Olympian gods. In these, the sinking of the horses into the depths in the ocean shows the animal as a more chthonian victim[92]. Even Alexander the Great was said to have continued this tradition and ordered for a four-horse chariot to be cast into the sea on the shores of Syria in hope for Poseidon's help[93]. Horse sacrifices to Helios on Taletum, a peak of the Taygetus Mountain, are also mentioned by Pausanias[94], but they are uncommon enough for him to compare it to a Persian sacrifice.

Both literary and archaeological evidence converges to indicate that horse sacrifices were not common: the noble and pricey animal was used as a companion in sports and combat, but its life was only rarely sacrificed to the gods. In this regards, the status of the horse was similar to the dog, both were companions to men, and were among the only animals extensively bred and used for other purposes than meat. And when their meat was eaten, which was not often, the meal was usually not ritualized.

Donkey sacrifices are also extremely rare and the only known instances of it from literary sources show not only its rarity but also its specificity because of the animal's famously large sexual appendix. Indeed, donkeys were sacrificed to the phallic god Priapus and their death connected to their proverbial lust[95]; on a similar note, a donkey sacrifice made by the Hyperborean – a mythical and foreign rite – which made Apollo laugh at the site of the animals' member[96].

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[89] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 181-238
[90] Pausanias, 8, 7, 2
[91] Homer, *Iliad*, 21, 131: live horses were cast in the river in honor of Poseidon; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1, 60
[92] Burkert, 1983, p. 138
[93] *Papyrus Oxyrrhincus FGH* 148, 44, col. 2
[94] Pausanias, 3, 20, 9
[95] Burkert, 1983, p. 69
[96] Pindar, Pythian Odes, 10, 33-36; Callimachus, fr. 186.10, 472

The archaeological sources confirming a rare but existing equid meat consumption combined with the literary evidence where it is almost a taboo to eat these animals tend to indicate that equids made for meals eaten by the populace when an old draught animal had to be put down because of its old-age or bad temper[97], and would have been a burden to feed it without getting any profit out of it. The fact that some equid bones were found inside sanctuaries, shows, however, that even if the horse was not especially suited for sacrifice, the consumption of its meat wasn't the object of a religious interdiction.

7. Horse burials: companionship and sacrifice

Horses, together with dogs, were one of the two principal animals for which rich burial evidence has been found throughout the ancient world[98].

Pausanias recounts that the Taraxippos[99], a monument with the shape of a round altar along the course of the horserace at Olympia, at which point horses were often terrorized for no apparent reason, was, according to one of several versions, the tomb of Dameon[100], son of Phlius, who participated in the expedition of Herakles against Augeas; this Dameon would have been buried there together with his horse. This accounted for the deep connection and companionship between man and horse, who were set to wander into the afterlife together.

The custom of burying horses is illustrated by a number of excavated examples: in a rich article on the question, Elizabeth Kosmetatou[101] presents a number of horse burials from prehistoric Greece and Geometric through early Archaic Cyprus, most of which can be characterized as sacrifices, because the horses, often mature adults of about 15 years of age, were killed in order to be buried. The horses were most of the time buried by pairs and less often alone or in larger groups; in some instances, they were buried together with a chariot, and often in connection with human tombs. Most of the time they would accompany a male deceased, but there could be exceptions, as shown in the case of a chariot and two horses buried with a noble lady in mid-8th century Cyprus[102]. Another female burial contained a horse, in the Tholos Tomb A dating

[97] Lucian, *Lucius*, 33
[98] Mackinnon, 2014, p. 274-275
[99] Pausanias, 6, 20, 15
[100] Pausanias, 6, 20, 16
[101] Kosmetatou, 1993
[102] Kosmetatou, 1993, p. 38, n°11

back from the LMIII period at Acharnes[103], in Crete; in that instance, the horse had been cut to pieces before being placed in the grave, that might have belonged to a priestess. None of the burials containing horses found in Mainland Greece, however, were connected to female deceased. When the horses were killed to be buried with the dead, they appeared to be stabbed[104] rather than ritually cut at the throat and prepared for a sacrificial meal.

The ritual sacrifice of horses in the context of funerary sacrifices appears once in Homer, when Achilles burns four horses in Patroclus' funerary pyre[105].

The excavations led in 2003-2005 at cemetery in use between the 7th and the 4th century at Sindos revealed the skeletons of five horses and two dogs along with 47 human graves, of which 17 were male. Antikas' study of the bones established that a mare **(Fig. 1a)[106]**, buried next to a man and a dog at Sindos, had a compound fracture **(Fig. 1b)[107]** that had been healed and that she survived the accident for at least 4 or 5 years. A likely hypothesis is that the animal had driven her owner's funeral cart and was then sacrificed on the spot to be buried with him.[108]

Horse burials seem to have decreased during historical times in Greece, but their existence an important help as to understanding the status of the horse in the ancient mind. They show their importance as a companion, but one whose life can however be sacrificed to accompany the soul of its master. Or, the

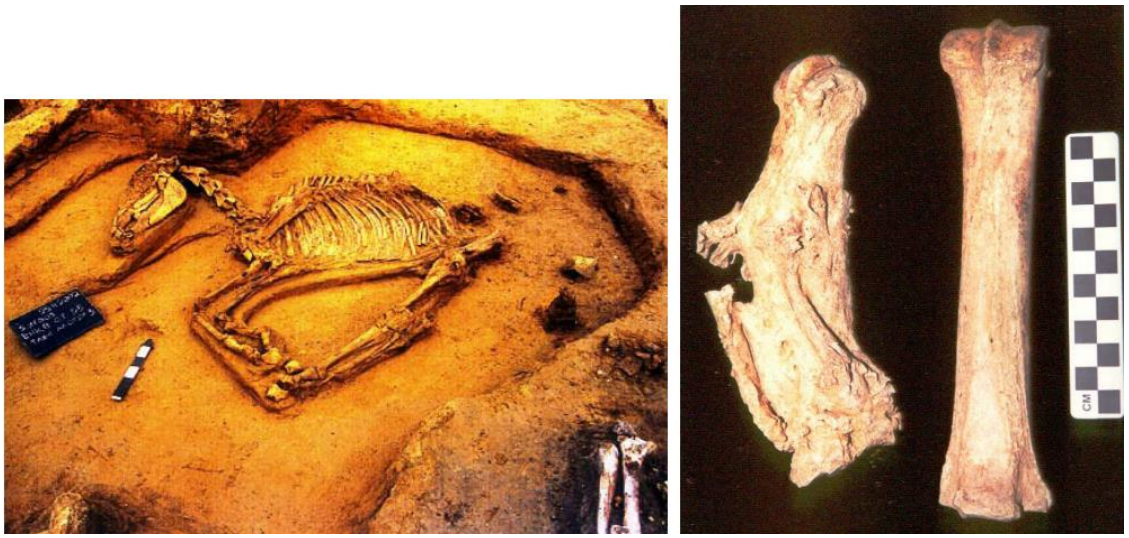

Fig. a – Mare sepulture from the Sindos cemetary (L)
b – Compound fracture on the mare's foot (R)

[103] Kosmetatou, 1993, p. 32
[104] Burkert, 1995, p. 34
[105] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 207
[106] Photo: Antikas, 2007, p. 2, fig. 4
[107] Photo: Antikas, 2007, p. 2, fig. 5
[108] Antikas, 2007

horses attached to chariot might have been objectified and considered, together with the chariot, as a luxury item, suitable as a grave offering, where the most precious weapons, jewels and potteries were laid to rest with the deceased.

II. Horses in ancient literature and mythology

1. The horse in literature

a. Homer

Horses appear recurrently in the *Iliad*, at a time when chariots were the noblest mean of transport for warriors. It was never, however, used as a shock weapon[109]. Indeed, each chariot was led by two horses and mounted by a warrior and a charioteer: the warrior would first throw spears from the chariots and then dismount to engage in one-on-one combat with the enemy[110].

Great heroes of the Homeric epic are attributed the epithet of *ἱππόδαμος*; the two main holders of the title were Diomedes, son of Tydeus and king of Argos[111], and the Trojan prince, Hector[112].

But the Homeric horse that really made history wasn't a live animal but the statue used as a ruse and thanks to which the Greeks won the Trojan War. The "**Wooden Horse" (Fig. 2)**[113] (*Δούρειος Ἵππος*) was, by far, the most famed horse symbol in Greek history, and brought a decisive outcome to the war. The horse was chosen as a subject for the statue that would lead the Greeks to defeat the Trojans because it was the emblem of Troy.

Fig. 2 – Earliest known representation of the Wooden Horse 8th century BC pithos, Mykonos

[109] Hyland, 2003, p. 127 ; Ridgeway, 1905, p. 101
[110] Diodorus, V, 29 compares
[111] Homer, *Iliad*, 4, 350; 5, 363; 5, 764; 5, 835; 7, 398; 8, 151; 9, 50; 9, 669
[112] Homer, *Iliad*, 7, 1; 16, 698; 22, 131; 22, 177; 24, 776
[113] Mykonos vase, Inv. 2240. Photo: Traveling Runes, CC.

The choice of the horse for the highly symbolic Greek stratagem connects the episode to both Poseidon, because of his links with the animal and because the Greeks had come to Troy over the sea, and to Athena, who instigated the stratagem[114]. The statue inside of which the Greek soldiers were hidden was made to resemble an offering to the goddess and even bore a dedication to her[115], for the safe return of the Greeks, before it was left as if abandoned before the gates of Troy. Which shows that a horse statue would have been a suitable offering for the goddess, since the Trojans were expected to believe it was left for this purpose.

b. Foals as metaphors for maidens and young men

Poets would occasionally call a young girl *πῶλος*: it was a particularly recurrent image in Euripides' tragedies. It was used, for instance, to speak of an innocent maid about to be sacrificed[116]; of on a young girl yet unyoked in the marital bed[117] or, sometimes, in a negative light, as a word for daughter when advising a friend to not marry the "filly" of a bad mother.[118] It was rarer but sometimes also used to speak of young men: still in Euripides, the chorus addresses prince Rhesus as Strymon's "colt"[119] as a way to say son; the tender Haemon who was married but hadn't consumed his marriage with Antigone was also called a foal[120]; and Aeschylus[121], uses the colt as an extended metaphor for a young man whose life he assimilates to a chariot race.

2. The horse in Ancient Greek mythology

a. Metamorphosis, fantastic horses and other divine associations

In Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, Poseidon is mentioned 19 times in direct connection with horses[122] (7 times for Demeter[123], 6 times for Athena[124], 4

[114] Homer, *Iliad*, 8, 847 sq.
[115] Apollodorus, *Epitome*, e.5, 15
[116] Euripides, *Hecuba*, 142
[117] Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 546
[118] Euripides, *Andromache*, 621
[119] Euripides, *Rhesus*, 386
[120] Euripides, *Phoenicians*, 947
[121] Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*, 794
[122] Pausanias, 1, 2, 4; 1, 30, 4; 2, 1, 7; 2, 1, 9; 3, 14, 2; 5, 15, 5; 6, 20, 18; 7, 21, 7; 7, 21, 9; 8, 7, 2; 8, 8, 2; 8, 10, 2; 8, 14, 5; 8, 25, 5; 8, 25, 7-8; 8, 36, 2; 8, 37, 10
[123] Pausanias, 2, 14, 3; 8, 25, 5; 8, 25, 7; 8, 42, 4; 8, 42, 6-7; 9, 8, 1
[124] Pausanias, 1, 30, 4; 1, 31, 6; 5, 15, 6; 8, 36, 8; 8, 47, 1; 10, 10, 1

times for Zeus[125], 3 times for Apollo[126] / 2 for Helios[127], just a single time for Artemis[128], Hera[129], Ares[130] and Hermes[131]. These figures[132] reflect the intensity of the cultural and mythological links between gods and horses.

Poseidon was very closely connected with the animal: in the *Homeric Hymns,* he was already worshipped as a tamer of horses, "ἵππων τε δμητῆρ'"[133] and continued to be the god of horses[134] throughout antiquity. He would ride a chariot drawn by very horses that would even drive through the sea, and be faster than the dolphins and tritons who came and gamboled around it[135]. His association with the horse was indeed so deep that the Ancients even made him the **father of the horse**. Several myths give different versions of that story[136], but all agree in Poseidon's paternity in the creation of the first horse. In cults from Thessaly[137] and Athens[138], he was believed to have spilled his seed on a rock, giving birth to the first horse.

Even **fantastic horses** were children of Poseidon, who fathered them from supernatural mothers. Medusa actually owed her monstrosity to Poseidon: when she was still a beautiful young woman, the only mortal out of three sisters who lived in a far-away land beyond the Ocean, she took shelter in a temple of Athena while running away from Poseidon, but the god found her and raped her there, which made her also incur the wrath of Athena, who transformed her into the cursed beast with snakes in her hair that would petrify onlookers. When Perseus eventually beheaded Medusa, the winged horse **Pegasus** and his human brother Chrysaor leaped from her mutilated body into the seawater, their father's element – Pegasus received this name because he was born close to the spring (*πηγὰς*) of the Ocean[139].

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[125] Pausanias, 5,12, 5; 5,24, 5; 6, 10, 6; 8, 42, 8
[126] Pausanias, 9, 40, 6; 10, 10, 1; 10, 5, 4
[127] Pausanias, 3, 20, 4; 5, 11, 8
[128] Pausanias, 8, 14, 5
[129] Pausanias, 5, 15, 5
[130] Pausanias, 5, 15, 6
[131] Pausanias, 8, 14, 10
[132] Analysis made by the author
[133] *Homeric Hymn to Poseidon*, 22, 5
[134] Bacchalydes, *Fragment 17*
[135] Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 14, 28
[136] Burkert, 2003, p. 138
[137] Scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 4, 246; Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, 3, 12444, on the cult of Poseidon Petraios
[138] Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1595, on the cult of Poseidon Hippios in the deme of Kolonos
[139] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 270-286; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2, 42; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 840-842; Strabo, 8, 6, 21

Poseidon fathers the immortal horse **Areion** from another rape[140]: while mourning her beloved daughter Persephone, Demeter changes into a mare to avoid her godly brother's sexual advances, but Poseidon is quick to take the shape of a stallion and mate with her. A mysterious daughter was also born from this union. This episode had earned Demeter the epithet Erinye (*Ἐρινύς*), because she had been furious (*ἐρινύειν*) when this happened. In Antimachus' alternative version[141] of Areion's mythical birth, Gaia considered to be the mother, but Poseidon's paternity was not discussed. It is worth noticing that in both his unions with Demeter and with Medusa, from which a horse was born, Poseidon's unwanted love transformed the mother into a beast, indirectly and permanently in the mortal Medusa's case as she remained a monster until her death, metaphorically and temporarily for the goddess Demeter, who changed back from her horse shape and only briefly became a Fury before bathing in the Ladon and regaining her senses[142].

Demeter, who turned into a mare gave birth to the mythical horse Aerion and the mysterious Despoina after Poseidon turned into a horse forced himself on her, is also connected to the animal in her cult. The rape took place in a dark cave on Mount Elaius in Arcadia, nicknamed Black (*Μέλαινα*)[143], and that is when she spent the long mythical winter of her mourning after it happened. Her sanctuary there, connected with the bearing of a horse, was organized around a very old wooden cult statue representing the goddess with the head of a horse, serpents and other beasts growing out of her hair, a dolphin in one hand and a dove in the other. Pausanias[144] describes the old statue, pointing out the fact that the reasons for representing her like that were obvious, and report that it had burnt in a fire, and the sanctuary remained without a cult-statue for a long time – and the land had become barren, until the Delphic oracle advised the Arcadians to offer a new statue to Deo, who gave birth to a horse (*ἱπολεχοῦς Δηοῦς*)[145]. Following this recommendation, a new bronze statue was fashioned the renamed Onatas of Aegina, son of Micon, who also had made praised statues offered at Olympia in honor of victories won at horse races and chariot races – those statues were lost but the inscriptions mentioned by Pausanias, and it wouldn't be surprising if these offerings were sculptural groups including horses. It would make a sculptor a horse specialist and a safe

[140] Pausanias, 8, 25, 5
[141] Pausanias, 8, 25, 8-9
[142] Pausanias, 8, 25, 6
[143] Pausanias, 8, 42, 7
[144] Pausanias, 8, 42, 4
[145] Pausanias, 8, 42, 9

choice for the making of an important statue with equine features. Onatas made the new statue following a dream and based on representations of the older statue: it still had a horse head, and the work famous enough for Pausanias to visit the village just to see this statue[146]. The use of Demeter's old surname, Deo, in the Pythic advice put in direct connection with the horse-birth and the representation of the goddess as a mistress of the beats places the horse at the center of the animal realm protected by the goddess in one of her oldest form. At that temple, only vegetal, wool and honey offerings were brought to the deity: the most ancient form of sacrifice, before the introduction of the ritual killing of animals. This connect the wild and animalistic Demeter honored on Mont Elaius to very ancient cults to a mother goddess whose worship, like Poseidon's, might have made their way to Greece from the East, where horses also happened to come from. The context of a cave sanctuary also underlines the chthonian character of the horse.

While Poseidon is the god of horses in the wild, **Athena**, who also holds the epithet of Hippia (Ἱππια), is the patroness of tame horses as well as the inventor of chariots and bridles. She placed the horse into the control of mankind and helped the Greeks build the Wooden Horse before the walls of Troy.[147]

Helios drives a chariot pulled by fire-darting horses[148] in his course around the world and Apollo is sometimes assimilated to him because of their common solar associations, even though Helios was a Titan and Apollo an Olympian.

Artemis, however, interestingly lacks connections with the horse. This confirms the separate status of the horse from the rest of the bestial realm. Wild but foreign, brought by a sea-god, chthonic in nature, tamed and civilized thanks to Athena's craft, a suitable attribute of Demeter, goddess of a cultivated earth, horses do not belong with the mistress of the local wilderness.

a. Riding heroes in Greek mythology

The **Dioskouroi** were the heroic horsemen *par excellence*. The Spartan twins stood at the frontier between divinity and humanity as the fatherhood of the eggs from which they hatched together with their sisters Helen and Clytemnestra was split between Zeus and Tyndareus and only Castor was mortal while Polydeuces inherited his immortality from the Olympian god. They were almost always represented as a pair, riding white horses, and the theme of the horse is present even in the name of the women they abducted and

[146] Pausanias, 8, 42, 11
[147] Burkert, 2003, p. 141
[148] Pindar, *Olympian Ode 7*, 71

married: the daughters of Leucippos[149] (the "white horse"). They represented the ideal figure of the dual Spartan kingship. Two aspects of the mythology of the horse riding pair confirms the link between horses and the underworld and with the sea. Indeed, devastated by Castor's death, his brother obtained from Zeus to split his immortality with his beloved twin, so they would spend half the year together in the Hades and the other half in the Olympus.[150] Furthermore, Poseidon, touched by the brotherly love displayed by the pair, gave them power over the wind and the waves, making them the help of sailors.[151] It is possible that the horse was a later addition to an old cult of the twins, but it was, once again, associated with a cult that dealt with monstrosity as the twins were a source of fascination but also of fear and taboo[152] (emphasized in the Dioskouroi's story by their half death and half immortality).

The Corinthian prince **Bellerophon**, who was sired on the queen by Poseidon, managed to catch Pegasus thanks to a golden bridle offered by Athena[153], which involved a process of breaking the horse, but once the bond installed, the two became inseparable and the names of horse and hero echo each other in their mythology. The fact that the most famous pair of fantastic horse and rider in Greek mythology were in fact brothers from the same father underlines the respect between rider and mount – the latter wasn't viewed as an object or a slave but as a peer. Besides, for this particular pair, the horse had a more heroic destiny than his rider: Bellerophon is finally thrown off Pegasus' back because of a fly sent by Zeus to punish his hubris when he attempted to reach the Olympus[154]. And while the hero is left wandering, lame and blind, Pegasus, once a friend of Zeus and of the muses, lives on as a constellation[155].

A horse, even an immortal one, could however be passed to several men: the black-maned Areion, son of Demeter and Poseidon, had three successful owners[156]. Onkios was the first man to tame him, and he passed him to Herakles, who rode Areion into Elis and later gave the horse to Adrastos[157], who raced him at the Nemean games[158] and drove him into battle with a chariot. The immortal horse was well-praised in literature, but considered as a property

[149] Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 80
[150] Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 243
[151] Euripides, *Helen*, 1511
[152] Walker, 2015
[153] Pindar, *Olympian Ode 13*
[154] Pindar, *Isthmian Ode 7*, 44
[155] Pseudo Hyginus, *Astronomica*, 2, 18
[156] Pausanias, 8, 25, 5
[157] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 346
[158] Callimachus, *Fragment 11*

that could be passed from hand to hand even though it was a highly respected, admired and valuable animal. Areion was always given to his next heroic owner rather than sold.

Famous heroes and heroines had their names and history associated with horses. **Hippodameia**, a common Greek name in mythology, meaning tamer of horses, was associated with women whose destiny involved some horses. Hippodameia[159], daughter of Oenomaus, was won as a bride by Pelops through his tricky victory at a chariot race against her father. Another Hippodameia[160], bride of the Lapith Pirithous, was almost abducted, along with the other women present, by the half-men half-horses Centaurs at her own wedding; the wedding guests, including Theseus and other brave Athenians, won the battle known as Centauromachy, an episode so famous that it was judged worthy of the friezes on the Athenian Parthenon.

Hippolytos, on the other hand, means unleasher of horses, probably because of his wild and foreign origins: Theseus fathered him on an Amazon[161], Hippolyte herself in some accounts[162]. The etymology of his name followed him to his tragic end, torn apart by his own horses following. Indeed, he was devoting his life to Artemis and a hunting life away from women's passions, and his step-mother's Phaedra, who had conceived a forbidden love for him and was spiteful at his disdain, convinced Theseus that the youth had tried to rape her. Because of that Theseus used a wish that Poseidon had previously granted him to curse his own son, and the god sent a sea monster to madden the horses. The creature involved in this episode can be linked with the Taraxippos that maddened the horses on the Olympic course: many interpretations of what the mysterious Taraxippus might really be were discussed in Antiquity, but Pausanias believes that it was actually a nickname for Poseidon Hippios.[163]

b. Horse-related creations

Mythical creatures formed from horses help understand the cultural associations and creations around the animal.

The **centaurs**, half-horse half-men, incarnate the horses' wilderness. Chiron was the eldest and most just centaur.[164] He was born from the union between

[159] Pindar, *Olympian Ode 1*, 71
[160] Homer, *Odyssey*, 11, 630
[161] Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 10
[162] Isocrates, *Speeches*, 12, 193
[163] Pausanias, 6, 20, 18
[164] Homer, *Iliad*, 11, 831

the sea nymph Philyra and the god Cronos, who changed into a horse in the middle of action to escape the spying eyes of his wife Rhea.[165] He was the eldest and wisest of the centaurs, he had a very particular status as a divine teacher, who raised gods and heroes, amongst which Asklepios[166], Aristaios[167] and Achilles[168]. His status was very unique even amongst his own kind. The other centaurs are believed to be the result of the union between Ixion and Nephele, a cloud fashioned by Zeus in the image of Hera to test the respect that Ixion had towards his godly host. In other versions, Nephele and Ixion had a son, Centaurus, who mated with the wild mare of Magnesia, fathering the centaurs of Mount Pelion. These were considered as wild creatures, with crude passions. The Centauromachy[169] was the most popular theme involving Centaurs, and pointed at their brute character: the wedding hosts and guests represented Hellenism and civilization while the Centaurs represented the barbarians and their vile desires, interrupting a refined human wedding party to try and abduct the bride and women guests. The battle was used as a main theme for the architectural sculpture of several sanctuaries in Greece. The Parthenon in Athens and the temple of Zeus in Olympia both displayed representations of the myth as it was a religious pillar for the PanHellenic union between the Greek cities against the barbarians.

The creation of centaurs might have originated from seeing foreign riders on horseback[170] before riding was integrated in a society: riders from afar would have appeared as horses with human torsos and heads. This theory applied to the Greek world would also explain how Centaurs became the most spread metaphor for barbarians.

Traditionally, all centaurs were male: no representations of female centaurs are known before Macedonian mosaic of the "House of Dionysos" at Pella, now exhibited at the Pella Museum and dating from the end of the 4th century BC, and there are no mentions of female centaurs in Greek literature: on the contrary, centaurs are known for their unquenched lust and their desire to abduct human women.

Fig. 3 – Horse-tailed satyr

[165] Apollonius of Rhodes, 2, 1231
[166] Homer, *Iliad*, 4, 215; Pindar, *Pythian Ode 3*, 1
[167] Pindar, *Pythian Ode 9*, 26
[168] Homer, *Iliad*, 11, 832
[169] See in this chapter II, 2, b
[170] Chase, 2007

Even though **satyrs** were more commonly men on the upper part and well-endowed he-goats from the waist down, Archaic and Classical representations sometimes show them with a horse tail and ears **(Fig 3)**[171]. This underlines the associations made by Ancient Greeks between horses and wilderness.

Fig. 4 – Seahorse

As seen in various parts of this chapter, the association between horses and water was constant and diverse. Horses are not created by the sea god Poseidon as previously discussed[172], but they also give birth to water. The sacred Hippocrene (*Ἵππου κρήνης*) fountain on mount Helicon was created by the beat of Pegasus' hoofs against the rock.[173] The ritual drownings of horses in honor of Poseidon[174] confirm the important associations between horses and water in Greek religion. This association is also found in the hybrid creatures ***hyppokampoi***. Possibly inspired by live seahorses, little fish with a head resembling that of a horse **(Fig. 4)**[175], sea-horses were the companions of Poseidon and established one more link between the god and horses; those sea-monsters were named *ἱππόκαμποι*[176]. Their upper body was that of a horse and they were fishes from the waist down[177]. They belonged to the same world as the tritons and would pull Poseidon's chariot were directly ridden by the god **(Fig. 5)**[178]; they were also associated with other sea divinities, such as Poseidon's wife Amphitrite or Achilles' mother, Thetis[179].

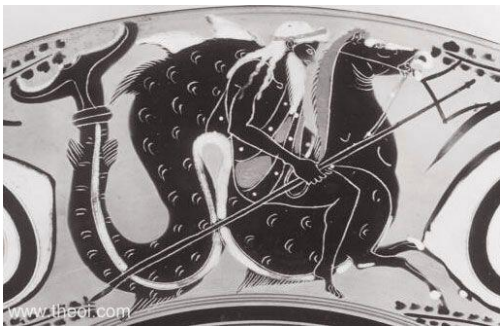

Fig. 5 – Poseidon on a *hippokampos*

[171] Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen; Detail from an Attic red-figured psykter, ca. 500-490 BC; BM Cat. Vases E768, signed by painter Douris

[172] See II, 2, a in the same chapter

[173] Hesiod, Theogony, 2, 1-25

[174] Burkert, 2003, p. 138

[175] Short-snouted seahorse (*hippocampus hippocampus*), species endemic to the Mediterranean Sea. Photo: Hans Hillewaert, CC.

[176] Strabo, 8, 7, 2; Philostratus, *Eikones*, 1, 8

[177] Homer, *Iliad*, 12, 24-29; Euripides, *Andromache*, 1012

[178] Archaic Attic Black Figure cup (British Museum, London B428; Beazly No. 302378) attributed to the Krokotos Group depicts Poseidon holding a trident and riding a sea-horse.

[179] Attic Red Figure Kylix (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 96; Beazley no. 231063) attributed to the Q Painter depicts Thetis riding a sea-horse while carrying Achilles' breastplate.

Pausanias[180] mention the offering of a horse that looked like a whale from the breast onward at Isthmia, showing that the statue of a *hippokampos* was a suitable offering for the sea-god.

III. Ancient in ancient Greek artistic representations

1. Horses on vase painting

While the bulls almost completely disappear from the decoration of Greek pottery after the Mycenaean period, the horse appears in Geometric art. The imported animal abundantly represented by the Dipylon painter and its presence from then on will never fade from the Greek register.

Morin's work of the drawing of animals in Greece[181] is now over a century old but remains very useful because the author used his artistic eye to lead a study based on meticulous and personal copies of Greek vases. He describes how the first Dipylon horses were elongated and clumsy figures of a still strange animal, represented with too elongated necks the way that we would nowadays represent giraffes. Proportions were still off, and shadows were possibly used to render the profile of chariots drawn by pairs.[182]

The relentless Geometric experiments[183] will lead to more realistic archaic horses. The 7th century horse remains very rigid nonetheless, and is seldom the main subject chosen by the painters. Even though painters could surely have accessed first hand models, the very straight attitude of horses or riders is reminiscent of marble riders found on the Acropolis.

In the 6th century, the horses' bodies remain elongated but the rendering of the legs, the manes, ears, hoofs and tails detailed[184]. When represented drawing a chariot, their size is now proportionate to the size of the chariots and of the charioteer, and the bridles are well-positioned. In Athens and Corinth, the two most advanced centers of productions, however, the frontal representation shows a considerable work on muscle and neck rendering but remains clumsy[185]. As seen previously in this chapter, the horse was, in Archaic times,

[180] Pausanias, 2, 1, 9

[181] Morin, 1911

[182] Example: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New-York, 14.130.14, Attic krater dated from the middle of the 8th century, attributed to the Hirschfield Workshop

[183] Benson, 1970, p. 32-59

[184] Example: Louvre, E 874, Attic dinos, first half of the 6th century

[185] Example: Louvre, E 873, the Attic-Corinthian *dinos* dating from the first half of the 6th century

more common throughout Greece, and painters would surely have had first hand models; they might, however have chosen to look at statues for inspiration – the very round eyes of many painted horses could reveal a sculptural model for the animal[186].

In the Classical period, the horse had become a very common subject and could be represented in various contexts and attitudes. Sometimes still in a strict and rigid position to emphasize the allure of the rider, sometimes looking forward and other times to the side, other times full of movement and ready to leap or rush back, pulling a swift chariot, turned by three-quarters, or facing frontally towards the viewer of the vase. In the 5th century, the horse wasn't a foreign animal anymore, it was a completely assimilated subject and the trained and talented Classical painters had learnt to render its spirit in their art. Even though painters would have witnessed races for themselves at the PanHellenic games, sculpture probably remained a source of inspiration; a good illustration of this idea is found in the Attic red-figure kylix by the Foundry Painter **(Fig. 6)**[187], dated from 480 BC, representing a sculptor working on a marble horse in company of Athena – it could be a scene showing Epeius making a model of the Wooden horse, but it could also be the representation of a contemporary sculptor who was so talented that his workshop deserved a divine visit.

Fig. 6 – Sculptor working on a horse statue, Attic red-figure kylix – 480 BC

Hellenistic painted horses were a continuation of their Classical counterparts, with artists using of their artistic freedom to pursue their work on details and movements.

[186] Example: Louvre, F 53, amphora signed by the Exekias Painter, 6th century BC; the horse has very rounded and disproportionate eyes

[187] Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2650. Photo: Bibi Saint-Pol, 2007, Public Domain

2. Small horse offerings: bronze and clay figurines

Small clay figurines of horses and horses with riders were common in various Greek regions from the Geometric period in both religious and funeral contexts[188]. Corinth and Beotia were a particularly important center throughout for the production of equestrian statuettes, with four-fifth of over 500 pieces found in the Corinthian Potter's Quarter have been identified as rider figurines, the earliest ones dating back to the end of the 7th century, and most of them from the 5th and 4th century BC[189]. The Argolid was also rich in these clay figurine, with large numbers found at the Argive Heraion and at Tiryns[190]. The fragments of larger scale terracotta horses were found in the temple area of the Acropolis of Halae in Beotia[191] – the fragments indicate that there were at least two horses; the nearby necropolis revealed clay horses and riders in 6th century BC tombs[192].

Bronze figurines of horses could be very refined, enough to be admired and remembered by the ancient visitor: Pausanias notices the small bronze horse dedicated by Krokon of Eretria at Olympia.[193] The craft needed for the realization of larger statuettes of horses puts them in a very different category than the clay figurine. Rider-less bronze horses were commonly found at Greek sanctuaries in the Geometric period, regardless of the divinity, and started to decrease in number during the Archaic period.[194]

3. Horse toys

Horse toys on wheels with a hole across the jaws so they could be dragged as with a bridle have been found in several children's graves.[195] They seem to have been amongst the most popular toys in Classical times.

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[188] Higgins, 1967, p. 20
[189] Stillwell, 1953, part 2; Eaverly, 1995, p. 7
[190] Waldstein, 1913
[191] Goldman, 1940
[192] Goldman and Jones, 1942
[193] Pausanias, 6, 14, 4
[194] Zimmerman, 1989, dedicates his thesis to the study of bronze horses in Geometric Greece. He interprets these offerings as the image of the dedicator's most precious possession in a choice material, p. 323; this view is debatable.
[195] Coldstream, 2004, p. 1-5

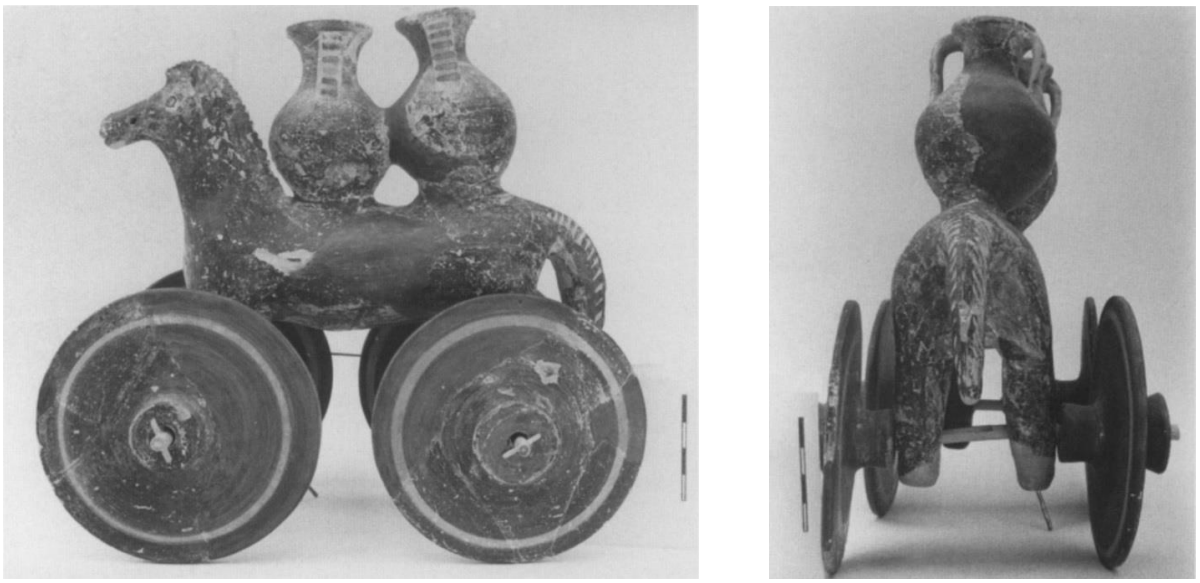

Fig. 7 – a – Protogeometric horse toy with wheels from Lefkandi (L)
b – Rear view of the toy (R)

In Lefkandi, a very well preserved terracotta pack horse on wheels **(Fig. 7 a-b**[196] carries two big vases on its back and has a hole going across its mouth where a morsel would have been, through which a thread could have been tied to enable the child to drag the wheeled toy behind him. These toy horses were possibly inspired by the Wooden horse of Troy, also set on wheel. No warriors are represented on any of the children's horse toys discovered in burials, and even if the wheels might have been imagined after the wooden horse, the toy horses might have represented the real-world's race and transport horses. Of course, transport animals were more often mules and donkeys, but horses were a more luxurious item, and it cost the same to make a clay horse or a clay mule.

These toys show a dream: to one day own a horse – and this dream probably played a role in the construction of a young man's identity. The presence of horses on wheel in children's tombs does not, however, signify that they belonged to household wealthy enough to own horses. Indeed, today's children mostly role-play with models of onerous race cars even when their parents only drive much cheaper models.

4. Equestrian statues: from votive offerings to honorific portraits

Large scale statues of riders appear to be very limited geographically in the Archaic period[197]: even though equestrian figurine was very widespread since the Geometric period, as it was the case for figurine of many other animals,

[196] Lefkandi T 51.3. Photos: Sara Strack, in Coldstream, 2004, pl. 1:1 (8a); pl. 2:1 (8b)
[197] Eaverly, 1995, p. 6-7

large scale statues of riders only appeared in the mid-6th century BC and were limited to Attica and Attic-influenced Delos. Eaverly's catalogue of Archaic equestrian statues only comprises 18 statues, 7 of which were found on the Athenian Acropolis, 4 on Delos, one from the Kerameikos, one from Eleusis and one from Vari; none of them seem to belong in a pair. Fragments and bases from the Athenian Acropolis point to even larger numbers: Keesling estimates that there were at least 9 to 11 Archaic riders on the Acropolis.[198] Riders seem, however, to completely disappear altogether from the Acropolis and Delos after the Persian Wars.

Eaverly derives these works from earlier terracotta paintings rather than with miniature clay offerings and justly underlines the important connections between aristocracy and horses in Archaic Greece, with the many family members of Peisistratos who had the prefix *hippos* in their names (Peisistratos was the son of Hippocrates and father of Hipparchus and Hippias), as well as the fact that *kouroi*, which were so common both in sanctuaries and cemeteries throughout the Archaic period were almost absent from the Acropolis, where the riders could have been a substitute for them.

The connections between horses and aristocracy couldn't be dissociated with the religious aspects of the horse, present both in Poseidon and Athena's cults, making it an important element of Attic religion, and the substitution of kouroi by riders on the Athenian Acropolis could have been a way for Athenian men of aristocratic birth to make dedications referring at the same time to their rank as owning a horse was an expensive privilege, Athenian origin and respect for the Attic deities at important times in their manly life – such as victories at athletic or military events, but their *kouros*-like attitude differentiates them from personal portraits of later periods, which indicates the purely votive character of the offering.

In the Classical period, a few examples of equestrian statues are known thanks to Pausanias, but there aren't many, and all were in Olympia, in explicit relation with victories at the Games. According to him[199], Kleisthenes of Epidauros, who won the chariot race in 516 BC[200], was the first horse breeder who dedicated a statue of himself along with his charioteer, horses and chariot, rather than a statue of the victorious team of horses, which seems to have been the norm. This would be the start of equine statues being associated with honorific portraits of their riders. Of the old Acropolis riders that he sees in his

[198] Keesling, 2003, p. 89
[199] Pausanias, 6, 10, 8
[200] 66th Olympiad

travels, Pausanias simply says that he doesn't know if they are the sons of Xenophon or if they were merely made to beautify the place.[201]

Other honorific equestrian portraits that can be dated back to the Classical period in Pausanias were the group[202] offered by Deinomes at Olympia in honor of his father, Hieron of Gela, tyrant of Syracuse: it showed a man mounted on a bronze chariot made by Onatas the Aeginitan and flanked by two race horses ridden by boys made by Calamis. Hieron had won the Games in 468 BC, a year before his death: the posthumous statue erected in his honor was therefore placed at Olympia around the middle of the 5th century BC. Timon's son, Aesypus, was represented riding a horse next to the statue of his father, around the end of the 5th century, by the sculptor Daedalus of Sicyon.[203] At last, a statue of Xenobrotos of Kos by Pantias standing next to the statue of a horse ridden by his son, Xenodikos, by Philotimos the Aeginitan was dedicated in Olympia.[204] Xenobrotos had won a horse race and the boy a who had won a boxing match in the beginning of the 4th century while the statue mentioned by Pausanias was linked to an inscription dating from the end of the 4th century, about 3 generations later – it could have been offered by a descendant of the victors from Kos.[205] Pausanias makes no mention of such statues in Delphi, and archaeological evidence is poor for equestrian statues of the Classical period.

It is not before the late Hellenistic and Roman times that equestrian statues will become more common, with the clearly honorific character as they became personalized portraits rather than generic offerings. Most mentioned by Pausanias were glorious portraits of victors or politicians.

Pausanias mentioned a good number of Hellenistic and Roman offerings of sculptural groups including horses at sanctuaries: Kyniska, in the second half of the 3rd century, offered her own statue along with the statues of her charioteer, chariot and horses at Olympia.[206] Also at Zeus' sanctuary, the Eleans had offered statues of Philip, Alexander and his general Seleukos on horseback while the slightly less flamboyant Antigonos accompanied them on foot.[207] The Sicyonian Aratus, son of Cleinias, who deposited the Sicyonian tyrant Nikokles in 251 BC and brought his city in the Achaean League, was also represented on horseback: his statue was an offering of the Corinthians at Olympia[208] – clearly a political

[201] Pausanias, 1, 22, 4
[202] Pausanias, 6, 12, 1
[203] Pausanias, 6, 2, 8
[204] Pausanias, 6, 14, 12
[205] Moretti, 1957, n°363; Erbert, 1972, n°49 (IvOl 170)
[206] Pausanias, 6, 1, 6
[207] Pausanias, 6, 11, 1
[208] Pausanias, 6, 12, 5

offering, to the glory of the man who also freed Corinth, only 12 km from his native Sicyon, from the Macedonians and offering the Corinthians the opportunity to join the Achean League.[209] An equestrian statue of Ptolemy was also offered at Olympia.[210] In Delphi, statues of cavalry leaders mounted on horses were dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary by the Phereans after they routed the Attic cavalry.[211]

In literary sources, like bulls, horse statues made of bronze were particularly prized, and artists who specialized in bulls were also masters in equine statues – names such as Aeginitan artists Philotimos and Onatas, or the Argive Ageladas are recurrent. Ancient bronze statues were most of the times victim of erosion and haven't survived the passing of time. In the case of horses, however, a remarkable Hellenistic work has been preserved in the ship wreck discovered in the early 1900s off Cape Artemision in Euboia: even if we can't know the original context of its creation and display, the over-life-size horse mounted by an under-life-size jockey with Ethiopian facial characteristics, now exhibited at the National Museum in Athens give an idea of the level of detail reached in equine bronze works by the 2nd century BC.[212]

5. Offerings of sculptural groups and architectural sculpture featuring horses in sanctuaries

A few sculptural groups featuring horses were offerings representing the gods. Ebony statues honored the Dioskouroi in their Argian sanctuary[213]: the brothers were represented together with their wives Hilaeira and Phoebe and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous. Pausanias mentions the horses, that were made mostly of ebony with a little ivory, but doesn't tell if the characters are riding or standing next to the horses: his description of an ancient sanctuary of the Dioskouroi reports that the gods were standing and their sons riding[214].

Also in a mythological spirit, the Thessalians of Pharsalus dedicated a statue of Achilles on horseback with Patroklos running beside him at Delphi.[215] It is however difficult to date that offering only mentioned in literature.

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[209] Plutarch, *Parallel Lives : Aratus*
[210] Pausanias, 6, 16, 9
[211] Pausanias, 10, 14, 4
[212] Hemingway, 2004
[213] Pausanias, 2, 22, 5
[214] Pausanias, 1, 18, 1
[215] Pausanias, 10, 13, 5

In the Roman period, Herodes Atticus dedicated a chryselephantine sculptural offering dedicated by Herodes Atticus at Isthmia[216] depicting four horses and two tritons drawing a chariot where Poseidon stood next to his wife Amphitrite while Palaemon was riding a dolphin next to them.

Groups including horses could also show the animal as a war bounty: it was the case in the spectacular Tarentine offering at Delphi, made from the spoils taken from the Messapians, and work of Ageladas the Argive.[217] It represented bronze horses and captive women, and both women and animals were displayed as glorious war spoils. This offering was particularly important as it affirmed Taranto's power not only against the defeated barbarians but also against Athens, that had supported the Messapians against Taranto after the Sicilian colony sided with Sparta in the Peloponnesian war.

Another Tarentine group at Delphi was made from the tithe of the spoils from the war against the Peuketioi (who were, like the Messapians, a non-Greek tribe from Southern Italy) and work of Onatas the Aeginitan and Ageladas the Argive.[218] Once again illustrating a victory against a non-Greek people, it featured footmen and horsemen, the heroes of the war – and the horses were the attribute of glorious soldiers.

Fig. 8 – Horse and amazon, *acroterion* of Athenian Treasure, Delphi

Ancient Greek horse sculpture is best-known from temples' pediments, where horses were given a place of choice, drawing chariots and accompanying warriors and Amazons. Large horses belonging to architectural decorations are found at various important sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods: for instance, four Archaic horses[219] in high relief on the Athenian Acropolis, dating ca. 570 BC, drew a now lost chariot, and a quadriga of horses led the chariot

[216] Pausanias, 2, 1 7
[217] Pausanias, 10, 13, 6
[218] Pausanias, 10, 13, 10
[219] Brouskari, 1974, p. 45, fig. 79

carrying the gods at the center of the pediment of the Archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi; a very realistic horse ridden by an Amazon served as an *acroterion* for the treasure of the Athenians at Delphi, built at the transition between the Archaic and Classical periods **(Fig. 8)**[220]; the Hellenistic altar at Pergamon was decorated with four horse quadrigas on its *acrotera*. On friezes, horses were a way to signal the wealth of the procession, give movement to fighting scenes in the context of horse-ridden battles.

5. Horses on funerary monuments

One of the 18 archaic riders discovered and listed by Eaverly was found at the Kerameikos[221], attesting the proper funeral character of horse representation since early Antiquity.

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, ca. 350 BC, featured a splendid Pentelic marble quadriga with bronze harnesses, reminiscent in the posture of the Archaic quadriga from the Athenian Acropolis, but with a Classical ease in the movement and minute details.

Horses without riders or chariots appear to have been rare in funerary sculpture as in religious sculpture: the only examples of free-standing horses without riders that survive are the Archaic unpublished[222] horse now standing in the yard of the Paros museum **(Fig. 9)**[223]: its finding spot is unknown, but it was likely a funerary offering.

Fig. 9 – Archaic marble horse from Paros

Pausanias' description attest the presence of horses on funerary monuments in all periods, but confirm the prevalence

[220] Delphi Museum. Photo: Linda Talatas.

[221] Eaverly, 1995, p. 87, n°5; Kerameikos museum P1051 (wrongly referred to as P6999 in Eaverly's publication)

[222] The statue was mentioned by Eaverly, 1995, p. 6 and Ridgway, 177, p. 140; it probably dates of the 7th century BC; another headless horse statue, which appears to date from the 6th century BC, also unpublished and of unknown provenance, is kept in the same museum yard at Paros.

[223] Photo: Linda Talatas

of groups including equine statues over representations of rider-less horses. He refers to a grave marked by a rider carved by Praxiteles on the road to Piraeus[224], and slabs depicting horsemen fighting[225], a man standing next to his horse[226], a man riding[227]. These descriptions coincide with archaeological finds throughout Greece: funeral slabs representing a dead man next to his horse or riding it, ready to enter the next life with it, were found in many Greek cemeteries, dating from the early Classical period onward. The horse was a sign of the man's wealth, but it was also a companion, just as much as the dogs, another common companion of the deceased in funerary art.

IV. Catalogue and significance of donkey *anathemata*

Only one donkey free-standing statue **(Ea1)** was mentioned in literature, and none was attested in archaeological finds.

Ea1 – A bronze donkey was dedicated at Delphi by the Ambraciots to commemorate their victory over the Molossians[228] was recorded by Pausanias: "ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ **Ἀβρακιῶται χαλκοῦν ὄνον**, νυκτομαχίᾳ Μολοσσοὺς νικήσαντες. λόχον μέν σφισιν ἐν νυκτὶ οἱ Μολοσσοὶ παρεσκεύασαν: ὄνου δέ, ὃς ἐλαυνόμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τότε ἔτυχεν, ὄνον θήλειαν διώκοντος σὺν ὕβρει τε τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τραχύτητι τοῦ φθέγματος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃς τὸν ὄνον ἤλαυνε βοῶντος ἀσαφῆ τε καὶ ἄκοσμα, οὕτως οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τῶν Μολοσσῶν ἐξανίστανται ταραχθέντες καὶ οἱ Ἀμβρακιῶται φωράσαντες τὰ ἐπὶ σφίσι βεβουλευμένα ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί, καὶ ἐκράτησαν μάχῃ τῶν Μολοσσῶν." Pausanias accompanies his mention of the offering with an anecdote explaining the peculiar choice of animal represented in the statue: the offering was a commemoration of the Ambraciots' victory against the Molossians, which was won thanks to the intervention of a donkey. In the story, the Molossians had prepared a night ambush against the Ambraciots, but a male donkey, driven back from the fields by a farmer, was noisily braying while chasing a she-donkey; the angry farmer, trying to calm his animal, contributed to the general frenzy with his own screams, and the Molossians, terrorized by

[224] Pausanias, 1, 2, 3
[225] Pausanias, 1, 29, 6
[226] Pausanias, 7, 25, 13
[227] Pausanias, 8, 9, 5
[228] Pausanias, 10, 18, 4

the noises, came out of the bushes. The Ambraciots, detected the ploy and defeated the Molossians.

While donkeys were more common than horses in everyday life, they were very rarely represented in sculptural scenes, and they appeared on vase paintings, they accompany grotesque compositions with Priapus and satyrs. They were only sacrificed in specific and quasi-anecdotal occasions: as seen previously in this chapter, a donkey sacrifice made to Apollo had made the god laugh at the sight of the animals' large member.

The bronze donkey at Delphi **(Ea1)** was also issued from an anecdotal story involving a rutting male donkey, a grotesque image which was a topic for pleasantries. The offering was unique and anecdotal, as were the stories surrounding donkeys. The help of the animal might have been perceived as a divine intervention and a joke on the defeated Molossians, who tried to win though a trick but were outsmarted by a ridiculous animal.

V. Typology of surviving free-standing horse *anathemata*

While searching for free-standing horses in Greek sanctuaries, I have been confronted with a surprising lack of evidence: while riders are many, from the Archaic marble riders from Athens and Delos to Classical victors and Hellenistic portraits, rider-less horses were very seldom dedicated. While bases can be helpful in the study of other animal statues, it is impossible to know if bases showing attachments for horse hoofs belonged to rider-less horses or to statues of mounted horsemen. The only rider-less horse found at a sanctuary and that therefore can be presented in the catalogue is the half-horse from the Athenian Acropolis **(Ha1)**.

Item	**H1 Horse**
Category	Horses
Sanctuary	**Acropolis of Athens**
Location	**Acropolis - 697**
Datation	**525-500 BC**
Material	**Parian marble**
Size	**H: 1.13 m** **Life-size**

Photo: Tetraktys (Creative Commons)

Description

Found in 1887 to the **East of the Erechtheion.**

The statue shows the fore-body of a horse, almost intact, standing on an oblong plinth, but the sculpture is either cut in the middle of its trunk or made a half-statue, because the cut is very clean. The hoofs and the lower right leg are missing (they have been restored with plaster).
There is no trace of a rider or of a harness.
The nostrils are flared open and the mouth slightly open. The neck is straight and the mane stands up high, with its hair detailed in a minute manner. The thin legs give an impression of swiftness; the left leg is graciously resting on the plinth, ready to come back up, while the right hoof is barely touching the ground.
The frontal position of the animal and the style of its mane are characteristic of the archaic period, but the attention to movement and the careful rendering of every detail indicate that it dates to the beginning of the classical period.
While Dickins has argued that the horse might have been accompanied with with a man on foot, ready to harness the horse, Brouskari interprets the statue as a riderless offering to Athena.
This horse can be considered life-sized as the Skyros breed, the oldest in Greece, ranges between 92 and 112 cm high - this one would be towards the higher range for the breed.

Sources

Brouskari, 1974, p. 140; fig. 249
Dickins, 1912, p. 262-264

1. The Archaic half-horse H1 from the Athenian Acropolis

The half horse **(H1)**, is the closest surviving sculpture to a free-standing rider-less horse offering. It is especially interesting to notice that there was no trace of a bridle or a harness on the statue: it therefore doesn't seem to belong to a carriage, or to be held by a human statue to its side. The horse is advancing with flair and is very well groomed, which suggests that it was a luxury animal.

For Brouskari, it is evident that the horse was an offering to Athena, the image of an animal which had won a *keles* competition by itself, without a rider[229]. Dickins, on the other hand, thought that the horse was accompanied by a jockey on foot, ready to harness the animal.[230] Both possibilities are plausible and unverifiable. Because the cut in the trunk of the animal was very neat, it is also possible that the horse was an in-the-round addition to an architectural program featuring a game-related scene. These uncertainties forbid the use of this horse in the statistics.

VI. Catalogue and chronology of free-standing horse *anathemata* found in ancient written sources

Literary sources do mention a few offerings of free-standing horses **(Ha1-Ha5)**, but even the literary catalogue is scarce: written sources showed that offerings of riders and chariots were much more popular than rider-less horse statues.

1. Catalogue of offerings known from literary sources

Ha1 – A statue of Aura, the mare of the Corinthian Pheidolas, at Delphi[231]. Pausanias tells us the story of this special mare, who would throw off her rider at the start of the race, but kept running properly, turned at the post, quickened her pace at the sound of the trumpet, reached the end of the course, and stopped running when she realized she had won. Pheidolas was declared winner to the race thanks to the mare that he owned, regardless of the absence of rider, and the Eleans allowed him to dedicate a statue of his mare, whose well-suited name meant "breeze": *"ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα*

[229] Brouskari, 1974, p. 149
[230] Dickins, 1912, p. 263, cf. Acropolis museum statue base no. 571
[231] Pausanias, 6, 13, 9

μέν, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὔρα, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν: καὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περί τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν, ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς πλέον τὸν δρόμον, φθάνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἀφικομένη καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Φειδώλαν καὶ ***ἀναθεῖναί οἱ τὴν ἵππον ταύτην*** *ἐφιᾶσιν."*

Ha2 – The statue of a horse dedicated by the Athenian Kallias, son of Lysimachides, at Delphi[232]. There was an inscription on the statue indicating that Kallias had made this offering from the spoils that he had taken during the Persian War: *"**τὸν δὲ ἵππον**, ὃς ἐφεξῆς τῇ εἰκόνι ἐστὶ τοῦ Σάρδου, Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας Λυσιμαχίδου πατρὸς ἀναθεῖναί φησιν ἰδίᾳ περιποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου χρήματα."* Here the horse appears to be a male as the masculine is used. [233]

Ha3 – Bronze horses offered by Kyniska at Olympia[234]. Pausanias indicates that these were not as large as real horses and stood in the *pronaos* of Zeus' temple on the right of the entrance, and that the offering was made to Olympian Zeus as tokens of an Olympic victory: *"καὶ **ἵπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοῖ**, σημεῖα Ὀλυμπικῆς νίκης: οὗτοι μέγεθος μὲν ἀποδέουσιν ἵππων, ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τοῖς ἐσιοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ."* Kyniska made other offerings at Olympia, including statues of one of her chariots, charioteers and herself, but these horses seem to have been the sole subject of this particular offering.

Ha4 – The "Wooden Horse", made of bronze, on the Athenian Acropolis.[235] Pausanias indicates that Menestheus, Teucer and the sons of Theseus were peeping out of the offering of the "Wooden" horse of the Trojan war at the Acropolis of Athens. The statue illustrated the story according to which Greeks sneaked into Troy hidden in Epeius' statue of a horse: *"**ἵππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς**. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μηχάνημα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐήθειαν: λέγεται δὲ ἔς τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνδον ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα: καὶ Μενεσθεὺς καὶ Τεῦκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως."* Pausanias doesn't give any detail on the artist when commenting on the statue – possibly

[232] Pausanias, 10, 18, 1
[233] Jacquemin, 1999, n°93
[234] Pausanias, 5, 12, 5
[235] Pausanias, 1, 23, 8

because the sculptor was still famous enough in the 2nd century AD for his name to be omitted. Pausanias also states his disbelief regarding the legend, and prefers to consider that the "Wooden Horse" was really a war machinery designed to breach the city gates. This statue could be considered as a sculptural group since several warriors are featured in the work, but the subject of the offering is really the horse, which is also reflected in the way the ancient called the statue: for this reason, it is categorized here as a free standing monumental horse offering. The argument that the offering was set in the yard of the Brauroneion is plausible[236], but Pausanias sees the statue nearly five centuries after its dedication and his ambiguous description only enables the placing of the statue somewhere between the Brauroneion and the temple of Athena Ergane: its dimensions make it unlikely that it was moved to the Chalkotheke, built against the precinct of Artemis, but it could have been set in the yard immediately outside Artemis' precinct. Pausanias lists it together with a series of bronze statues, several of which involved Athena. The horse was likely an offering to Athena. A scholium on Aristophanes' *Birds*[237] brings more information about this offering, noting that it bore the inscription *"Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκε"*[238], and therefore, had been dedicated by Chairedemos, son of Evanggelos, from Koile.

Hb1 - Inscribed base of the Wooden horse on the Athenian Acropolis.[239]
Four out of six large marble blocks belonging to this base were found on the Athenian Acropolis: the reconstituted base measures 5.08 m long and 1.74 m wide.[240] Two blocks were found inside the precinct of Artemis Brauroneia and the other two between the Propylaea and the Parthenon, but none were *in situ*. The proportions of the base and its cuttings suggest that it held an over life-size equine statue - three of the blocks have one large attachment, possibly for horse hoofs. Stevens[241]

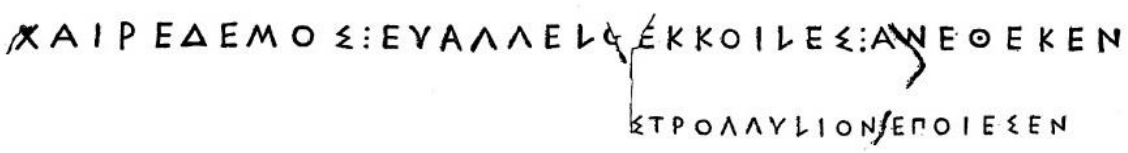

Fig. 10 – Inscription on the base Hb1 for the "Wooden horse" Ha4

[236] Hamdorf, 1980, p. 231-235; Stevens, 1936, p. 461
[237] Scholia on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1128
[238] Koile was a deme of Athens, in the proximity of Piraeus.
[239] Keesling, 2003, p. 87, DAA 176; Corso, 2004, p. 55-56; Stevens, 1936, p. 469-461
[240] Mattusch, 1988, p. 193
[241] Stevens, 1936, p. 460

presents a reconstitution of the monument. The proportions of the base suggest that the horse stood at ca. 3.5 m at the withers and ca. 5m from the hoofs to the top of its head.[242] The shorter side of the base bears the inscription **"Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκεν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησεν" [243] (Fig. 10)[244]** indicating that the offering was made by Chairedemos, son of Evanggelos, from Koile. The name of the artist is missing from the inscription but it was likely the work of Strongylion.[245] The inscription, combined with the colossal dimensions of the base, enables us to connect the base with the statue of the "Wooden Horse" **(Ha4)** as it matches the description of the dedication made by the scholiast of Aristophanes.[246]

Ha5 – The Wooden Horse, made of bronze by Antiphanes of Argos, offered by the Argives at Delphi[247]. Pausanias associates the statue with a battle between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives for Thyrea: *"τὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καλουμένης Θυρέας Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγῶνα καὶ Ἀργείων, Σίβυλλα μὲν καὶ τοῦτον προεθέσπισεν ὡς συμβήσοιτο ἐξ ἴσου ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἐσχηκέναι πλέον ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ* ***χαλκοῦν ἵππον—τὸν δούρειον δῆθεν****—ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς: τὸ δὲ ἔργον Ἀντιφάνους ἐστὶν Ἀργείου."*

Hb2 – Possible base of the Wooden Horse of the Argive at Delphi[248]

A long limestone pedestal found at Delphi[249] has been attributed to the bronze Wooden Horse mentioned by Pausanias because of its large size and a large circular mortise slot (diameter and depth: 24 cm) that could only correspond to the hoof of a large quadruped on the only preserved surface block. Dimensions: height: 1.26 m; length: 6.30 m; preserved width: 2.27 m). Another smaller and square mortise slot (8x9 cm, depth: 10 cm) is to be found on the same block as the attachment slot for a

[242] Hurwit, 1999, p. 229, estimates that the horse stood nearly 6 m high, with four life-size warriors coming in and out of it. Mattusch, 1988, p. 193, offers dimensions of 3.5 m to the withers and 4 to 5 m to the top of the head. Steven, 1936, p. 460, suggests 5.75 m from the top of the base to the top of the horse's head.

[243] Inscription: IG I², 535; Raubitschek, 1949, no. 176, p. 208-209

[244] Keesling, 2004, p. 91, fig. 2; after Loewy, no. 52.

[245] Corso, 2004, p. 55 compares the signature to the one in IG I³, 895, the only certain signature by Strongylion

[246] Scholia on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1128

[247] Pausanias, 10, 9, 12

[248] Jacquemin, 1999, n°67: "cheval de Troie" ; Bommelaer, 1992, p. 281-286 ; Vatin, 1981, p. 148-163 ; Pouilloux and Roux, 1963, p. 60-66

[249] Fondation: Atlas 111.414

hoof; its use remains enigmatic – Roux offers the hypothesis that it could have been used to attach a ladder to the horse for the hidden soldiers; it could also have been used for a support pillar.

2. Chronology of the offerings known from literary sources

The chronology of the horses dedicated at Olympia and mentioned by Pausanias can be approximately dated thanks to the records of Olympic victors. The statue of Aura **(Ha1)**, Pheidolas' mare, was dedicated after her victory at a race: in the following passage, Pausanias goes on to comment that Pheidolas' sons were registered as victors at the 68th Olympiad – that is 508 BC.[250] This implies that the dedication of the mare Aura was made before 508, and probably not more than 30 years before: it can be dated from the second half of the 6th century BC. Kyniska, the Spartan princess who also dedicated horses at Olympia **(Ha3)**, was born ca. 440 to the Spartan king Archidamos II, and the surviving inscription accompanying some of her votive offerings at Olympia was dated from 390-380 BC:[251] her votive horses can be dated to the beginning of the 4th century.

The statue of a horse dedicated by Kallias at Delphi **(Ha2)**, was offered from the spoils he received from the Persian War: we therefore know it was dedicated not long after 479 BC, to the beginning of the Classical period.

The "Wooden Horse" on the Athenian Acropolis **(Ha4)** was likely built shortly before the production of Aristophanes' *Birds* in 414, which coincides with Strongylion's *floruit* at the end of the 5th century BC.[252]

As for the "Wooden Horse" offered by the Argives at Delphi **(Ha5)**, even though Pausanias seems to connect it with a battle fought in 548 BC, but the association with the sculptor Antiphanes suggests a much later work. Frazer[253] justly suggests that was probably made after another battle, fought in 424 BC, which also involved the Argives and the Lacedemonians at Thyrea, as did the first battle, and was known to Thucydides[254]. At the end of the 424 BC battle, the Argive took a booty of twenty-five talents from the Lacedaemonians, and the bronze Wooden Horse that they sent to Delphi was certainly offered as a part of the tithe from these spoils.

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[250] See annex "Timeline of Olympiads" for the complete table of correspondences between Olympiads and the contemporary western calendar.
[251] Dittenberg, *Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 5.160
[252] Corso A., p. 55
[253] Frazer, vol. 5, p. 265
[254] Thucydides, 6, 95

VII. Controversial fragments and bases

The Archaic horse head fond at Delos and exposed at the museum[255] most probably came from an equestrian statue; two equestrian statues, also exposed at the museum, belong to the same time frame.[256]

The many horse fragments from the Athenian Acropolis[257] are also difficult to use, as they could be part of equestrian statues or architectural programs: the fragments of statues indicate that there were between 9 and 11 Archaic riders and 17 possible bases for horses and equestrian groups on the Acropolis[258], and three of these bases were likely for chariots.

Raubitschek identifies four bases on the Acropolis that would have been suitable for marble horses[259] and ten for bronze horses[260] based on the rectangular shape of the bases and the inscription on the shorter side of the base.[261] The presence of so many bases suggest the presence of many statues including a horse: it is, however, impossible to differentiate bases of free-standing equine statues and equestrian bases. The literature would suggest that most statues were of mounted riders rather than of horses.

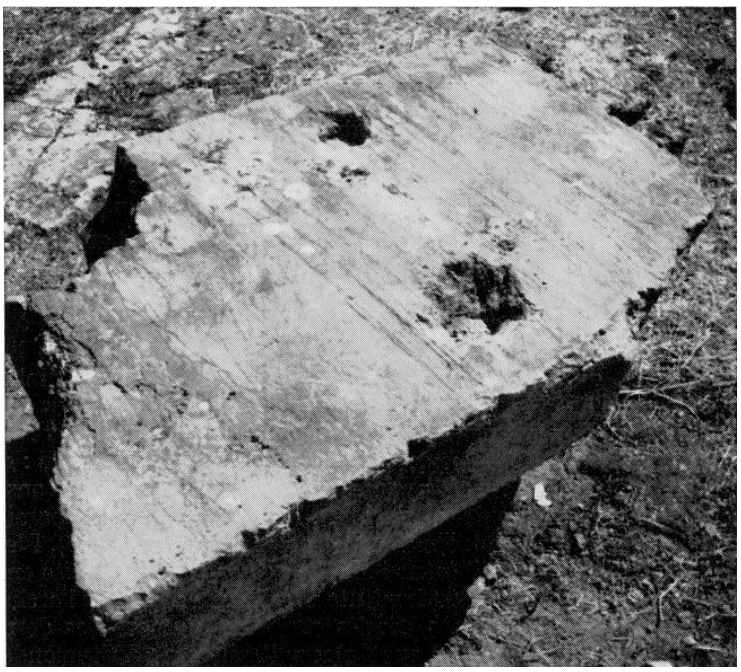

Fig. 11 – Upper surface of the base Inv. 3198 at Delphi

In Delphi, for instance, a fragment from a rectangular base with attachments for horse hoofs and an inscription indicating

[255] Delos museum, A4101; Eaverly, 1995, cat. no. 18
[256] Eaverly also repertories fragments of riders. Eaverly, 1995, p. 121 sq.
[257] Eaverly, 1995, p. 2, no. 10, based on Glowacki K. "Archaic Animal Sculpture from the Acropolis", 1987, unpublished Master's thesis from Bryn Mawr College
[258] Keesling, 2002, p. 89
[259] Raubitschek, 1949, no. 65, 67, 148 and 169
[260] Raubitschek, 1949, no. 77, 88, 147,168, 171, 173, 174, 176, 221 and 227
[261] Raubitschek, 1949, no. 61, 64 and 71

that it used to carry an offering dedicated by the Pharsalians[262], raised controversy: two large fragments[263] of a limestone plinth were found at Delphi, towards the entrance of the sanctuary (total estimated dimensions of the plinth: height: 0.25 m; length: ca. 2 m; width: 0.885 m). One fragment **(Fig. 11)[264]**, without a number, presents two mortise slots corresponding to the hoofs of a large quadruped (diameter ca. 8.5 cm), their positioning suggests the hind hoofs of a horse. The other fragment, Inv. 3198, bears an inscription on the width of the front side indicating that the offering was dedicated by the Pharsalians and the statue was a work of the Thessalian sculptors Herakleidas and Hippokrates; that fragment shows no mortise hole and another surface fragment, where a third hoof would have been, is missing. It is impossible, however, to be know with certainty if the base belonged to the statue of a horse of a mounted rider.

None of the bases found at any sanctuary with attachments for horse hoofs, unless they could be associated with an equine statue – whether surviving or known from literary sources. Only two bases of horses, **Hb1** and **Hb2**, could clearly be identified as bases for horse statues, because of the strong clues connecting them to **Ha4** and **Ha5**.

VIII. Significance of large scale free-standing horse *anathemata*

1. Sanctuaries receiving equine dedications and links between them

Only five offerings of free-standing statues of horses and one of a donkey are attested in Greek antiquity, a very low number in comparison to the rich presence of horses in temple architecture and the increasing popularity of equestrian statues from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. These five offerings were distributed in three sanctuaries only: Olympia, Delphi and the Acropolis of Athens, arguably the three most important sanctuaries in ancient Greece.

These sanctuaries had in common the hosting of Panhellenic games: the Olympic Games, the Pithian Games and the Great Panathenea were all occasions for Greeks from the whole Greek world to come, meet and compete

[262] Jacquemin, 1999, n°389: “statue d’un cheval”; Vatin, 1964 (publication of the second fragment found), p. 446-454; Marcadé, 1953, p. 35 ; Pomtow, 1921 (publication of the first fragment, Inv. 3198)
[263] Delphi, Inv. 3198 + fragment without number found in 1963
[264] Vatin, 1964, p. 449, fig. 4

against each other; chariot races and riding competitions being among the oldest and best famed sports.

Of the five offerings, two were representations of the "Wooden" horse of Troy, one at the Acropolis of Athens **(Ha4)** one at Delphi **(Ha5)**. Two other offerings were made at Olympia (**Ha1** and **Ha3**), both in the context of victories at the games, and one at Delphi **(Ha2)**, from personal spoils obtained from the Persian wars.

2. Life-size and colossal free-standing horses: rare *anathemata*

Dedications of horses were few and anecdotal. Their general absence from as free-standing offerings is striking when compared to the very high numbers of horses in Archaic small votive offerings, free-standing equestrian sculpture of riding *kouroi* at Archaic Athens and Delos, Classical chariots and victorious riders at Panhellenic sanctuaries and Hellenistic portraits, as well as in-the-round pediments since the Archaic period, and high-reliefs temple decorations. Horses are shown as companions of men in temple friezes, funerary reliefs and vase paintings, and represented on their own in small-scale sculptures and figurines, but only very rarely the centerpiece of valuable offerings. The few free-standing horses without a rider, a chariot or a conductor are either representations of the emblematic "Wooden horse" **(Ha4, Ha5)**, through which the Greeks won the Trojan War (and in which they represented their *metis* and the divine will that guided them rather than an animal), or offerings made in specific instances. Both known free-standing horses offered at Olympia were done in special circumstances: when horses won a race for a woman **(Ha2)** who couldn't be present at the event but would rather attract the visitors' attention on free-standing horses associated with her name rather than on the figure of a chariot rider, and in the anecdotal case of the mare Aura **(Ha1)**, who won a *keles* for her master after throwing off her jokey. Both offerings were *mnema* as well as *agalmata*. Only one of the three free-standing horse dedications other than the "Wooden horse" escapes to this rule: the horse **(Ha2)** offered to Apollo at Delphi by Kallias, son of Lysimaches, who dedicates the horse from his share of the spoils at the Persian War – possibly as part of a *dekate*; the theme of that hose is likely chosen to illustrate the dedicator's valor as a soldier through the choice-companion for heroes and as an *agalma* of an animal appreciated by the god. The usual way to dedicate a large-scale horse was undisputedly as a part of a composition, in which the chariot or the rider were the central theme and of the statue and the horse a valorizing accessory to the deity, warrior or athlete represented in a chariot, riding or leading a horse.

3. Horses for victory

Horses were common in votive sculptures commemorating Olympic victories, but within sculptural groups representing chariots, mounted riders or victors standing next to their horse rather than as a freestanding animal.

The offering of the statue of the mare Aura **(Ha1)** differs from other animal dedications as it was the portrait of an individual horse and not a generic idea of the animal as it could be the case for cattle or other categories of animals, which would be represented as a "perfect" sacrificial victim for instance, but not portrayed after an existing animal of individual importance. Pheidolas' mare represented an anecdotical riderless victory, while usually, statues including horses also had a chariot or a rider; the jokey or chariot leader were not necessarily the victor but people working for them, and the true subject of the statue was the action of competing as a symbol of a victory. The custom was for a competing breeder to dedicate a statue of his winning chariot rather than of himself as the Laconian Evagoras did at Olympia: the switch of focus from the chariot as a subject to the statue of the breeder occurs over time.[265]

Kyniska offer both a statue of herself, of her chariot, and freestanding horses **(Ha3)** at Olympia: she is an exception to the norm, and the magnificence of her offering likely had to do both with her social status and her inability to physically attend her own victory; as a woman, she was could not be physically present at the Olympic games. However, as a Spartan and the daughter of a ruler, she was likely encouraged since childhood to reach excellency not only inside her home. Her Olympian offerings reflected her thirst for uniqueness and glory as stated in the surviving inscription accompanying one of her dedications at Olympian which she boasts, in the first person, to be the only woman in all of Greece to have received the victory crown. [266]

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[265] Cleosthenes was the first breeder to dedicate his own statue at Olympia. Pausanias, 6, 10, 8

[266] IG IV, IvO 159:
Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ]
πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, ἅ[ρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων]
νικῶσα Κυνίσκα εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασε· μόν[αν]
δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό[ν]-
δε λαβῆν στέφανον.
[...]
Ἀπελλέας Καλλικλέος ἐπόησε

4. Offerings of bronze "Wooden" horses

Bronze representations of the horse-shaped contraption that had won the Greeks their most epic victory was an important theme for offerings: two out of five offerings of free-standing horses were statues of the "Wooden" horse (**Ha4** and **Ha5**). Their bases were found and confirm that these two were also the largest horse offerings at sanctuaries; the Acropolis base **(Hb1)** was ca. 5 m long, while the one at Delphi **(Hb2)** ca. 6.3 m long, which means that these colossal offerings stood between 5 and 6 m tall, four to five times larger than real horses. The very few statues larger than these horses were well-famed and impressive statues of the gods: the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, inside the Parthenon, stood ca. 13 m tall, and the bronze statue of Athena Promachos, in front of the Propylaea, ca. 10 m tall. Considering that the "Wooden" horses were both long and high, the amount of material used for the colossal bronze horses was comparable to the amount needed for the tallest statues of Athena. The size was an important aspect of these representations, as the original Trojan horse had to be wide enough to host thirty armed Achaean warriors: the representations, at least the one on the Acropolis, included life-size warriors. However, unlike equestrian statues, even though they included human figures, the subject of the statue was the horse itself rather than the warriors it contained, and the offerings were known as *"doureios hippos"*.

The statue offered at Delphi **(Ha5)** was a public offering, collectively dedicated by the Argive, while the one offered at the Acropolis of Athens **(Ha4)** was given by a single local person, Chairedemos, son of Evanggelos, from the deme of Koile. In both cases, the artist was from the same city as the dedicator: the Argive hired Antiphanes of Argos, while Chairedemos' statue was made by Strongylion, an Athenian sculptor, who does not need to add his city of origin for his name to be recognized when working in his hometown. Even though Chairedemos makes an individual offering, his name suggests his family's interest in public and political affairs.

The horse offered at Delphi **(Ha5)** appears to have been dedicated following the conflict between Argive and Athenians in 424 BC, while the one at Athens **(Ha4)** was made some time before the production of Aristophanes' *Birds* in 414 BC: both horses appear to have been offered in the same decade, and it is likely that the horse offered at Delphi inspired the Athenian offering. Both offerings are made in the midst the Peloponnesian War,[267] in which Argive and Athenians

[267] Fought from 431 to 404 BC

were allies against Sparta. The Argive had dedicated their horse at Delphi in the context of their conflict for the region Thyrea against the Lacedaemonians, a battle foretold by the Sibylle, and the Argive sent the bronze horse made by Antiphanes to Delphi to show their worth.[268]

The "Wooden horse" was reminder of the Greek *metis* and, by choosing it as a subject for their offerings placed at the frequented oracle, and on the Acropolis, Athenians and Argive manifested their rightfulness in the conflict against the Lacedaemonians and deep belonging to the oldest of Greek traditions to the eyes of the many visitors of Delphi and the Athenian Acropolis. At Delphi, the offering was likely addressed to a larger audience, while the Chairedemos' offering on the Athenian Acropolis was an encouraging reminder for the Athenians themselves of their own power, and the craftiness of their protecting deity: Athena had already saved the Greeks at Troy when the situation seemed at its grimmest, and citizens of Athens needed to believe that she would help them again out of the difficult conflict against the Lacedaemonian League. Therefore, even though the offering at Athens **(Ha4)** might have been placed in the yard of the Brauroneion, it was most likely addressed to Athena – Polias, Hippias, or Promachos – as the eponymous goddess of the city was the one who could save the Athenians.

[268] Pausanias, 10, 9, 12 "*Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἐσχηκέναι πλέον ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ*"

Dogs

I. A historical overview

1. Breeds

Bred for millennia from several varieties of wild canines into mankind's customized companions and assistants, domestic dogs (*Canis lupus familiaris*) have been present in the Greek settlements since the earliest periods: the first known dog representation **(Fig. 1)**[1] dates from the third millennium BC[2]. Osteological studies on Ancient Greek dogs are lacking but canines are very well represented in art and literature: thanks to these testimonies, several breeds are attested in the Ancient Greek world. The earliest written sources categorize dogs per their functions but breeds start being named in literature from the 5th century. [3] As for horses, Xenophon is a very rich source for a better understanding of ancient dog breeds; he was interested in valuable and useful domestic animals and dog breeds and training are at the center of his treatise on hunting.[4]

Fig. 1 – Representation of a dog on an Early Bronze Age pithos, Rafina

[1] Detail of a storage pithos dating from the Early Bronze Age (2500-2100 BC) found in Asketario, a neighborhood of Rafina: a dog is carved on the surface of the vase. Athens, NM 8902. Photo: © National Archaeological Museum, Athens. The dog could be of the Alopekides species.
(www.namuseum.gr/collections/prehistorical/neolithic/neolithic10a-gr.html)

[2] Trantalidou, 2002, p. 96

[3] New Pauly Online, "Hund": 90 mentions of dogs in Homer, in which dogs are defined by functions (ex. hunting, guarding, defending); from the 5th century onwards, breeds are distinguished in texts (ex. Laconians in Pindar, Fr. 106 and Sophocles, *Ajax*, 8; Indians in Herodote 1, 192; Molossians in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai*, 416). The New Pauly Online article on dogs is very complete and provides with ancient references that will be used in this chapter.

[4] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*

Laconian dogs[5] **(Fig 2)**[6] were known for their strength; they were an expensive breed, resulting from a careful breeding and mostly used for hunting, and they include several varieties. The Laconian dogs were the most common dogs and the other species were often cross-bread with them. They were short-haired dogs with a slender figure and a pointy muzzle. Xenophon differentiates the **Alopekides** (*ἀλωπεκίδες*, "fox-like") from the more common-stream hunting dogs, as well as the **Castorians** (*καστόριαι*), after the name of the creator of the breed.[7] Both varieties were included in the larger category of Laconian dogs, but Xenophon insists on the particularity of the Alopekides: he believes that they are the result of an actual mix between dogs and foxes that occurred long before his time. Both Alopekides and Castorians often suffered from numerous afflictions and deformations[8], which are characteristic of inbred dogs. The "standard" Laconian dogs, less interesting to Xenophon, were likely less prone to congenital illnesses than the two "purer" sub-breeds that are detailed in the treatise.

Fig. 2 – Head of a Laconian dog Attic red-figure rhyton

Fig. 3– Molossian dog, Kerameikos

Molossian dogs (Fig. 3)[9], originating from Epirus, were large, sharp and strong members of the mastiff family, used for sheepherding and hunting large game.[10] The "Indian dogs" probably belonged to this category.[11]

[5] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, 3 and 4

[6] Image: members.bib-arch.org. Red-figure Attic dog-head rhyton found in Athens, dating from ca. 480 BC and attributed to the Brygos Painter. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Another very similar rhyton, also attributed to the Brygos Painter, is kept at the Musée départemental d'archéologie Jérôme Carcopino, at Aleria, Corsica.

[7] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, 3, 1

[8] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, 3, 3

[9] Photo: Greatdanegnosis CC; statue kept at the Kerameikos museum, Athens

[10] New Pauly Online, "Hund", based on Placht, 1933, *Die Darstellung des Hundes auf griechischen Bildwerken*, doctoral dissertation, Vienna

[11] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, 10

They are characterized by their heavy set, shot neck, broad and short muzzle, heavy dewlap and sometimes pendant ears.

Fig. 4 – Greyhound, Attic grave stele

Greyhounds (Fig. 4)[12], were also known as Cretan dogs or Sicilian dogs; they were particularly useful hunting dogs in the context of horseback hunting.[13] They are characterized by slender limbs, a tall but thin body and an elongated head. They were bred for speed; their descendants are very susceptible to temperature changes and, while they are excellent runners, they need to be kept inside – they can't be used to guard herds outside during cold nights for instance. Their fragility and need to be sheltered from the weather would have made them household pets as well as hunting companions.

Fig. 5 – "Melito" and her Melitan, Attic grave stele

Melitan dogs[14] **(Fig. 5)**[15], were small, short-legged, weak and long-haired dogs with a pointy muzzle. They were primarily lapdogs, and sometimes used as a watch dogs[16] – probably more for their bark than their bite. They survive in the modern Greek breed known as *Kokoni* (after a Modern colloquial term for "daughter"): they are recognized as ancient and indigenous to Greece by contemporary breeders and visually correspond to many depictions of pet dogs in Greek art. Melitans

[12] Photo: © Staatliche Antikensammlungen and Glyptothek Munich, photographer Renate Kühling. Munich, Glyptotek no. 497. Attic funeral free-standing life-size statue of a large greyhound (L: 85 cm, W: 18 cm H: 37 cm, excluding plinth), ca. 360-350 BC.

[13] New Pauly Online, "Hund", based on Placht, 1933, *Die Darstellung des Hundes auf griechischen Bildwerken*, doctoral dissertation, Vienna

[14] They are known as originating from Malta because of their name (The New Pauly Online) but they are more likely originating from the island of Melita, in the Adriatic: Pliny, 8, 143, cites Callimachus, saying that the dogs originated from the Ilyrian Melita. The modern descendants of the Melitan dogs are the Greek kokoni, but on their representations, some Melitan dogs with longer hair display features that can be found in modern German Spitz and Pomeranians.

[15] Photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College; Attic grave stele of a young girl, "Melisto", ca. 340 BC, probably from Sounio. Fog Art Museum, Harvard, 1961.86.

[16] Strabon, 6, 277; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 7, 40

are often refered to as “Maltese” by modern scholars.[17]

These appear to be the main pure breeds of ancient Greek dogs, but mongrels were also used for various purposes. Herding dogs were often cross-bred and certainly very cheap and easy to acquire. The rural population was probably aware that, aside from being cheaper, cross-bred dogs would be tougher and easier to keep. Like today, the largest proportion of the dogs was certainly issued from natural inter-breeding, and the artistic representations are not necessarily a reflection of the real proportions: rarer and more expensive dogs would have greater chances to be depicted. Interbreeds for shepherd dogs would have resulted in the contemporary Greek shepherd (*Ellinikos Poimenikos*). It is also possible that other dog breeds were present but depictions or descriptions of them were lost. Osteometric studies have confirmed the existence of numerous breeds of dogs of various sizes; the larger group of dogs correspond to what is considered nowadays as small to mid-size dogs (60-70 cm in height).[18]

Mentions are also made of feral dogs (domestic dogs gone wild): these were often described as impure animals, feeding off detritus and carrion. In Homer, dogs feed on the dead bodies of fallen warriors, and readily eat the discarded genitals of enemies.[19]

2. The place of the dog in ancient Greek society

Dog breeds were developed for their different functions: hunters’ auxiliaries, shepherds, guardians, or simply pets, dogs were present in almost every area of society, and feral dogs were present on its fringe. Dogs that had a practical function could, nonetheless, be pets: dogs with the physical characteristics of hunting hounds are often represented on banqueting scenes, as an integral part of the household, even during celebrations.[20]

House-dogs, friendly to the family and their guest, would sometimes attack unwelcome visitors.[21] They bore names that were not very far from today’s dog names: Xenophon proposes a list[22] of suitable dog names for hunting hounds, that could be translated as: Soul, Pluck, Buckler, Lance, Watch, Alert, Keeper, Patrol, Fencer, Blitz, Rome, Life, Prowess, Jolly, Force, Trooper, Bustle, Yelp,

[17] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 107
[18] Mackinnon, 2014, p. 272; Trantalidou, 2006, p. 99
[19] Homer, *Iliad*, 22, 75; *Odyssey*, 18, 86
[20] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 108
[21] Pausanias, 3, 15, 4
[22] Xenophon, *Cynegiticus*, 7

Killer, Strong, Sky, Sunbeam, Wistful, Dove, Dwarf, Dash, etc. He underlined the fact that dog names should be short and easy to pronounce. It is easy to imagine that lapdogs would have different names, giving more accent to their beauty and sweetness, than the hunting dogs on which Xenophon focused his interest. Even though it is difficult to estimate the concrete monetary value of dogs, it is clear from Xenophon's hunting treatise that hounds carefully bred were a luxury animal and certainly could be acquired for a fair amount of money. Good hounds were also a noble gift, especially in a romantic context.[23]

Albeit man's best friend, there was also something impure about dogs, and for that reason, they were refused entry in several sanctuaries, such as the Athenian Acropolis, Delos and other sacred islands.[24] There was no known cure for rabies, but Greeks were aware of the disease[25], and this might explain why good dogs were susceptible to become maddened by a deity in mythology. Pausanias even offers the disease as a real-life hypothesis about Acteon's death: in his opinion, the hunter's dog had gone mad without divine interference and would have torn to pieces anyone they met.[26]

The naming of the Cynics ("*Κυνικοί"*) contains the ambivalence of the ancient sentiments towards dogs: simultaneously pure and impure – even though the name was certainly originally intended as an insult, to describe a vile and dirty lifestyle, the term was embraced by Diogenes[27] and later Cynics, proud of their indifference to luxury, shamelessness, readiness to guard what is precious to them and ability to recognize friends from enemies.[28] Consequently, the use of the name "dog" to describe the lifestyle of the Cynics by both themselves and their detractors gives an interesting insight as to the status of the animal, unclean yet a domestic companion, dangerous yet friendly and protecting, unfit to enter the Acropolis, yet sacred at the Asklepion of Epidaurus.[29]

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[23] On vase paintings, dogs were a common gift in scenes of homoerotic affairs; in mythology, several hounds were given as precious love gifts: a good example is the dog Laelaps, first given by Zeus to Europa, to guard his lover (Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica*, 2, 35), and then by Artemis to Prokris, who regained the love of her husband thanks to the excellent hound, in the tale of Prokris and Kephalos (Pseudo Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 189)

[24] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 111b

[25] Pausanias, 8, 19, 3

[26] Pausanias, 9, 2, 4

[27] Stobaeus, 3, 13, 44, quotes Diogenes

[28] Scholium on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, in Dudley, 1937, p. 5

[29] Simoons, 1994, p. 236

3. Dog meat and sacrifices

The usual belief is that dog meat wasn't consumed and that dogs were not proper sacrificial victims, but chthonian offerings reserved to specific contexts. However, recent studies have shown that dog bones have been found in many sanctuaries, often mixed with the bones of common sacrificial victims, such as cattle, sheep, goats and pigs, and show traces indicating they were being eaten.[30]

Gunnel Ekroth[31], who has gathered the published evidence on dog bones found in sanctuaries in the context of her study on meat in ancient Greece, notes that these bones, although they bear the same butchering marks as the rest of the bones and are usually unburnt: she gives the example of the "sacrificial area to the north of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, where the food debris consisted primarily of unburnt bones from sheep, goat and pigs, but also included the remains of two dogs with marks from knives, demonstrating that they had been skinned and gutted."[32] At the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, 9% of the 119 identified bones came from dog.[33] She also reports that "food debris from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia contained the remains of one dog, some of which showed signs of being butchered, mixed with the bones of cattle, sheep, goat and pigs."[34] In that sanctuary, the finds show one dog for at least 25 cattle individuals, 32 ovicaprine and 5 pigs.[35] And a "more direct example of dogs being used as food comes from the kitchen in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos, where the bones consisted of cattle, pigs, sheep and goat and a small amount of dog."[36] Two out of the 29 bone fragments from that deposit came from dogs.[37] A large amount of dog bones of over 33 individuals, that had been deposited in a series of wells near the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, show clear indications that the animals had been eaten in the same way as the rest of the animals found on the site.[38]

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[30] Ekroth, 2007, p. 258
[31] Ekroth, 2007, p. 258-259
[32] Ekroth, 2007, p. 258
[33] Studer and Chenal-Velarde, 2003, p. 180
[34] Ekroth, 2007, p. 259
[35] Gebhard and Resse, 2005, p. 140
[36] Ekroth, 2007, p. 259
[37] Leguilloux, 1999, p. 451
[38] Ekroth, 2007, p. 259, no. 34; Tuchelt, 1992, p. 75

The current argument[39], that dog meat was probably not usually from sacrificial victim *per se* – and the absence of burning marks corroborates this idea – but sometimes used as an addition to the meat of victims during the boiling process[40], to increase the amount of food, is convincing. This would mean that dog meat was consumed in non-ritual contexts and wasn't a premium ingredient, but not a taboo either and could serve as a complement to other nobler meats. Besides, the osteological evidence related to dogs in Greece shifts after the end of prehistory and indicates that few of the recovered canine bones from historical times come from juvenile individuals, indicating that dogs were normally allowed to grow old within human villages, and were therefore certainly not a primarily source of alimentation.[41] As Dimitra Mylona remarks, "the connection of dogs with healing […] went far beyond the consumption of dog flesh as a restorative food." [42] In this regard, it is interesting to note that, in the end of the 5th century, Hippocrates recommended the consumption of dog and puppy meat.[43] Dog meat was certainly a controversial and rarer food as is horse meat in our contemporary society.

Of the divinities to which dogs were sacrificed in ancient written sources, Hekate[44], the Kynosphagis[45], appreciated this offering the most. Her tight associations with Artemis can justify evidence for dog sacrifices at Artemis' sanctuaries, as they might have been directed to Artemis-Hekate. The dog sacrifices made to the dark goddess were often connected to purifications at times of passages.[46] No mention is made of the consumption of such sacrifices, and they were possibly entirely given to the sole pleasure of the goddess, "*χαίρουσα σκυλάκων ὑλακῇ και αἵματι φοινῷ*".[47] Aristophanes reports that the dog offerings left on the ground for Hekate were then consumed by the poor[48], but this statement could reflect on something that happened without being supposed to: the "food for Hekate"might have been intended to remain

[39] Ekroth, 2007, p. 260; Roy, 2007, p. 344-347; Snyder and Klippel, 2003, p. 221-231
[40] See chapter on Cattle for more details on the different stages of meat preparation and cooking at sanctuaries
[41] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 116
[42] Mylona, 2013, p. 156
[43] Simoons, 1994, p. 237
[44] New Pauly Online: "Hekate"; Euripides, fr. 968 TGF; Aristophanes, fr. 608 PCG; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Pax*, 276
[45] Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 77
[46] Triantalidou, 2006, p. 115 and Bevan, 1986, p. 116-117; both refer to passages in Hippolitus, *Elengkos*, 4, 35 in Sophron, *Mimos*; Plutarch, Moralia, 277B—280C; Pausanias, 3, 14, 9
[47] Hippolitus, *Elengkos*, 4, 35, see *supra*
[48] Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 595

unconsumed and left to rot. Indeed, on other passages, Aristophanes accuses the sausage maker to add dog and donkey flesh to the meat he sells as something disgusting.[49]

The other divinities to whom dog sacrifices are mentioned in ancient sources are Asclepios and Hygeia, in Epidaurus, in which case the victims were not eaten[50]. Sacred dogs were kept at shrines of Asclepios, along with sacred snakes, and when the god first came to Epidaurus, he brought sacred dogs with him for medical purposes.[51]

Ares, especially in Sparta, also received dog sacrifices, possibly in the context of rituals for peace.[52] There are also mentions of a massive sacrifice of dogs in Argos for the heroic cult to Linos[53], son of Apollo and Psamathe, daughter of the king of Argos: Linos died torn to pieces by sheepdogs when he was exposed as a baby.[54] Again, this sacrifice does not seem to have been associated with meat.

Dogs were not usually used for divinations, but there could be some exceptions to that rule. Indeed, Pausanias describes the statue of the Elean diviner Thrasyboulos among the statues of the Olympian victors at Olympia, and next to him lied a dog cut open with his liver exposed: Pausanias notes that the dog was obviously a sacrificial victim and, while no people usually used dogs for divinations, Thrasyboulos must have had his own original method of divining with dog entrails.[55]

4. Dog burials

When his friend Patroklos passes away, Achilles sacrifices more than sheep and cows on the funeral pyre: he also slaughtered four horses, two of Patroklos' nine dogs and twelve young Trojan to place in the fire.[56] These offerings were not consumed and were certainly meant as companions for the afterlife, and the dogs were as valuable as the horses and slaves. The text specifies that the dogs offered in sacrifice belonged to the hero – which suggests emotional ties in the relation with the animals. Moreover, they are referred to as *τραπεζῆες*

[49] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1399
[50] Triantalidou, 2006, p. 115; Bodson, 1988, p. 121; Porphyrius, De Abstinentia, 1, 14 and inscription SIG³, 1040, 9-100 dating from the 4th century BC.
[51] Simoons, p. 236
[52] Triantalidou, 2006, p. 115; Day, 1984, p. 27
[53] Conon, *Historicus*, 19
[54] Pausanias, 1, 43, 7; Triantalidou, 2006, p. 115
[55] Pausanias, 6, 2, 4-5
[56] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 171-177

κύνες, referring to the fact that they were familiar animals, fed at the table.

The custom of burying dogs together with humans, regardless of gender and age, spread from the Late Bronze Age throughout Mycenaean Greece until the Geometric period.[57] Only dogs and horses had this special status.[58] They then become much scarcer.

Fig. 6 – Dog buried behind the Stoa of Attalos

The two only surviving examples of dog burials from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods are both burials of the animal alone, within the walls of the city and outside of a cemetery. The first is a dog interred behind the Stoa of Attalos in the 4th century BC, in a rounded pit lined with clay, dug in the bedrock; a large cattle bone close to its head.[59] **(Fig. 6)**[60] The other, a small dog, dates from the late 2nd century BC and was found on the West Slope of the Areopagus, among the ruins of houses and shops. The animal was placed inside a ceramic jar also containing an unguentarium.[61] These two examples illustrate a display of love for pets treated just like family members and given offerings for their journey in the afterlife. Hellenistic epigrams about buried pet dogs[62] were not uncommon and stand as witness for the trend.

From the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, it is also common to represent dogs on funerary *stelai* as companions of the dead[63]: men are often represented with their hunting dogs while women are more often shown with small lap dogs, although there are variations. Together with the horse for male sepultures and birds for female burials, the dog is one of the few animals that is recurrently represented in company of the deceased: this association of the animal with its masters in the afterlife underlines the emotional ties that existed between dogs and humans. The dog was not only doing a job, but was often loved by its humans: its presence brought them pleasure, as shown by the dogs carved on

[57] Day, 1984, p. 29 sq., gives various examples of these dog burials
[58] Mackinnon, 2014, p. 274-275
[59] Day, 1984, p. 25, no. 26; Thompson, 1951, p. 52
[60] Photo: Thompson, 1951, pl. 26a
[61] Day, 1984, p. 25, no. 27; Young, 1951, p. 268 and no. 131; Thompson, 1951, p. 53, no. 14 associates the find with Theophrastos, *Characters*, 21, 36
[62] Thompson, 1951, p. 52, no. 14; *Anthologia Palatina*, 7, 211
[63] Kurtz and Boardman, p. 135-136

the laps of deceased women, but they also cared for the well-being of their fury companions: the big bone placed next to dog buried behind to the Stoa of Attalos is a moving display of this loving concern.

II. Dogs in ancient Greek literature and art

1. Dogs in literature

Since Homeric times, feral dogs were considered unclean scavengers, feeding on human cadavers. While Achilles offers dog-companions on Patroklos' pyre, he also tells his wish to offer the slain body of Hector not to the fire, as it was proper to do with the remains of a hero, but to the dogs: "*Ἕκτορα δ᾽ οὔ τι / δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν*." [64] – a fate more ignominious than death itself. This vision of the impure consummation of human bodies by feral dogs remains in the Classical mind: Sophocles' Antigone is ready to sacrifice her own life to save her brother's body from being eaten[65] by the dogs instead of being given the proper rites.

On the other hand, domestic dogs were the incarnation of loyalty: Argos, Odysseus' faithful dog, is the only one in Ithaca to recognize his master at once upon his return, after twenty years of absence.[66] The episode underlines the special relationship between the man and his dog: Argos turns his ears up as soon as he hears the voice of his master, and, coming closer, he drops his ears and wags his tail in joy, but, as he approaches, the old hound loses his last strength, and quickly dies. Odysseus, under cover, can't show his affection to the dog in the last moment of his faithful companion's life, but he can't help but look aside and wipe away a tear: "*αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ*"[67]. Follows a little conversation between the hero and his swineherd, Eumaeus, who hasn't recognized his master yet: Odyssey mentions that there are two kind of dogs – table-dogs, merely kept for show, and swift dogs, which are suited for hunting. He pretends not to recognize Argos and asks to which category the dog belonged. Eumaeus answers by describing what a wonderful dog Argos was when the hero left for Troy: a wonderful hunter, that could track wild goats, deer and hares by scent, but only lay neglected after his master left. He adds that the women gave the dog no care. The passage shows that the

[64] Homer, *Iliad*, 23, 183-184
[65] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1198
[66] Homer, Odyssey, 290-327
[67] Homer, *Odyssey*, 17, 304

shape of a dog alone didn't speak for its functions: a beautiful dog of a breed fit for hunting could well be just a table-dog, depending on the animal's inclinations.

In the Iliad, comparison with dog is used in a pejorative way with the epithet *κυνώπης*, applied to Agamemnon[68],Helen[69] and Hera[70] in detrimental contexts – Helen literally calls herself "bitch-eyed" in a motion of self-blame.

2. Dogs in Greek mythology: divine associations, metamorphosis and fantastic dogs

They are also attributes of the deities of the night and crossroads, present not only for hunts, but also at birth and death.[71] Cerberus, the three-headed dog and guardian of the Hades, was a good example of this liminal status. However, the dog was such a good friend to men that Pausanias disbelieves that Cerberus was a dog even though the poets described him as such, but rather thinks that the monster was in fact a three-headed serpent that the god of the underworld kept as a hound.[72] Dogs seem to have been more readily associated with female than male deities.

Artemis, to whom Pan had offered a whole pack of seven male and seven female Arcadian dogs[73], often hunts with her dogs: Callimachus describes the male dogs: two were black and white, two red-brown, one spotted; they were extremely strong and could take on even lions. As for the females, they were swifter than the wings, and could easily pursue deer and hares, and even track stags, porcupines and gazelles. Plutarch also notes that the dog was sacred to Artemis[74] and Xenophon of Ephesus[75] reports that dogs were a part of the sacred

Fig. 7 – Hekate and her black dog, Archaic Attic black-figure kylix

[68] Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 159
[69] Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 180
[70] Homer, *Iliad*, 18, 396
[71] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 96; Mainoldi, 1984, 37-59
[72] Pausanias, 3, 25, 6
[73] Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis*, 86 ff
[74] Plutarch, Moralia, 379D
[75] Xenophon of Ephesus, *Habrocomes and Antheia*, 1, 2, 6-7

procession to the Artemision of Ephesos, in which they followed a girl dressed as Artemis.

Hekate, a goddess often assimilated to a darker aspect of Artemis, has an even deeper connection with the animal. She was sometimes known as Kynokephalos[76] or Philoskylakos[77], has many close associations with dogs. Indeed, when the grieving mother Hecuba was changed into a black dog and accompanied Hekate through the forests of Thrace.[78] **(Fig. 7)**[79] The dog accompanying her often appears to be a strong Molossian hound.

Hekate's cult was very closely related to sorcery, and the dog sacrifices that were made to her appear to have been magic acts of purification associated with rites of passage, including childbirth.[80] Hekate is often considered to be the mistress of ghosts, accompanied by a horde of howling dogs[81], bringing madness on her way – or healing from madness in the context of certain cults.[82] As a symbol of passage and death, dogs were also associated with the mysterious goddess Ennodia, connected to city gates, funeral rites and ghosts[83]; the same goddess was also associated with horses, and was sometimes also considered as one aspect of Artemis.[84] Dog howls also announced fateful catastrophes[85], which adds to their chthonian associations with the goddesses of death and passage.

Dog metamorphoses seem to affect feminine figures exclusively, and these transformations all seem, at least remotely, connected to Hekate and the madness and monstrosity surrounding her folklore: Hecuba becomes a dog either because her sorrow caused her to start barking, or because the gods changed her to help her escape after she cursed Odysseus, to whom she was given as a slave at the end of the Trojan war.[86] Hecuba stands as a figure of motherhood: she had given birth to 19 children and was witness to their death or dishonor.[87] Even though not all authors agree as to when her transformation

[76] Suidas, *Lexicon*
[77] Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, 44, 195
[78] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 115
[79] Photo: Theoi.com; Museum der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen S101518; Beazley no. 6050. Archaic Attic black-figure kylix, comparable to Kleibolos Painter.
[80] Bevan, 1986, 116-117
[81] Theocritus, 2, 12
[82] Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 122; Pausanias, 2, 30, 2
[83] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1199; Euripides, *Ion*, 1048-1052; Euripides, *Helen*, 569
[84] Triantalidou, 2006, p. 112
[85] Pausanias, 4, 13, 1; Pausanias, 4, 21, 1
[86] Euripides, *The Trojans Women*, 277
[87] Homer, *Iliad*, 24, 496; Euripides, *Hecuba*, 421

occurs, all agree that she was transformed into a god, and this transformation seems to originate from the goddess Hekate.[88] It is also interesting to note the similarity of Hecuba's name, Ἑκάβη, and of the goddess' name Ἑκάτη: the phony of both names is reminiscent of howling dogs.

Scylla, the terrifying monster first mentioned by Homer[89], was often considered to be the daughter of Hekate.[90] Originally a beautiful naiad, she used to bathe often until her waters were poisoned out of jealousy, by the magician Circe, as per some accounts[91]. The poisoning of the water changed her into a monster feared by sailors, with the tail of a sea monster and barking dog heads sprouting out of her body.[92] Her name connects her both to her lineage and to her fateful transformation.

In a purification or healing context, dogs were also associated, to a lesser degree, to male deities: Apollo Maleatas, at Epidaurus, and Zeus Thaulios and Meilichios at Olympia and Dodone received some dog representations[93] and Epidaurian Asclepios received some dog sacrifices.[94] The cult statue of Asclepios at Epidaurus was even accompanied by a dog, lying at the side of the god.[95] Apollo was also given the epithet of Kynneios at Temnos, in Asia Minor.[96]

In mythology, as in life, dogs were the companions of hunters. Aside from the hunting goddess Artemis, these hounds are usually represented with male heroes. Quite a few heroes were represented accompanied with their hounds in art and literature: Kephalos, Actaion, Peleas, Meleagrus, Castor and Pollux, Egests, Hippolytus, Adonis and Orion are all represented with dogs.[97]

Dogs had this double status, of dangerous beasts and faithful protectors at once, and this was expressed in mythological episode. Feral dogs tear to pieces Apollo's offspring when the baby is exposed[98], but, on the other hands, dogs also can be protectors: when Dionysos was exposed as an infant, he was

[88] New Pauly Online, "Hecabe"
[89] Homer, *Odyssey*, 12, 124
[90] Hesiod, *Megalai Ehoiai*, fr. 262 MW
[91] Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 199
[92] See Beotian bell-crater, Louvre CA 1341, dating from 450-425 BC, for the classical depiction of Scylla as a beautiful maiden holding a sword from the waist up, a large coiling tail with spikes, and the front parts of two dogs coming out of her waist.
[93] Triantalidou, 2006, p. 112 and 114
[94] Bevan, 1986, p. 122
[95] Pausanias, 2, 27, 2
[96] Polybius, 32, 37, 12
[97] Trantalidou, 2006, p. 110-111
[98] Pausanias, 1, 43, 7

guarded by a sheepdog until the shepherd found him.[99] Dogs were heroes' most faithful companions, but when turned mad by a superior power, they can turn against the very hand that fed them: Acteon was torn to pieces by his own hounds, under the spell of the angry Artemis.[100]

In Greek astrology, the constellation of the dog, Canis Major, had several different mythological origins; all of them considered the stellar dog as the companion of a hunter. Canis Minor was associated to the dog only later, in Roman astrology. The dog constellation contained Sirius (*Σείριος*, "the Bright"), the dog star, and its ascension marked the hottest days of summer, the "dog days". Sacrifices could be made to the star to call for less heat, and it was sometimes represented as a shining dog on Hellenistic coins. [101]

3. Dogs in Ancient Greek art

a. Dogs on vase paintings

Some of the richest source for dog representation are found in Classical Attic vase-painting, especially by the Amasis painter: dogs were his favorite animal motives. Approximately 20% of his works contain a dog depiction, all of them in realistic rather than mythological contexts.[102]

Recent studies have shed some light on the subject: Revnick[103] and Franco[104], for instance, have closely examined the dogs on the vases for a better understanding of the breeds and attitude. Judith Thorn[105] has presented a different set of interpretations: she has re-examined the material through the eyes of a neuroscientist specialized in dog behavior, advancing, for instance, the hypothesis that scenes usually interpreted as dogs fighting in the background are in fact showing dogs in playful attitudes.

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[99] Pausanias, 2, 26, 4

[100] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1290-2192

[101] Holberg, p. 16-20 makes a very detailed analysis on the mythology, cults and representations associated with the star Sirius

[102] Thorn, 2016

[103] Revnick, 2014, p. 155-164

[104] Franco, 2014

[105] Thorn, 2016: Judith Thorn is a biology professor at Knox college and this article is the result of a lecture given at the CAMWS 2016

Fig. 8 – Friendly dog on an Attic red-figure kylix by the Triptolemos Painter

Most of the dogs represented on vases are shown in playful, cooperative, social and excited postures; representations of aggressive dogs are rare.[106] Hunting dogs can be shown with alert upraised ears, or sniffing the ground – as to emphasize their talents. The dogs most commonly represented are short-haired, knee-high, slender dogs, and can be found in hunting context as well as under a banquet table. The next most common type represented is the Spitz-like Melitans, most of the times depicted in a domestic and familial context. Dogs could be depicted doing tricks, like holding out their paw to their master **(Fig 8)**[107], casually scratching their ear with their paw, playfully jumping, and in many other positions, familiar to any dog owner. A few vases show dogs defecating under the handles, as a transition between the scenes, and outside of the spaces used by the main represented characters[108]: this can be viewed as an attempt to represent a dog in a humorous position, but also emphasizes the animal's training as he exits the main frames to tend to his dirty business.

b. Small votive dog offerings

While dogs are a very common subject for vase painting and sculptural reliefs, small plastic offerings depicting them are quite rare. Considering that the dog was a very common animal, its quasi absence is striking and meaningful: it might have much to do with the religious impurity sometimes associated with this animal. While common sacrificial victims were profusely made into

[106] Thorn, 2016

[107] Picture: Revnick, 2014, p. 155, fig. 1, after Sotherby's, 19 June 1900, *Antiquities*, New York, lot 11. Current location uncertain. The inside of the vase shows the same dog simultaneously defecating and biting the thigh of a naked infibulated young man: maybe a pun around the "*κυνοδεσμή*" used on the young man's genitalia.

[108] Revnick, 2016, p. 156-157 illustrates a few examples of dogs defecating under vessel handles: fig. 4, on an unattributed Attic black-figure, Athens NM 359; fig. 5, on an Attic black-figure by the Amasis Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.651.

statuettes and figurines at a vast range of sanctuaries and dedicated to various dogs, small dog offerings are clearly limited to a small set of appropriate divinities. Elinor Bevan[109] listed the small dog offerings found in the Greek sanctuary she studied, and her studies clearly show that these offerings were almost exclusively addressed to Artemis, especially to Artemis Orthia at Sparta **(Fig. 9)**[110], and, to a lesser extent, to Asclepios, and a few to Hera and Athena, mostly in the Archaic period, at a time when these goddesses were still associated with the Potnia Theron. The small canine offerings offered to Artemis included dogs alone, dogs with a master or mistress, and dogs in a hunting context.

Fig. 9 – Archaic bronze dog for Artemis Orthia

c. Dogs in religious sculptural groups

Dogs could be part of sculptural compositions. Pausanias mentions an over-life-size ("taller than the tallest woman") statue that he attributes to Praxiteles of Artemis carrying a torch in her right hand and with a dog at her left side, that seems to have been the cult statue of an Artemis mountain sanctuary close to Anticyra in Phocis.[111] At the Asklepeion of Epidaurus, the chryselephantine statue of the god was accompanied by a dog lying down at his feet.[112] In both of these cases, the dogs could be considered the sacred companions of the divinity and are linked with their mythology: Artemis is often accompanied by her faithful hounds, who help her in her hunts, and Asclepios brought the sacred dogs to Epidaurus, where they were used for healing purposes. Sculptural groups with Artemis and her hounds were certainly quite common, and Hellenistic bronze originals, now lost, were given a second life by Roman sculptors[113]. A few later works found in Greek cities also show Artemis or Hecate with a dog.[114] In friezes representing hunts or wars, dogs are often present in

[109] Bevan, 1986, p. 394-399

[110] Photo: British Museum; BM 1923,0212.546. L: 5.8 cm. Dating from 700-600 BC. Found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta.

[111] Pausanias, 10, 37, 1

[112] Pausanias, 2, 27, 2

[113] The 1.90-meter-tall Diane with a collared hunting dog kept in the Museo Capitolino, Rome MC0256, for instance, is believed to be the copy of a Greek Hellenistic bronze.

[114] British Museum 1861,1127.73 is a small statue broken above the waist of Hecate with a small dog and probably holding a torch found at Cyrene; there is also a 2nd century AD Artemis with a dog at the archaeological museum of Kos

the scene, adding to the impression of speed or liveliness.[115]

d. Dogs in funerary sculpture: steles, groups and free-standing

Dogs often appear on funerary monuments: Daphné Woysch-Méautis[116], who studied the subject in detail, divides the finds in several categories: for hunting dogs, they can be represented on the base of the monument, on the main frame, in the same scene as a horse, or alone; lapdogs can be represented either accompanying the deceased, or leaping to catch a bird held out to them.

The dogs represented on funerary monuments were certainly the same as the dogs owned by the deceased person: in the case of hunting dogs, especially when represented at the same time as a horse, they might have been a sign of power and high-standing; they could symbolize the love of the man for a good hunt, and reflect his affectional ties to his faithful companion. In the case of

Fig. 10 – Dog meets cat, Athenian base of a funerary *kouros*

lapdogs, the choice of the subject is undoubtedly emotional: the pets that brought the owners joy during their lifetime thanks to their companionship and playfulness are envisioned as ideal companions of the underworld.

One of the three sides of the base of a funerary *kouros*[117] **(Fig. 10)**[118] found in Athens and dating from 510-500 BC shows young men introducing a leashed cat to a leashed dog. The relief illustrates well the entertaining value of pets: the cat was an unusual animal and the meeting between the usual pet companion and the strange Egyptian feline, who looks rather miserable in this situation, would probably make the visitors of the tomb smile at the

[115] Dogs accompany riding warriors on the friezes of the Pergamon altar, and help their masters by biting the legs and tails of the enemies' horses for instance.
[116] Woysch-Méautis, 1982, p. 53-60
[117] Athens, NM 3476
[118] Photo: ©National Archaeological Museum; Marble base of a funerary *kouros*, Athens, NM 3476. H: 0.29 m; W: 0.79 m

Fig. 11 – Funerary dog from Piraeus

reminiscence of the good moments that the deceased young man spent with his friends and their pets.

The only tomb with dogs mentioned by Pausanias was the Achaean sculptural monument of an obviously very wealthy couple: the wife was seated in an ivory chair with her handmaiden carrying a sunshade for her while the husband, represented as a very young man without a beard, was accompanied with slaves holding javelins and leading dogs. In that case, the dogs were an indication of their owner's wealth.[119]

Free-standing statues of dogs were a common grave marker and have been found at various Greek sites: the most famous example is the large 4th century BC Molossian dog[120] lying on a large plinth at the Kerameikos cemetery; its dense mane makes it appear almost leonine, its body is heavily set, his paws have powerful claws. An impression of sadness in the features is accentuated by heavy brows and the mouth is slightly open, as if it were ready to start a mourning howl. Another Attic funerary dog[121] **(Fig. 11)**[122], found in Piraeus, is much smaller appears to be a cross-bred Laconian, that might have been a hunting dog or just a house dog. He has a peaceful attitude and facial expression, with his body recombing to the left and the right front paw casually folded: he is guarding the tomb in a nonchalant pose, indicating that he is in friendly grounds.

[119] Pausanias, 7, 22, 6-7
[120] Fig. 1 in this chapter
[121] Athens, NM 3574
[122] Photo: Hans Ollerman; Athens, NM 3574. Dating from 375-350 BC. Pentelic marble.

III. Typology of the offerings of monumental statues of dogs in sanctuaries – catalogue of archaeological finds and additions from literary sources – and interpretations

Item	**D1 Dog**
Category	Canidae
Sanctuary	**Acropolis of Athens**
Location	**Acropolis - 143**
Datation	**520 BC**
Material	**Parian Marble**
Size	**H: 0.51 m** **L: 1.25 m**

Photo: Acropolis Museum

Description

This marble statue of a hunting dog used to belong to a pair: fragments of the second dog have been found. Both hounds probably guarded the **entrance of the sanctuary of Artemis Braurionia on the Athenian Acropolis**.
The statue has been restored from several fragments.

The dog is crouching, ready to bounce forth, as if it were spying a prey. The outline of the bones appears under the slender ribcage; the muscles of the shoulders and the tendons of the legs are visible, and the deep line running under the neck contributes to the general impression of tension. The eyes are focused straight ahead, and even though the ears are missing, a fixation indicates that they used to be present, pointing up in a listening stance. The lower hind limbs and left front leg are missing; the only remaining fragment of the plinth is attached to the right front paw. The statue has a feel of reality to it and the sculptor paid great attention to details: the rendering of the muscles, tension and bone structure reflect a minute skill. The arches above the eyes and facial features contribute to the general lively impression. The whole surface of the animal is smooth: the breed that is represented was certainly very short-haired.
The eyelids and pupils were enhanced with black paint, and remains of red paint are still visible under the left ear.

Sources

Schneider, 2001, p. 87
Brommer, 1985, p. 40, no. 31
Brouskari, 1974, p. 60; fig. 102
Dickins, 1912, p. 98

1. Presentation of the pair of classical dogs from the Athenian Acropolis

a. The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis

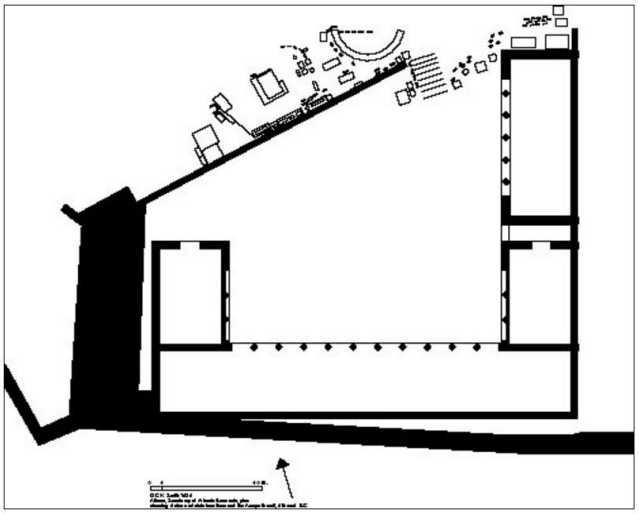

Fig. 12 – Plan of the Brauroneion

Artemis Brauronia had a sanctuary on the southwest corner of the Athenian Acropolis, between the Propylaea and the Chalkotheke. It was originally built by the tyrant Peisistratos, born at Brauron, who changed the local cult into a state cult. The Brauroneion was made of a main stoa, built around 430 BC, ca. 39.4 m long and 6.9 m wide, to the south, with two small wings, ca. 10.1 m long and 6.9 m deep, to the east and west, both built towards north, and a later additional wing built in prolongation of the small eastern wing, measuring ca. 17.2 m long and 6.9 m deep: that extension gave the ensemble an unusual trapezoid shape **(Fig. 12)**[123]. The small stoa to the west is so damaged that its existence is still debated; instead, there might have been a little temple, about the size of the wings, along the north wall, but this tempting hypothesis can be neither confirmed nor infirmed because of the lack of evidence.[124] Studies of the excavation data have shown a complex development of the sanctuary in three distinct architectural phases on top of earlier Mycenaean features, centered on the main stoa.[125]

Tullia Linders[126], based on the treasure records of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis, suggests that the sanctuary had buildings referred to as “Old Temple”

[123] Image: ©C.H. Smith, 1989, based on Travlos, 1971, p. 125, fig. 5.

[124] Despinis, 2010, pl. 42, offers a new plan of the Brauroneion, where he removes the west wing and adds a little temple along the north-western side of the temenos. No concrete evidence, however, supports this hypothesis (cf. Papalexandrou, 2012, book review).

[125] Rhodes and Dobbins, 1979, p. 34: “Phase One consists of a temenos wall along the eastern side of the sanctuary and a Southern Stoa bonding with it. During Phase Two an eastern wing was planned for the stoa, resulting in an alteration of the stoa's colonnade. Phase Three involved the abandonment of the second phase wing, the cutting back of the East Wall and the construction of a long wing on the eastern side of the sanctuary.”

[126] Linders, 1972, p.71-72

and "Parthenon"[127]; but she also advances the hypothesis that most or all the records of offerings kept for Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis are listing treasures located at the main sanctuary, in Brauron.

The "Parthenon" might have been the name of the main stoa, where the little girls who participated in the cult had their communal areas and dining-room: traces of banqueting furniture were found in the north stoa.[128]

Pausanias mentions the Athenian Brauroneion, "*Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν*", and reports that it had a beautiful cult statue of the goddess made by Praxiteles – a colossal head has been attributed to the statue[129], but the most sacred statue, the "*ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν*" of the Tauric Artemis, was kept in Brauron[130], which therefore remained the main center of the cult while the Athens sanctuary was a mere dependency.

b. The pair of free-standing hunting hounds in the Brauroneion

The hound **(D1)** and its pendant formed a pair that must have been positioned in a way that both dogs faced the incoming visitor, and were ready to pounce forward, and towards the middle of the passage that they were guarding. It is easy to imagine that they were guarding the entrance of the *temenos*, to the north east, but they could also have been possible for them to stand watch at the entrance of one specific building within the sacred area: maybe one of the stoas, or a temple, that would have been set to the north-west and is now missing – it is impossible to confirm or infirm such a hypothesis.[131] The choice of Parian marble, a precious import, and the high-level artistic skills displayed in the statue **(D1)** suggest that this was an important and expensive offering, and would match with the idea that the pair of dogs had a strategic placing within the sanctuary.

The animal sculptural offerings of the Brauroneion have not been previously studied together, in the context of their provenance. Giorgos Despinis[132] made an important publication about the offerings from both sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia, the one in Brauron, and the one on the Acropolis, but his study was

[127] Linders, 1972, p. 70, quotes IG II² 1514-31, in which there are several occurrences of these names; IG II² 1524, 44-47: "τάδ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχ|αίου νεὼ παρέδωκεν ἡ ἱέρεα τοῖς ἐπιστά|ταις τοῖς ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄρχοντος εἰς τὸν Παρ|θενῶνα"
[128] Bouras, 1967, p. 71-79
[129] Athens, Acropolis Museum 1352; Despinis, 2010, p. 149
[130] Pausanias, 1, 23, 7
[131] Despinis, 1994, p. 173-198
[132] Despinis, 2010, p. 125-156

centered on the human sculpture, and the several animal statues from the Athenian Brauroneion were omitted in his study.

Two pairs of the offerings we are studying come from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauroneia on the Acropolis: the dogs examined in this chapter, but also a pair of lions that presumably came from the same sanctuary. Because the complex structure of the sacred area, the pairs, even if they have been displayed simultaneously, could therefore have been set at different spots that were all considered as entrances. For instance, the dogs could have been situated at the north-east corner of the sanctuary, at the entrance of the Brauroneion, or at the entrance of a now missing temple along the north-east wall, or even outside of the south stoa's colonnade, keeping watch in front of the door though which the little bears would enter their *oikos* to join in communal activities.

2. Absence of free-standing dog offerings in ancient sources

The dog is the only animal to appear in our archaeological catalogue of free-standing dedications with no literary correspondence: Pausanias does remark on some statues of gods accompanied by a dog in sanctuaries[133], and of dogs as companions of the dead in funerary groups[134], but makes no mention of free-standing dog statues in sanctuaries or in other contexts.

It is interesting to note that even though Pausanias does reference some free-standing offerings, he mentions no pairs of lions, even though the surviving lions discovered in sanctuary excavations were part of pairs. This might indicate a lack of interest for these probably apotropaic offerings, that might not have been original or glorious or anecdotic enough to be described, and were therefore excluded from periegetic descriptions. The absence of the lion pairs from the literary evidence suggest that dog pairs might have existed at other sanctuaries and simply have not survived the passage of time. Fragments of dog statues are difficult to interpret as they could both come free-standing statues or from sculptural groups.

[133] Pausanias, 10, 37, 1: the Artemis of Anticyra, by Praxiteles, was accompanied by a dog; Pausanias, 2, 27, 2: the chryselephantine Asclepios statue at Epidauros included a dog lying at the god's feet.
[134] Pausanias, 7, 22, 7

3. Significance of free-standing dog offerings: apotropaic guardians and Artemis' companions

The provenance of the only known pair of fee-standing dog statues in Greece is not surprising considering the tight links between Artemis and the dogs. The fact that they were hunting dogs would hint at the fact that these were offerings to Artemis in her Olympian aspect rather than gifts to Hekate. Fine hunting dogs were certainly a pleasing present for the goddess, who gladly accepted her faithful pack from Pan and enjoyed the company of her hounds.[135]

But these dogs were also set in a pair, as lions often are in the sanctuaries of the same goddess, and this might have been a sign of their apotropaic value: the goddess' companions could also turn into dangerous beasts if incited to, and Artemis certainly knew how to madden dogs. Acteon's death, torn to pieces by his own hounds as a punishment inflicted by an angry Artemis, was a well-known motive, and a pilgrim to Artemis' temple would know that she could set her dogs against whoever disrespected her or her cult.

If we take into consideration the fact that the Brauroneion was a sanctuary with much poorer offerings than most of the other buildings of the Acropolis, because Artemis Brauronia would mainly receive private belongings connected to family and personal rites of passage, the most precious treasure hosted in the sanctuary might have been the little bears, who represented the future wives and mothers of Athens. The hounds of Artemis might have protected them from intruders. The interpretation of Artemis' Arkteia as a cult where the little girls act as a substitute for the original bear, killed by Athenian hunters, insists on the importance of protecting the bears. If Artemis' bears are harmed (or raped, which would make them lose their required status of *parthenoi*), a plague might fall on the city.[136]

This polyvalent status of the dog as a faithful protector, an excellent hunter and a fierce killer was with no doubt the reason behind the offering of two realistic hounds, ready to pounce, to Artemis. The animal's ambiguous status can make them either chthonian or ouranian depending on the situation.

Dog statues were, since Homeric times, proper guardians of palaces, and a subject worthy of being crafted by a god: Hephaistos had made the gold and

[135] Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis*, 86 ff

[136] Suda On Line, A 3958, "*Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις*", relates the episode in which an oracle told the Athenians that the only way to appease Artemis following the killing of her she-bear was to make their virgin girls play the bear for her. In the story, the wild bear had come near to city and became tame, playing with the girls, until one girl played too rough with the beast, who scratched the virgin with her claws. The girl's brother killed Artemis' bear to avenge her, bringing the goddess' wrath upon the city.

the silver dogs which stood at the entrance of Antinoos' palace in the Odyssey.[137] In the context of sanctuaries of Artemis where she was honored as an Olympian goddess, as she was at the Brauroneion of the Athenian Acropolis, the dedicators of free-standing dog statues offered to the goddess her companions of choice, excellent auxiliaries to her hunts, as well as fierce protectors of her sacred area and of its wards, including her little priestesses or sacred animals.

[137] Homer, *Odyssey*, 7, 91-94; Keesling, 2009, p. 289; Faraone, 1992, 18-21

Lions

I. Live lions in Greece – general context, zoological data and archaeological evidence

1. Natural context, physical behavior and characteristics

The lion, or *Panthera leo*, is a species of the genus *Panthera*, which also counts the tiger, jaguar and leopard. It evolved in Africa between 1 million and 800 000 years ago, before spreading to the Holearctic region[1]. The earliest lion bones discovered in Europe date from 700 000 years ago, with the subspecies *Panthera leo fossilis* at Isernia in Italy. From the *Panthera leo fossilis* derived the later cave lion*, Panthera leo spelaea*, which appeared about 300 000 years ago.[2] Up to the end of the last glaciation, 10 000 years ago,[3] the lion was the most widespread land mammal after humans, throughout Africa, from Western Europe to India and from the Yukon to Peru in the Americas[4]. The two main recent subspecies usually admitted are the African lion, generally accepted to include 6 subspecies (one of these, the *Panthera leo leo*, now extinct, was also known as Barbary lion and used to inhabit regions of North Africa), and the Asiatic lion, *Panthera leo persica*; the latter used to be spread from Asia Minor to India but is now becoming scarcer.

Cave lions are now extinct but some of their physical characteristics are known through cave painting – fossilized tissues or pelage of big cats have never been found: on cave drawings of the Ice Age, especially the ones in the French caves of Chauvet[5], these lions lacked a mane[6]. Fossil studies show that they were about 25% larger than modern lions[7].

The two main subcategories (African and Asiatic) of lions still existing have different physical characteristic: African lions have considerably larger manes, covering up to 50% of their bodies and often fully hiding their ears, while Asiatic lions have much shorter manes – their manes are only hair growth on the top of their head, and their ears are always visible. All Asiatic lions also have a longitudinal fold of skin running along their belly, the same is only very rarely

[1] Yamaguchi et al., 2004, p. 330
[2] Burger et al., 2004, pp. 841-849
[3] Antón and Turner, 1997, p. 15 ff.
[4] Harington, 1969, p. 1278
[5] Wildgen, 2004, p. 130, fig. 12
[6] Nagel et al., 2003, p. 229
[7] Baryshnikov and Boeskorov, 2001, p. 21

found in their African counterparts[8]. African and Asiatic lions are known to have different behaviors: African lions live in prides, which can include several males, while their Asiatic counterparts live solitarily or in groups of two – either a male or a female living as a couple or two females alone without a male.[9] Males usually do not have a fully developed mane until they reach 3 to 4 years of age. Females have four teats.

The lions that naturally were present in Europe in historical times would have been Asiatic lions rather than African ones, but the possibility exists that there were European lions, now extinct, who would have been the descendants of cave lions, and evolved in a different way than Asiatic and African lions have, adapting to their geographical context. Studies on functional morphology and fur patterns in *Panthera* species have shown that mane development is in direct correlation with the climate of a region[10], and that a full mane, while bearing strong social and sexual assets within a pride, cannot develop in a colder climate where the lions need a thick fur covering all of their body. Indeed, a thicker mane would impair their thermoregulation when they have to go through harsh winters. It is also important to keep in mind the fact that African lions live in prides and in a less solitary way than Asian lions, and African males can rely on females, whose body temperature is lower, for hunting; thus, males with thicker mane, who are also the most likely to find a mate, also need to exercise less. That helps to understand why lions of the Pleistocene caves were mane-less, and why African lions have a fuller mane than Asiatic lions. European lions could have existed throughout the Balkans and in Greece, at least the northern part of the country and they would have had a thinner mane than the Asiatic lions as they would have been facing a cooler climate and rough winters in mountainous areas. If the European mane-less lions were indeed a species on mainland Greece, they probably coexisted with of Asiatic maned lions coming from Persia – and the Ionian coast was logically familiar with Asiatic lions.

2. Osteological evidence: lion meat and bone memorabilia

Lion bones and teeth have been found in several locations in mainland and island Greece, in contexts ranging from the Late Neolithic to the Early Iron Age, up to Archaic levels. For instance, in Dikili Tash and Kastanas (Macedonia), Kalapodi (Beotia), Aghia Irini (Kea), Samos, Delphi, Mycenae, Pylos, Tyrins,

[8] O'Brien et al., 1987, p. 101
[9] Bertram, 1991, p. 90; Nagel et al., 2003, p. 229
[10] Nagel et al., 2003, p. 235

Aegina and Aegira (Euboia)[11]. Some of the bones found have been linked *Panthera leo*, thus proving the existence of maned lions in Greece[12]. So far, the earliest lion bone known from the southern part of Greece is a humeral fragment from a male individual, found in a pit at the lower citadel of Tiryns containing pottery of the early Mycenaean Shaft Grave dating from the 13th century BC.[13]

Amongst the lion bones that were found in Greek regions, some show that the animal was consumed: in Tiryns, the bones were hacked and found together with other meal leftovers and in Kastanas, they were burnt and/or cut[14]. The latest find of lion bone showing traces of consumption is a shoulder blade from Kalapodi with marks of butchery and burning and dates from the 7th century BC[15]. On several sites, the only remains of lion bones are loose teeth (Mycenae, Pylos and Aghia Irini) and a claw (Delphi). Only the bones that show traces of consumption are proof that lions were roaming and hunted in the region, as claws and teeth could have been brought from abroad as amulets or pendants: the tooth from Mycenae has a suspension hole and the canine from Pylos has its root sawn off. The two specimens from Aghia Irini and the third metatarsal bone found in Samos were probably imported;[16] they might have been used as amulets or jewelry, kept, offered, sold or dedicated as the memorabilia of a heroic hunt.

3. Lions taken out of their natural context: "paradises" and lion shows

The ritual hunts of the Assyrian kings, also taken up by their Achaemenid successors, were led on horseback or in chariots in enclosed parks, the *ambassu*[17], later called παράδεισοι by the Greeks. Lions for these royal "paradises" were typical gifts of honor for the Persian New Year Festival, as shown on the sub-basement of the Apadana of Persepolis. At the palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, 24 stone reliefs, dating ca. 645-635 BC, depict the king performing the ritual hunt: lions are shown released from small cages, and shot by the king from his chariot and the lions and lioness are represented with very

[11] Yannouli, 2003, p. 184
[12] Thomas, 2004, p. 189
[13] Thomas, 2004, p. 190
[14] Boessneck and Driesch, 1979, p. 446-449; Becker, 1986, p. 167-173; Boessneck and Driesch, 1990, p. 111 and pl. 57; Yannouli, 2003, p. 177
[15] Alden, 2005, p. 337, no. 18; Stanzel, 1991, p. 114
[16] Boessneck, 1981, pp. 245-248
[17] Tuplin, 1996, p. 164

naturalistic details **(Fig 1 a-b)**[18]. Lion cubs were stolen from their mother to be

Fig. 1 – a. Lion released from a cage (L) and b. Wounded lioness (R), Nineveh

placed in these for these hunting areas and in Assyrian zoological gardens. These practices appear to have been known in the Greek world, at least in Ionia: as exposed in more details further in this chapter, Homer refers to the stealing of lion cubs as a common practice.[19] Lions kept in enclosures and regularly fed were an opportunity for the visitors of these parks: even though lions were present in Greece, humans had better chances to observe them closely in Assyria, which explains the more realistic lion depictions in 7th century Assyria than in Archaic Greece, where the nearly extinct lion population was only to be found in the mountainous areas and not a part of Geek artists' visual reality, who would only have seen lion hides at best.

In the middle of the 4th century, Isokrates[20] mentions shows ("*θεωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι*") held in Athens every year ("*καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν*") and in which tamed lions behave more gently towards their caretakers than men towards people who do good to them. In the same shows, bears are shown rolling around, wrestling and mimicking humans. The sophist uses these examples to illustrate the benefits of education and careful training ("*παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*"), which are the key to the taming of wild beasts. These shows, from Isokrates' description, appear alike to modern circuses: if they

[18] British Museum: Details of reliefs from the North Palace of Nineveh (modern Iraq), ca. 645-635 BC. Photos: a. b. Carole Raddato CC.

[19] *Iliad*, 18, 318-322; Alden, 2005, p. 341

[20] Isokrates, 15 (*Antidoses*), 213-214. *"ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν θεωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τοὺς μὲν λέοντας πραότερον διακειμένους πρὸς τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνιοι πρὸς τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας, τὰς δ' ἄρκτους καλινδουμένας καὶ παλαιούσας καὶ μιμουμένας τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐπιστήμας, οὐδ' ἐκ τούτων δύνανται γνῶναι τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅσην ἔχει δύναμιν, οὐδ' ὅτι ταῦτα πολὺ ἂν θᾶττον τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνων ὠφελήσειεν: ὥστ' ἀπορῶ πότερον ἄν τις δικαιότερον θαυμάσειε τὰς πραότητας τὰς τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις τῶν θηρίων ἐγγιγνομένας ἢ τὰς ἀγριότητας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ἐνούσας."*

The text was composed in 354/353 BC: Bliquez, 1975, p. 382.

came to Athens once a year, they were likely also travelling to other Greek cities, making the beasts available for direct observation. Such spectacles aren't presented as new in the text, but as a yearly event: no mention was made of them prior to Isokrates, but they had likely been happening for many years before being mentioned in the Antidoses – possibly since the beginning of the 4th century. Even though lions were certainly almost impossible to spy in the natural contexts, artists who attended these shows were able to observe the anatomy and movements of lions, which can explain a transition towards more realistic lions in statues from the 4th century compared to earlier representations.[21]

II. Lions in ancient Greek literature and mythology

1. Homeric imagery: fierce lionesses

In Homer's epic, lions, leopards and wild boars are regarded as the mightiest of beasts[22]. The *Iliad* uses 28 images[23] where lions attack and fall domestic cattle, such as bulls, or timid wild animals, such as deer, to describe heroic aggression. In these images, men attempt to drive lions away with javelins and burning faggots and they encourage their dogs to bark to frighten lions. These images also present the lion as being a part of the natural fauna known by the Ionian poet, and while giving a pastoral touch to the epic, they also establish that the lion wasn't seen in the Greek Early Iron Age as an exotic figure of almost mythical dimension, but rather as a real predatory roaming about the land close enough to men's abodes to be a menace to their grazing livestock while out on the pastures.

Homer seems to know not only about repelling lions, but about lion hunt as well: in two similes, no prey is mentioned for the lions, which are attacked by men with javelins, when Hector is described as being like a boar or a lion, rounding on the men and dogs pursuing him[24], or Achilles as a lion facing his

[21] Bliquez, 1975, p. 381-384, uses Isokrates' text to come to the realization that "Whatever the number of lions still existing in the mountainous wilds of northwestern Greece and Macedonia in the classical period, it is a fact that lions were available for direct observation under zoo or circus conditions by the middle of the fourth century", contradicting Vermeule, 1972, p. 49-59, who considers that Greek artists were not able to observe lions first-hand and only based their depictions of lions based on motifs from Syria and Mesopotamia.

[22] *Iliad*, 17, 20-21

[23] Alden, 2005, p. 335

[24] *Iliad*, 12, 41-48

attackers, and when he is hit by a javelin as it crouches, foam in its mouth, it lashes its sides with its tail with his eyes glaring and stands ready to either kill someone or be killed[25].

Achilles, when he mourns Patroclus, is compared to a lioness which returns and finds her cubs have been stolen and, grief-stricken, sets out to track down the hunter who has stolen her progeny[26]. This last reference draws clear parallels with Gilgamesh mourning Enkidu and could have been appropriated from the Sumerian epic[27], but since Homer expects his audience to understand the reference to cubs being stolen without further explanation, it is probable that the practice of not killing cubs (for food or as pests), but stealing them (in order to put them in hunting parks, for instance) was known in Ionia at the time of the *Iliad*. Homer's reference to the stealing of lion young suggests that the *ambassu* or similar practices might have also been in used in the Greek world and considered shared knowledge between the poet and his audience[28].

In all Homeric images of lions, the feline is shown as a symbol of strength, courage and merit. When the lion hunts, it always has the upper side and fells its prey with ease; when hunted, it never gives up the fight and turns against its opponents with a formidable rage, which is one of Homer's staple characteristics for heroes; and when it is grief stricken and has been wronged, it still seeks revenge. These characteristics are amplified in the figure of the lioness with cubs: female lions appear as the fiercest adversary for those who disturb the peace of their family, giving them a double status of protectors and predators.

2. Lions in written sources from Classical times until late Greek antiquity

Many ancient Greek orators, playwrights and philosophers used lions as a metaphor for courage and valor in various contexts. Examples can be found in Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Plutarch, etc.[29] Aristotle, even uses this example to illustrate the meaning of metaphors as an oratory technique.[30]

Lions were also a synonym of carnage and disaster: the chorus of the

[25] *Iliad*, 20, 164-173
[26] *Iliad*, 18, 318-322
[27] Alden, 2005, p. 340
[28] Alden, 2005, p. 341
[29] Aeschylus, *Agamennon*, 1256; Euripides, *Heaclidae*, 1006; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai*, 514; Demosthenes, *Leptines*, 20, 86; Plutarch, *Bruta Animalia ratione uti*, 4; *Alexander*, 3
[30] Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 3, 4

Choephoroi refers to Clytemnestra and Aegisthus as *"διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης"*[31], and a woman as cruel and inhuman as Medea could be refered to as a lioness: Jason associates the beast with the foreign cruelty of his former wife and opposes it to the image of a Greek woman.[32] Lionesses were known to be as fierce as their male counterparts.[33]

Lions inspired terror: on an old decorated chest of cedar inlaid with figures of gold and ivory representing scenes of the Trojan War, Pausanias observes that the personification of Fear on Agamemnon's shield had the head of a lion: "*Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος*".[34]

Xenophon, in his hunting treatise, reports lion hunts and lion traps in the Macedonian mountain ranges.[35] Pausanias reports that, in his time, lions lived in the mountains of Thrace, on the Greek side of the Nestus river and reminds that the same lions had attacked the army of Xerxes; he also reports the existence of lions on Mount Olympus, both towards Macedonia and towards the river Pineios in Thessaly.[36] Aristotle confirms the existence of lions in Greece and adds some biological observations: some of his data are inaccurate but proves a knowledge based on more than sculptural sculpture only. For instance, he records that lionesses have two teats while the she-leopards have four[37]: this is inaccurate, but closer to reality than the statues, showing lionesses with 8 to 16 teats; he is also aware that lions have crooked claws like eagles[38] – and Plutarch adds that lions walk silently towards their preys, with their claws retracted.[39] Aristotle also knows that lions usually only have cubs once a year, in the spring time, generally two, and never more than six; that lions shed their milk teeth when they are about six months old, and that, unlike male lions, lioness have no manes.[40] In the same passage, Aristotle acknowledges that lions were rare in his time but, although they couldn't be found everywhere, he

[31] Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*, 935
[32] Euripides, *Medea*, 1343
[33] Plutarch, *Bruta Animalia ratione uti*, 4
[34] Pausanias, 5.19.4
[35] Xenophon, *Cynegiticus*, 11; Bliquez, 1972, p 383, no. 9, however, notes that the passage had been debated as proof of evidence for the existence of lions in that region at the time of Xenophon because Xenophon also refers to panthers in the same passage while Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 606b, 16, states that panthers were not found in Europe, although Aristotle also does confirm the existence of lions in Greece.
[36] Pausanias, 6, 5, 4-5
[37] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 2, 3, 2
[38] Aristothe, *History of Animals*, 3, 9, 3
[39] Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 11
[40] Aristothe, *History of Animals*, 6, 28, 1

attests their presence in Greece, in the region comprised between the Achelous and the Nessus; he differentiates the European lion from the one come from Syria, which would have cubs five times in their lives, five the first time and one less each other time – data which proves a lesser knowledge of the foreign Asian lions, while his observations on lion birth in European lions were accurate.

These testimonies, while not always fully accurate, together with the testimony of yearly lion shows in 4th century Athens, show that, even though lions were difficult to spy, their existence was not disputed in Greek antiquity. Lions were perceived as indigenous wild beasts to the same degree as bears and wolves, whose presence is well attested.

III. Lions in Greek art

1. Origins and evolution of the lion motive in Greek art

In Greek prehistoric art, lions are omnipresent and associated with deities. There might even have been a "lion cult" in Greece, Crete and Asia Minor before the beginning of antiquity.[41] Indeed, the great goddess venerated in these earlier times was often represented as served by lion-headed attendants, which were probably worshippers wearing masks and skins and acting as "lions".

Lions were also connected with power. The representations of lions on the frescoes of Akrotiri in Thera[42], on seals in Argolid[43], and the frescoes of Ayia Irini on Kea[44] often show the lion connected with power, walking at the side or behind a priestess/goddess or priest/god, leaping towards game or cattle, or crouching. Lions in Minoan art generally denote a peaceful character and are maneless, sometimes spotted and associated with mythical animals such as griffons. Unlike later Greek representations, Minoan ones sometimes show man attacking lion but never lion attacking man.

The earliest monumental representation of lions in Greece is well-known: the two felines facing each other, carved on the pediment of the royal palace at Mycenae[45], are a clear symbol of might and power. No sexual characteristics or mane are emphasized, and it is not clear if these are lions or lionesses, but the animal clearly appears as one of the king's emblems. The Homeric context isn't far away, and even though the lion hasn't yet been branded king of the

[41] Lawler, 1947, p. 89
[42] Thomas, 2004, p. 189
[43] Thomas, 2004, p. 163
[44] Abramovitz, 1980, p. 57-85; Morgan, 1998, p. 204
[45] Pausanias, 2, 16, 5, sees the lion gate when he visits Mycenae

animal kingdom, the fame of strength and bravery that is bestowed upon it in the epic clearly draws an association between the animal with royalty.

Fig. 2 – Lion hunt on a Mycenaean dagger

In parallel lions appear on palatial golden stamps and parade weapons, such as the gold-plated dagger from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae depicting a lion hunt[46] **(Fig. 2)**[47]: on the blade of the weapon, three men armed with tall shields and spears and an archer marching from the left to confront the manned and aggressive lion, who stands in the center and whose paws crush a hunter already fallen but still holding his shield for protection, while two other lions flee the hunting scene to the right. The reverse of the blade shows a lion felling a deer, while the other four deer of the flock swiftly run away to escape the feline.

In Early Mycenaean iconography, the lions depicted on 24 object of the Shaft Grave are often connected to violent spurs: Nancy Thomas counts five scenarios of lion action in this particular group: multiple attack, with two or more lions on one prey; overlapped attack, with a lion overlapping and bearing its prey down; flying gallop coupled with attack; lion against man; double hunt, with man versus lion and lion versus prey[48]. These lions are usually represented with fluffy manes, but their ears are always visible. These seem to have characteristics of Asian lions.

During the Geometric period, encounters between man and lion become a recurrent subject. Three small Laconian bronze groups depicting a shepherd and his dog facing a menacing lion have been found, all dating from 750 to 725 BC, two Peloponnesian and probably Laconian, and one found in Samos, but probably made in the same workshop as the two others[49]. On one of these, the lion holds a lamb in its mouth while the man tries to retrieve it, which shows that reason why the shepherd needs to face the wild animal is that the lion is viewed as a pest menacing his herds. Homer conveys similar images of lions attacking cattle and men encouraging their dogs to bark at the beasts. On these three Laconian bronze groups, lions are shown as formidable pests menacing the shepherd's daily trade, not as imaginary monsters or long-disappeared beasts. It is interesting to note that on these bronzes, the lions are depicted

[46] Heitz, 2008, p. 24; Graziadio, 1991, p. 403-440

[47] 16th century Mycenaean dagger, Athens National Museum NM 394. Photo: Wikimedia Creative Commons, anonymous user.

[48] Thomas, 2004, p. 172

[49] Rolley, 1994, p. 109-111 for the two Peloponnesian groups; Schweitzer, 1971, fig 186-187 for the group found on Samos

with no mane, a boar-like snout, but very sharp feline teeth, rounded ears and big cat paws, with the three forefingers separated. In size, they are about twice the size of the dog, but the standing man is still taller than the lion by a third. These representations are an invitation to agree that during the 8th century, lions were still existent even in the pastures of the Peloponnese and constituted a threat that men had to face, helped by their domesticated dogs, to protect their herds, and at least some of the lions that used to roam the southern Greek mountains during the Late Bronze Age were probably mane-less mountain lions.

Some other representations of the same period are painted on clay; for example, a tripod from the Kerameikos[50] shows a man, naked, wearing a helmet, bearing a spear in a hand and a blade in the other, facing a lion on one of the feet of the tripod, around 740-730 BC. As on the bronze group, the lion painted on the tripod slightly reminds of the way boars were depicted during the same period. For example, the pointy ears, the big round eye in the middle of a large head, the tail and the hinder legs. A few spikes on the top of the head remind of a mane, and they are comparable to the spikes on the front paws, representing claws and the spikes within the wide-open mouth for the teeth. Even though present, the mane was not the most striking leonine attribute in this representation as a boar could have been represented with the same amount of hair on the top of its head and along its neck: large size, ferociousness and pointy teeth are what give away the nature of the animal. On this tripod, the size of the lion is emphasized by its position: it stands on its hinder legs, facing the warrior, and the man is only one head taller than the beast when both are standing. This increases the mightiness of the warrior ready to confront the beast and brings a heroic touch to the image. On this type of representation, we can see how the lion is given an aura of courage and singular strength, making it a worthy opponent for a warrior. It is a first step for the animal to gain symbolic value, but the lion holding an almost supernatural strength on the tripod painting does not make it an imaginary monster – on the contrary, it fits in the Homeric tradition of emphasizing the pastoral theme of the epic[51].

2. Lion companions: from the *potnia theron* and eastern deities to the Olympian gods of the Greek pantheon

[50] Kerameikos, no. 407

[51] Lonsdale, 1990, p. 49; Hurwit, 1985, p. 18-24, discusses the older theory that the warrior on the tripod might be Herakles by pointing out that, on the other side of the stand, two shepherds are carrying lambs or calves, and that the vase depicts pastoral scenes and the hardships encountered by the men defending their flocks.

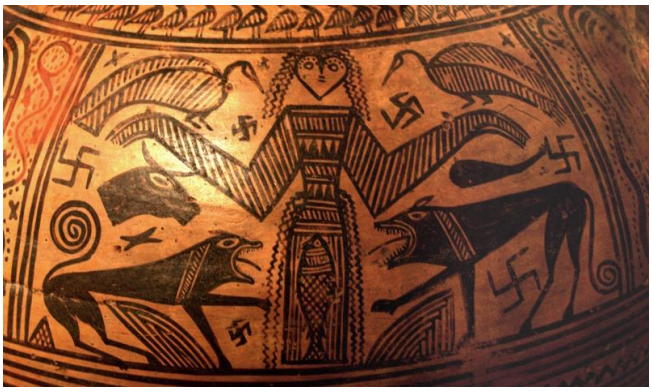
Fig. 3 – *Potnia theron* from Thebes

The lions are regular attendants of the *Potnia Theron*, the mistress of the beasts, since her earliest representations in Greek art. An early archaic Theban vase, for instance, shows the goddess flanked by a pair of lions, a pair of birds, a bull and a dolphin **(Fig. 3)**[52]: lions and birds are represented as symmetrical pairs, placed on either side of the deity. The *Potnia Theron* was evolved in Greece as an early manifestation of Artemis, who keeps a similar aspect in her cult at Ephesus, where her cult statue shows her as the mistress of beasts, surrounded by myriads of animals.

Coming from the East, Atargatis, known in Greece as the Syrian Goddess (*Συρία Θεά*)[53] and nicknamed The Mistress (*balaat*) at her main cult center at Hierapolis in Syria, was essentially a goddess of fertility, and her most common animal attribute was the lion. In the Syrian Pantheon, she was the dominant consort of the lesser god Hadad. Greeks usually associated her with Aphrodite: the cultic association between the two goddesses is richly illustrated in the epigraphy found at the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on Delos.[54] However, her associations with lions and her status of "Mistress" make her a possible figure of origin of the *Potnia Theron*, and therefore, some of her characteristics might have been associated to aspects of Artemis.

Fig. 4 – Figurines of a goddess holding a lion, Brauron

Another Anatolian deity, Cybele, a Phrygian mother goddess, was also strongly associated with lions, was adopted by the Greek cities of Asia Minor, in early antiquity, and her cult spread through the whole Greek world during the Archaic period: statues of the goddess, often enthroned and flanked by two lions, or

[52] Photo: Linda Talatas; Athens National Museum NM 220; ca. 680 BC.
[53] Lucian, *De Dea Syria*
[54] Marcadé, 1969, p. 382

holding a lion on her lap, are found at many Greek sanctuaries of mainland Greece and the Aegean islands from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. Her agricultural aspects have sometimes associated her to Gaia, Rhea[55] or Demeter, but as a mistress of lions, she could also be assimilated to Artemis. For instance, several figurines of a seated goddess **(Fig. 4)**[56] at Brauron, a cult center dedicated to Artemis, are very similar to the representations of Cybele commonly found at Greek sanctuaries.

The Mother of the Gods regroups aspects of different deities and her inclusive denomination illustrates the englobing character of her cult: in Hesiod's *Theogony* and other mythographic works, including the *Homeric Hymns*, the mothers of the god have names: Gaia is at the origin of all things; her daughter, the Titaness Rhea, is the mother of most of the Olympians, while Leto, also Gaia's grand-daughter by both parents, is the mother of Apollo and Artemis, two other important Olympians. In the undated *Homeric Hymn* written in her honor[57], this Great Mother is known as "μητέρα […] πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων", the mother of all gods and men. She is described as a goddess of the wilderness, who enjoys the cries of the wolves and the fierce lions in the mountains, but also as a goddess of music, in association with several instruments. In the same hymn, the Mother also appears as a fusion between several goddesses; in her hymn, the poet does not only salute her, but all of the goddesses at once in the same song, "*καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ᾽ ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ*". She is represented

Fig. 5 – Cybele / Mother of the Gods, Naxos

[55] Rhea is shown riding a lion on several vase paintings. Example: Attic red figure kylix of the late 5th century BC, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 10. 187.

[56] Photo: Linda Talatas; Brauron Museum, no. 44-49. End of 6th and beginning of 5th century.

[57] *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 1-6:
"μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
ὔμνει, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο,
ᾗ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ᾽ ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
εὔαδεν ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων
5οὔρεά τ᾽ ἠχήεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.
καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ᾽ ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ."

in Greek art as an enthroned goddess, accompanied with lions and often holding musical instruments, especially the *tympanon*, also used in foreign cults such as Dionysian celebrations. Rhea is traditionally accepted as the Mother of the Gods, but her images are hardly distinguishable from representations of Cybele. The Mother of the Gods also has characteristics of Demeter, mother of Kore together with her Olympian brother, both being direct descendant of Rhea. But the goddess also might also have been a manifestation of Leto, and of Hera, at times – as well as of other mother goddesses. She can certainly be linked with the Anatolian cult of Atargatis, and the Phrygian instruments she holds together of the wilderness of her cult suggest the mixed origins of her cult as Cybele was a Phrygian goddess. While Greek mythology had many names for its goddess, not naming the Mother of the Gods is a deliberate choice and underlines her global aspect, but the lions guarding her throne **(Fig. 5)**[58] or sitting in her lap are the recurring aspects accompanying her embodiment.

Eastern traditions also regarded lions as a symbol of the sun[59], which explains why the Lydian kings, who had taken the lion as their emblem, represented a sun above the lion head on their coinage, and sunrays emanated from the animal's mane **(Fig. 6)**[60]. The conception of the lion as a solar animal explains the early association of the animal with Apollo since the Archaic period, which seems to originate in the east: Archaic lions are assciated to Apollo at his Didymian sanctuary. In Delphi, an early-7th century ivory statuette[61] **(Fig. 7)**[62] of a male figure holding a knife in the right hand and resting his left hand on the head of a tame lionstanding by his side on its back legs: the eastern style of the sculpture suggest an early association between an Anatolian lion master and the Greek sungod.

Fig. 6 – Lydian Third Stater ca. 610-546 BC

Fig. 7 – Lion god, Delphi

[58] Photo: Linda Talatas, Archaeological Museum of Apeiranthos, Naxos

[59] Bevan, 1986, p. 233

[60] Photo: gold-stater.com; Electrum mint from Sardis, king Alyattes-Kroisos, with the head of a roaring lion with sunrays for a mane on the front and two incuse square punches in the back.

[61] Amandry, 1939, p. 107, pl. 37

[62] Delphi Museum; Photo: Linda Talatas

Lions were, therefore, mainly associated to goddesses in their earlier aspect: the Syrian Goddess and the *Potnia Theron*, who might have been, at times, considered as the same deity, as well as Cybele, have conferred their qualities to several goddesses of the Greek pantheon: characteristics from the older eastern goddesses can be found in Artemis and Leto but also on Aphrodite, Hera, Athena, Demeter, Rhea, or as a combination of the maternal aspect of all goddesses, as the Mother of the Gods. Of the male gods of the Greek pantheon, however, Apollo seems to be the only one connected to lions.

3. Representations of lions and small votive lion figurines at sanctuaries

Figurines of lions and lion votive reliefs are less common than the ones representing birds, horses, cattle, sheep and goats, but are found in great concentration at specific sanctuaries – their repartition is, therefore, an important factor for the understanding of their links with the deities. Votive offerings representing lions were mainly found at sanctuaries of three female deities Artemis, Athena and Hera[63]: they were more widespread in sanctuaries of Artemis, as they appeared in about 50 of her sanctuaries, but only at eight sanctuaries of Athena – mostly at her sanctuary on the Acropolis of Lindos, on Rhodes, where Athena had been assimilated with an older goddess, Lindia, who might have been parallel to the Syrian lion goddess. Lions were considered as suitable offerings for Hera mainly during the Archaic period, and the number of their dedication to the goddess is almost insignificant in the Classical and Hellenistic period. Some of the offerings found at sanctuaries of Artemis, especially in the Archaic period, might have been intended for her mother, Leto.

Sanctuaries of male gods received fewer lion offerings: Apollo received less than half of the number of offerings found at the sanctuaries of any of the three lion-receiving goddesses[64], closely followed by Zeus, especially at Olympia, while only a few lion objects were found at sanctuaries of Poseidon. And even

[63] Bevan, 1986, p. 234, records 600 representations of lions and beasts of prey from sanctuaries of Olympian gods: 130 of which were dedicated to Artemis, and half of these to Artemis Orthia; 230 to Athena, 170 of which came from Lindos, and about 130 to Hera, but the lions from sanctuaries of Hera mainly dated from the Archaic period.

[64] Bevan, 1986, p. 235. Out of 600 representations, Bevan records 55 lion offerings at sanctuaries of Apolllo, 50 for Zeus – mostly at Olympia, and 17 for Poseidon.

at masculine sanctuaries, objects including lion representations could link lions and femininity – like a late Archaic bronze handle in the shape of a lioness found at Zeus' sanctuary in Olympia **(Fig. 8)**[65]. The lioness on the handle displays ten swollen teats, more than twice the natural number, and therefore appears as a maternal figure. Pausanias also notes the offerings of a lion head accompanied with a boar head, made of iron, offered to Dionysos at Pergamon.[66]

Fig. 8 – Lioness bronze handle, Olympia

The repartition of smaller lion offerings at the sanctuaries confirms the important connections between lions and the feminine site of the divine through several goddesses inheriting the characteristic of an older *Potnia Theron* – the offerings indicate that, for Hera, the inheritance from that earlier deity is strong in early antiquity but almost lost after the Archaic period; for Athena, it is found at specific sanctuaries, depending on her local epithet and aspect, while Artemis is a very strong heir of the tradition.

4. Lions in Archaic to Hellenistic sculpture: context and attitudes

a. Lions in architectural sculpture

Fig. 9 – Lion attacking a deer – Archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi, right corner of east pediment

Lions are very present on Archaic pediments, where they appear attacking weaker preys: on the east pediment of the later Archaic temple at Delphi, built in *poros* stone by the Alcmaeonids in the second half of the 6th century, both corners are filled with over-life-size lions attacking a deer on one side **(Fig. 9)**[67] and a bull calf on the other.

On the Acropolis of Athens, lions were at the heart of the decoration program of the pediments of the Hekatompedon, built between 570 and 550

[65] Olympia, New Museum, ca. 550-500 BC. Photo: Diffendale CC.
[66] Pausanias, 10, 18, 6
[67] Photo: Linda Talatas, Delphi museum.

BC on the Athenian Acropolis where the Parthenon now stands: pairs of lions on both the east and the west pediments were set symmetrically, killing and eating bull calves. The lioness devouring a calf on the east pediment is well preserved **(Fig. 10)**[68] but her pendant was lost.

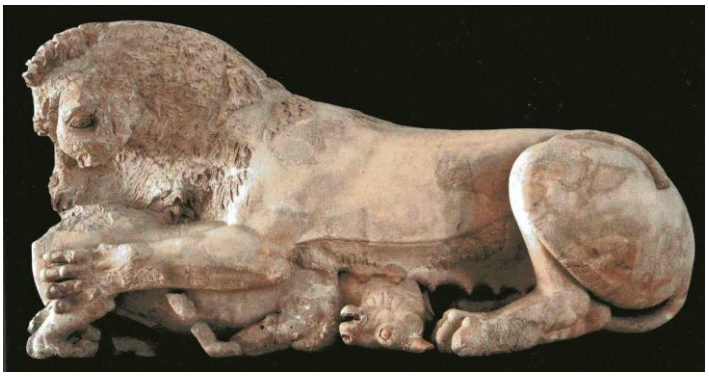

Fig. 10 – Lioness devouring a bull calf – center of the east pediment, Athenian Hekatompedon

The lions of the west pediment are also very fragmentary, but both felines on that scene are attacking the same calf. The lion to the left appears to be a male, standing over the prey in a position of attack; only the lower part of the legs of it pendant are preserved, giving no clue as to its gender. It is possible that both pediments showed a lion couple, attacking the prey on one pediment and devouring it on the other, or males attacking a prey on one side and females eating it on the other. In either case, the femininity of the lioness is emphasized by her multiple mammals: her exposed side shows 8 teats, which suggests a total of 16 if we consider that an equal number of teats is hidden on her right flank. It has been suggested that the artist might not have observed a lioness first-hand as the species was already starting to become extinct in Greece in the Archaic period, as a reason to why her mane is more emphasized than is expected in female representations. However, even if the hypothesis that the artist lacked natural observation of the animal might be valid, the large number of teats is superior to what was observable in female dogs, or even sows – more common mammals that could have been used as models for inspiration. This is an indication that maternity was playing a large part in the symbolism of the lioness on the Hekatompedon pediment, and similar observations will be brought on later in this chapter when treating with the free-standing lioness from Delos **(L12)**. Large felines were an important theme in the architectural decoration of Archaic temples: apart from lions, leopards were also present on reliefs from the Hekatompedon, and a pair of leopards with small manes are set on either sides of a central Medusa with Chrysaor on the pediment of the Archaic temple of Artemis in Kerkyra.

[68] Photo: Fcgsccac, WikiCommons CCBY-SA 4.0

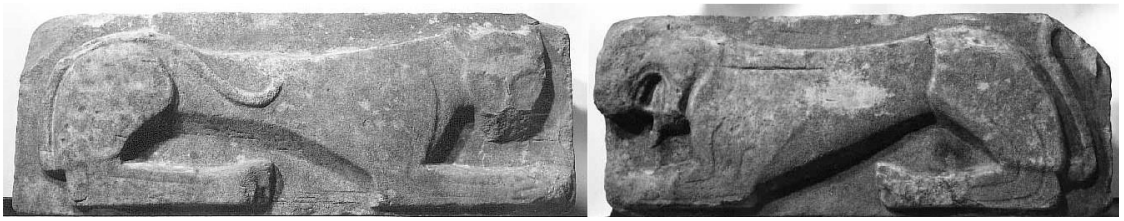

Fig. 11 – Reliefs from the temple of Apollo in Thasos: "panther" (L) and "lion" (R)

Two reliefs with felines from the temple of Pythian Apollo in Thasos **(Fig. 11)**[69], dating around 640 BC, were interpreted as a lion and a panther but the "panther" could also be a lioness, set in a quietly guarding position, watching to the side, towards the visitor, while her actively menacing male counterpart faces straight forward with an open maw.

In the gigantomachy represented on the northern frieze of the Siphnian treasury, a lion is drawing a goddess[70] in her chariot, just behind Apollo and Artemis, and attacking a giant and fighting on the side of the Olympian gods.

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, lions lose their place of honor on the pediments of major temples to scenes featuring mythological episodes, and focusing on anthropomorphic representations. They remain, however, in friezes, where they are a formidable adversary to heroes: the lion of Nemea is often represented in the context of Herakles' labors, at Olympia and Athens, for instance. Lion decorative motives were also often present at Greek temple throughout antiquity in the form of waterspouts: lion heads were the most common decorative waterspouts and were found at many sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Delos, Delphi, Samos, as well as in public buildings. Lion feet were a common ornament for wooden furniture, and, by extension, to the stone furniture of temples, such as thrones for the gods. Waterspouts and furniture in the shape of lion feet have become very widespread in the Classical and Hellenistic period, and were probably used for their aesthetic properties without any deeper meaning.

b. Archaic *Perirrhanteria*: lions and their mistresses

Basins of water used for purification set at the entrance to temples and sanctuaries, appeared in the 7th century BC; the earliest type of *perirrhanteria* featured three or four female figures standing before or on tame lions and

[69] Photos: © Musée du Louvre, Ma 705 (left): "panther" and Ma 704 (right): "lion"
[70] Brinkmann, 1985, p. 77, identifies the goddess on the chariot as Themis, but this reading is disputed and the goddess might have been Leto under the name "Thyia"

Fig. 12 – Base of *perirrhanterion*, Heraion of Samos

holding the beasts in a leash, as in Isthmia[71], or by the tail, as in the Heraion of Samos[72] **(Fig. 12)[73]**.

The basins evolve at the end of the Archaic period into simpler shapes and no figurative decoration on their base, and when Archaistic *perirhanteria* come back in fashion in the Hellenistic period, in Eleusis for instance, archaizing feminine figures appear on the base, but the lions are no more part of the composition.[74] The Archaic perirrhanteria, as the small votive offerings do, confirm the connection between lions and plural feminine deities, and oriental style of the lions and the maidens on the Archaic votive basins are in agreement with the interpretation of a female lion cult coming to Greece from Syria through Anatolia: the female figures of the perirrhanteria are plural but identical and their number could vary, but their lions were always tame beasts, which places them in the position of mistresses of wild beasts. They might have been a plural representation of the *Potnia Theron*, with her divinity distributed in several anthropomorphic vessels – goddesses or priestesses.

c. Lion statues in funerary art and victory monuments

Male lions were the most common free-standing animal grave markers for both private and collective burials.[75] These statues, made by the same artists as the ones who also worked for offerings at sanctuaries, are a rich source of comparison for the less numerous free-standing lion *anathemata* dedicated at sanctuaries. Lion statues were mainly erected on the graves of men, where they stood for heroic courage and honored the men who died in battle. A stone lion, likely erected soon after the Persian War, commemorated Leonidas' battle and

[71] In Isthmia, a fragmentary *perirrhanterion* (H. 0.66 m), ca. 650-600 BC, features four korai in long dresses, with ram heads to the side of their heads, holding in a leash four lions laid down at their feet. See Sturgeon, 1987, p. 196, pl. 1-26.

[72] The base of a *perirrhanterion* from the Samian Heraion (H. 0. 55 m), Berlin SK 1747, ca. 650-600 BC, is made of three similar female figures dressed with a simple long dress tied at the waist with a belt, and each one holds a lion by its tail. See Boardman, 1978, fig. 75.

[73] Photo: © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museeen zu Berlin

[74] Fullerton, 1986, p. 207-217, on the Archaistic *perirrhanteria* of Attica.

[75] Vermeule, 1972, p. 49

self-sacrifice at Thermopylae[76] – a symbol of the general's value but also a memorial of his leonine name: this statue might also be the object of Simonides' epigram, about the value of the man named "Lion", on whose grave stood a stone lion:

"Θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγώ, θνατῶν δ'ὃν ἐγω νῦν
φρουρῶ τῶιδε τάφωι λάινος ἐμβεβαώς.
Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ θυμόν γε Λέων ἐμον οὔνομά τ'εἶχεν,
οὐκ ἂν ἐγω τύμβωι τῶιδ' ἐπέθηκα πόδας."[77]

The epigram, with the lexical association of "*Λέων*" and "*θυμόν*", illustrates that lion statues commemorated warriors who had *thymos*, a strong and brave spirit. The colossal lion of Chaeronea commemorated the heroized soldiers who fell in 338 BC battle opposing the army of Philip II of Macedon and the Sacred Band of Thebes: soon after its erection, the monument was mentioned by Demosthenes[78], who remarks that the seated lion was built as a commemoration of the fallen Thebans and faced toward the direction of the enemy and by Dinarchus, who notes the lions was set on the tomb of the Thebans, who fought to the last man.[79] The 5.3 m marble lion at Amphipolis, in Macedonia, was a grave marker of the same type, and so were several other statues found in Boeotia and now exhibited in the yard of the archaeological museum in Thebes.

Life-size lions were also a common grave marker from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and were particularly abundant in Attica and Asia Minor - the lion was a particularly strong local symbol in Caria.[80] The fashion starts in the Archaic period, with very stylized beasts[81] and become much more realistic in after the mid-4th century.[82]

In Asia Minor, lion statues were also set in public places, outside of the religious and funerary contexts. Miletus, in addition to several funerary lions[83],

[76] Herodotus, 7, 238
[77] *Greek Anthology*, 21, 6
[78] Demosthenes, *Funerary Speeches*, 60, 19
[79] Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes*, 73; Pausanias also mentions the statue, 9, 40, 10
[80] Lions were a solar symbol in the East as seen earlier in this chapter, as well as the emblem of the kings of Lydia, neighboring Caria. Lion heads were found on coinage from Miletus and Knidos.
[81] The Archaic lion (ca. 590-580) found at the Sacred Gate and kept at the Kerameikos museum, for instance, shows a very stylized treatment.
[82] Bliquez, 1975, p. 381-384
[83] Example: recumbent life size lion. Berlin, Antikenmuseen, no. 1790, ca. 525-500 BC; several other lions found between Miletus and Didyma, now placed in the yard of the Miletus museum were likely grave markers.

two colossal 4th century lions were set in the Harbor as a symbol of the city. [84] The Lion Harbor was also the main entry to the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios for travelers coming by the sea. A colossal lion, made of a single block of Pentelic marble, was also set in Knidos, likely to commemorate the place of the great naval victory of Conon against the Lacedaemonians in 394 BC.[85]

The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, built ca. 353 BC, also included large lion statues, likely set on the border of the pyramid roof of the monument: like the colossal lion from the Knidos tomb, their representation was close to real lions; Jenkins even suggests that the park surrounding the Mausoleum might have included a menagerie with lions belonging to the satrap that could have been used as models for the lions on the monument.[86]

Lionesses could be set on feminine graves: no known example survives but the grave of Laïs, on which stood the statue of a lioness holding a ram in her forepaws on the grave of Laïs close to a temple of Aphrodite Melainia at Cranium, near Corinth, is known through literary sources[87]. The image is reminiscent of the lioness devouring a bull call on the pediment of the Hekatompedon, and confirms a feminine association for the theme. The Laïs honored with the lioness was likely a famous courtesan, also known as Laïs the elder[88]; the monument was famous and appears on Corinthian coins with a feminine head to the other side, which might be either the courtesan or Aphrodite herself.[89] The slight consonance of the courtesan's name and the animal's name should be noted.

Statues of lions were therein set on graves, primarily male graves – but a lioness could also be set on a courtesan's grave. On warrior sepultures, they generally represented *thymos* and heroic sacrifice. Lions statues were also occasionally set in public places particularly in Asia Minor. These statues can be used as comparisons for the free-standing lion offerings found at sanctuaries.

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[84] Brückner et al., 2014, p. 49-56; fig. 6 and 7.

[85] Jenkins, 2008, p. 24-28. The lion from Knidos is now displayed in the courtyard of the British Museum. Several funerary lions were found at Knidos, from the Archaic to the Roman period.

[86] Jenkins, 2008, p. 29-31, fig. 16 a-b and fig. 17

[87] Pausanias, 2, 2, 4: "*τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν*"

[88] Page, 1981, p. 439: another younger courtesan named Laïs, mentioned in Polemon (quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 13, 589a) was buried in Thessaly after being killed by Thessalian women in a temple of Aphrodite. She would also have come from Corinth, but followed a lover to Thessaly.

[89] Frazer, 1898, on Pausanias, 2, 2, 4

IV. Typology of surviving free-standing lion *anathemata*: catalogue and presentation of the offerings by sanctuary

There are 18 surviving lion statues **(L01-L18)** found at Greek sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. 12 Archaic free-standing lion statues were found on Delos **(L01-L14)**, three of these **(L10-L12)** are late-Archaic works, made towards the transition between Archaic and Classical times. Two Archaic lions were found at Didyma **(L16-L17)**, an Archaic pair **(L15)** at the Athenian Acropolis and a controversial Archaic lion **(L18)** on Kea.

Only one pair of surviving lion statues survive from the Hellenistic period **(L13-L14)** and was found on Delos.

Because of this distribution of the offerings, we will, in this chapter, consider the statues per sanctuary rather than proceeding per period as in the other chapters. For convenience, all 9 lions **(L01-L09)** from the lion terrace at Delos are grouped in one catalogue sheet, but they will count as 9 separate entries in the chapter on “Data analysis”.

Item	**L01-L09 Lions**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Delos - Terrace of the Lions**
Location	**Delos - Museum / Venice**
Datation	**600-575 BC**
Material	**Naxian marble**
Size	**H: ca. 1.72 m** **L: 2.8 m (nose- tail)** **Plinth: 2 x 0.6 x 0.12-0.20 m** **Over life-size**

Photo: Linda Talatas

Description

These lions were found *in situ* at the **Lion Terrace**, near the Letoon and **along the Sacred Way leading to Skardana Bay** to the NW of the island.

These colossal statues were offerings from the Naxians to Delos. Nine lions remain out of a group of up to 16 identical statues: **L01-08** are kept at the Delos museum - numbered from left to right in the exhibition order (**L01**, **L03** and **L04** are very fragmentary). The dimensions given are based on the best preserved lions (**L01** and **L8**). Francesco Morosini transported **L09** to Venice in the 17th century - it is now set in front of the Arsenal; its missing head was replaced with a later fragment. Copies of the 8 lions found on Delos were erected on the archaeological site at their original location. The lions have suffered very serious erosion: the manes are barely visible but the genitalia, still visible on **L02**, **L07, L08**, and **L09**, indicate male animals. They are sitting straight on their posterior legs, their forelegs standing vertical in front of them, and they seem to be keeping a watch. They are sculpted in one piece with their oblong plinths that would serve as bases and they faced East, toward the Lake. The bodies of these lions are somewhat comparable to the body of hunting dogs, with emaciated figures, especially towards the lower body and prominent ribs. The foreparts, on the contrary, are stout and strong. The maws are open and were likely menacing.

Sources

Bruneau, 2005, p. 172-173
Gallet de Santerre,1959, p. 23-36

Item **L10 Lion**
Category Lions

Sanctuary **Delos - Artemision**
Location **Delos - A 4104**
Datation **500 BC**
Material **Parian marble**
Size **L: ca. 72 cm**
H: ca. 42 cm
W: ca. 35 cm
Life-size

Photo: Linda Talatas

Description

Found in the **Artemision of Delos.**

This statue is **one of a pair with its symmetrical twin A 4103**.

This statue is the best preserved of the pair, even if all the hind parts are missing and the forelegs are broken under the torso. This lion was probably crouching, with its forelegs lying on the ground and its rear turned up, as for the lioness A 4105. The ribs are represented with parallel grooves.

The head is turned a quarter to the right and circled by a mane with triangular strands of hair falling around the neck of the animal. The ears are covered with the mane and barely present. The head is damaged but open maw shows the upper canines. The lower jaw is broken and reveals mortice holes in the maw of the beast.

This lion and its twin probably kept guard at the entrance of the Artemision.

Sources

Hermary, 1984, p. 21
Gabelmann, 1965, p. 99-100, pl. 29

Item	**L11 Lion**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Delos - Artemision**
Location	**Delos - A 4103**
Datation	**500 BC**
Material	**Parian marble**
Size	**L: ca. 47 cm** **H: ca. 32 cm** **W: ca. 35 cm** **Life-size**

Photo: Linda Talatas

Description

Found in the **Artemision of Delos**.

This lion is very fragmentary: only its head and the forepart of its torso remain.
Its head, turned a quarter to the left, is circled by a mane with triangle and symmetrical strands of hair that fall on the neck of the animal. The ears are covered with the mane and barely visible. The head is damaged but shows an open maw, rounded features and a line starting at the snout and going up to the start of the mane on the middle of the forehead: the strands of hair are divided to each side of the imaginary extension of that line.

This statue is part of a pair with its symmetrical twin **A 4104**.
This lion and its twin probably kept guard at the entrance of the Artemision.

Sources

Hermary, 1984, p. 21
Gabelmann, 1965, p. 99-100, pl. 29

Item	**L12 Lioness**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Delos**
Location	**Delos - A 4105**
Datation	**500-475 BC**
Material	**Parian marble**
Size	**H: 0.40 m** **L: 1.05 m** **W: 0.37 m** **Life-size**

Photo: Linda Talatas

Description

The exact provenance and date of discovery are unknown.

The statue is of Attic style and the animal is about life-size. The lioness is crouching, ready to pounce. The head is slightly turned to the right. The forelegs are stretching on the ground while the rear is turned up. The maw is open. The lower jaw, the muzzle and and the ears are damaged, the hind legs are broken in the middle of the thighs and the tips of the forelegs are missing.
An undulated mane decorates the head of the animal.
The genital parts are clearly represented, and the lioness also displays 8 teats, 4 to each side (while a real-life lioness only has 4). The presence of a mane on a female and the wrong number of teats indicates a lack of natural observation. They also indicate that the animal is a mother.

As for the lions from the Artemision, it is likely that this statue belonged to a pair. This work is a little later than the lion statues of the Artemision.

Sources

Hermary, 1984, p. 20-22, n°11, pl. X, 6-8
Gabelmann, 1965, p. 101, 122 n°149, pl. 30

Item	**L13 Lion**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Delos - Syrian Sanctuary**
Location	**Delos - A 1865 + A 1330**
Datation	**150-100 BC**
Material	**Island marble**
Size	**About 1/2 of life-size**

A 1865 + A 1330

A 1865 + A 1330

Photos: Marcadé, pl. II

Description

Inscription ID 2297:
"ΛΑΠΙΡΙΩΝΑ.ΣΙΟΙ — — —
Λαοδικεὺς Ἀγνεῖ Θε[ῶι]
καὶ Ἀδάδωι — — —" (# PH64743)

This statue is an offering from a Laodicean to the *Ἀγνεῖ θεῶι και Ἀδάδωι*; the name of the dedicator is too damaged to be readable.
This lion, reconstructed from several fragments, crouches on its forelegs; its rear is turned up and its head facing right. Its mane falls in long curls and its legs are equipped with strong claws. The hinder legs are missing and the head is very damaged.

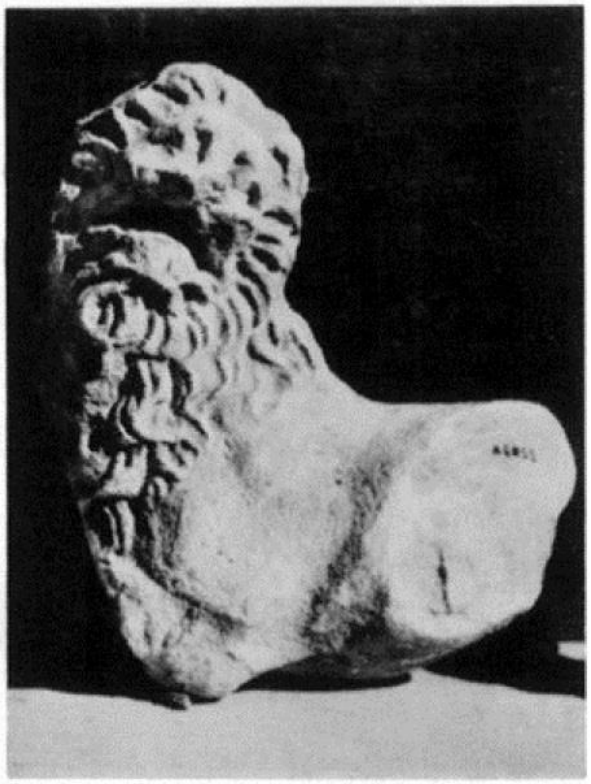
The rectangular plinth is carved with a partially damaged inscription, ID 2297, which enables us to date the sculpture to the second half of the 2nd century BC.

It was part of a pair with another lion, **A 6053**, symmetrical to this one. These two lions were probably associated to the goddess Atargatis through her epithet Hagne.

Sources

Marcadé, 1969, p. 136, 382, pl. II

Item	**L14 Lion**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Delos - Syrian Sanctuary**
Location	**Delos - A 6053**
Datation	**150-100 BC**
Material	**Island marble**
Size	**About 1/2 of life-size**



A 6053

Photos: Marcadé, pl. II

Description

This statue was one of the matching pair with A 1865 + A 1330.
It was thus an offering from a Laodiceen to the ***Ἀγνεῖ θεῶι και Ἀδάδωι***, as the inscription carved on the plinth of the other lion indicates.

The statue is very fragmentary: only the forepart of the body and the head are conserved, but the preserved parts are exactly symmetrical to the other lion of the pair. The head of this lion is better preserved, however, and the oriental characteristics of the animal's face are more apparent. The eyes are slanted, the snout rather flat and the mane curls around the head and falls on the torso. The ears are small and rounded and the whole portrait is only scantily naturalistic.
This lion turns its head to the left while the other turns the head to the right.

Sources

Marcadé, 1969, p. 136, 382 n°5, pl. II

Item	**L15 Lion**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Acropolis of Athens**
Location	**Acropole - 3832**
Datation	**Archaic**
Material	**Island marble**
Size	**H: 0.38 m** **L: 0.49m** **Life-size**

Description

This lion is very damaged; it has been reassembled from three fragments, but the legs and the rear are missing.

The body was probably recumbent. The maw is open and the tongue sticking out. The eyes are oval and slanted. The mane is represented with grooves on the stone and the strands of hair are very conventionally stylized.
The ears are raised and set in an unnatural manner at the top of the head. The body, with its very accentuated ribs isn't naturalistic.

This lion is very different from the vigorous poros lions and the style of the mane, similar to the rendering of the mane of Ionian horses, shows that this piece is probably an Ionian work, very stylized and scarcely realistic.

Fragments of another lion in a symmetrical position indicate that this statue was one of a pair.

Photos: © Acropolis Museum Photoarchive

Sources

Dickins, 1912, p. 282-283

Item **L16 Lion**
Category Lions

Sanctuary **Didyma**
Location **British Museum - 1859,1226.11**
Datation **600 BC**
Material **Carian marble**
Size **H: 0.77 m**
L: 2.11 m
Over life-size

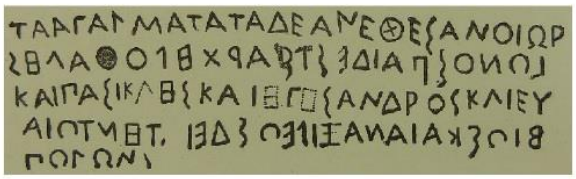


Photo: © British Museum
Inscription: Smith, 1892, n°17

Description

Found on the **Sacred Way** of Didyma amongst the Branchidae oferings.

Inscription:
"τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ὡρίωνος παῖδες το(ῦ) ἀρχηγο(ῦ), Θαλῆς καὶ Πασικλῆς καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος κ(α)ὶ Εὔβιος καὶ Ἀναξίλεως, δε(κά) την τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι"
The boustrophedon inscription on the left flank of the animal indicates that this lion was part of a group of statues **dedicated to Apollo by Thales, Pasikles, Hegesandros, Eubios and Anaxileos, sons of the governor Orion.**

The head is missing but the rest of the statue is rather well preserved. The lion is laying on a base, its head turned to the left and its forelegs resting on the base in front of the animal's body. The left foreleg is crossed above the right. The rear is slightly turned backwards, in a resting position, the weight bearing on the right flank. The tail is folded between the hind legs and resting on the stomach.
The vertebral spine is accentuated and the mane represented with stylized strands, but the position of the animal suggest a naturalistic effort on the side of the artist.
This statue can be put in relation with the **other statue of lion found at the same location, BM - 1859,1226.12.**

Sources

Smith, 1892, p. 22, n°17
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture B281
Rouse, 1902 p. 144
Shear, 1914, p. 294

Item	**L17 Lion**
Category	Lions
Sanctuary	**Didyma**
Location	**British Museum 1859,1226.12**
Datation	**550 BC**
Material	**Carian marble**
Size	**H: 1.29 m** **L: 2.04 m** **Over life-size**

Photo: © British Museum

Description

Found on the **Sacred Way** of Didyma amongst the Branchidae oferings.

The face, the tips of the forelegs and parts of the rear are missing.
The lion is laying on a base, slightly crouching on its legs as if ready to pounce. The body is in a frontal position but the head is slightly turned to the right.
The mane, stylized with a smooth fold over the shoulders, is reminiscent of the headdresses of Egyptian sphinxes. The ribs are apparent on the left side.

The anatomic rendering of this statue is more advanced than for the **other statue of lion found at the same location, BM - 1859,1226.11**.

Sources

Smith, 1892, p. 22-23, n°18
www.britishmuseum.org
BM Sculpture B282

Item **L18 Lion**
Category Lions

Sanctuary **Kea**
Location **Kea - Ioulis**
Datation **600-550 BC**
Material **Natural rock**
Size **L: ca. 9 m**
W: ca. 3 m
H: ca. 2 m
Colossal

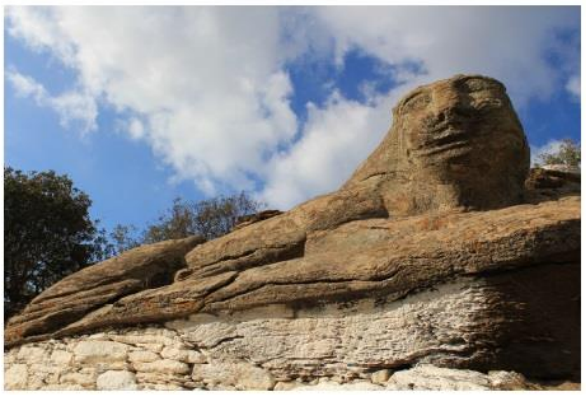


Photo: Linda Talatas

Description

This colossal lion, **carved in the bedrock close to the town of Ioulis on the island of Kea**, is a unique piece of archaic sculpture.

The statue marries the shape of the rock and shows the lion laying by a quarter on its side, its head up and turned to the right. Its features are very rounded, and the rather flat muzzle and big eyes topped with eyebrows are reminiscent of its Mesopotamian counterparts.

This lion is tightly connected to the funding myths of the island: Kea was originally named Hydroussa and was so lush and beautiful that the gods became jealous and set a lion on the island to chase the water nymphs who used to rule over the place. The dwellers of the island, confronted by a dire drought, soughed the help of the demigod Aristaeus, son of Apollo and of the nymph Cyrene. The hero recommended the construction of a temple to honor Zeus, and as soon as that was done, the gods' wrath subsided and water returned to the island.

This lion might have been the guardian of a rural sanctuary.

Sources

Welter, 1954, p. 78-86
Rolley, 1994, p. 40

1. Delian lions: a group of 9 Archaic lions, a late-Archaic pair, a late archaic lioness and a Hellenistic pair

a. Delos: contextual presentation of the sanctuary

Remembering the history and mythology of the island is necessary when approaching the offerings dedicated in this very particular sanctuary. When the goddess Leto, pregnant with Zeus' children, was about to give birth, she found herself confronted to the curse of the jealous Hera who had commanded to all lands to cast her out. Fortunately for the fleeing Leto, Delos wasn't a land, but just a piece of floating rock, small, dry and unhospitable: she could thus find shelter on it and give birth to the divine twins, making Delos a sacred place[90]. The whole island of Delos became holy, and even though different sanctuaries are delimited on the island, statues set outside these sanctuaries can still be considered as offerings since the grounds of the whole island were sacred and submitted to special rules. Athens soon learnt to use the sanctity of the island to its own advantage and, allegedly following an advice of the Delphic Oracle, the tyrant Pisistratus led a series of purifications of the island, first removing the tombs in view of the temple of Apollo, then removing all the sepulture of the island and having them transported to the neighboring Rhenea, and finally expelling the Delians from Delos for some crime they committed in the past[91]. It became forbidden to give birth or die on Delos, as these two acts tightly connected to the mortality of men were displeasing to Apollo. This meant that even though there were habitation quarters on Delos for people who were there for longer than a pilgrimage, no one could really claim to be from there except from Apollo and Artemis, who were born there. This also meant that the political power such a sacred place could hold was removed from the hands of the Delians through the erasing of their existence as locals and the sanctuary could be influenced by outside politics. Although, even if the archaeological evidence isn't backed by literary sources, before Athens imposed itself as a dominating political power in Delos from the beginning of the classical times, a Naxian presence is attested by the imposing Naxian offerings from the second half of the 7th century, followed by an important presence of Parian works in the second half of the 6th century, even though Naxos remains active

[90] "Delos, if you would be willing to be the abode of my son Phoebus Apollo and make him a rich temple [...], all men will bring you hecatombs and gather here, and incessant savor of rich sacrifice will always arise, and you will feed those who dwell in you from the hand of strangers; for truly your own soil is not rich." *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*

[91] Thucydides, 3, 104; Herodotus, 1, 64

throughout the Archaic period[92].

On Delos, the group of monumental lions set along the terrace[93] built next to the Letoon and leading to Skardana, a north-western bay of Delos that could have been used as an anchorage point leading straight to the Letoon[94] were possibly an offering to Leto, mother of the twins Apollo and Artemis.

Apart from the 9 lions of the Lion Terrace, the pair found in the Artemision[95] is clearly associated with the goddess Artemis. The lioness statue of unknown find spot belongs to the same type, and even though we don't know its original location, it very probably comes from a delimited sanctuary of the island, was part of a pair, and probably had a similar position within a sanctuary as the pair of lions found in the Artemision. It is interesting to note that this statue of a lioness is clearly feminine (while all its counterparts in my catalogue are males). It has 10 teats, that is to say, 4 more than an actual lioness would have – which is not an unrelated example in Greek art; the lioness of the old Hekatompedon pediment on the Athenian Acropolis[96] appears to have at least 7 on the left side only, which would be at least 14 in total. This makes the lioness a maternal figure and it isn't impossible that this lioness and its lost counterpart were guarding the entrance to the Letoon.

The two Hellenistic lions found in the Syrian sanctuary were dedicated to the Ἀγνεῖ θεῶι και Ἀδάδωι, as the dedication on the base of the better kept lion indicates. They were possibly associated to the cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis[97] (and through a religious syncretism to the local Leto and Artemis). A similar expression in a dedication addressed to the Syrian gods, in association with Zeus and Aphrodite has been found on another inscription from Delos[98].

b. The lion terrace: Archaic Naxian lions on Delos (L01-09)

Nine **(L01-L09)** out of twelve surviving archaic lions from Delos were part of a group that might have included 10 to 16 lions.[99] These monumental statues

[92] Bruneau, 2005, p. 33-34
[93] Gallet de Santerre, 1959, p. 9-36
[94] Bruneau, 2005, p. 226
[95] Hermary, 1984, p. 21
[96] Brouskari, 1974, p. 28-29 (n°4), pl. 14
[97] Marcadé, 1969, p. 382
[98] SEG 31: 731, dated 118-90BC, ID 2256 + fragment; Étienne, 1981, p. 171, fig. 1
[99] Gallet de Santerre, 1959, p. 32 – Gallet de Santerre provides us with a very thorough analysis of the fragments and reaches the conclusion that the fragments on Delos correspond to at least 8 lions (L1-L8), to which we can add with certainty the lion that was transported to Venice in the 17th century (L09); further study of the measurements of the terrace and of the possible spacing between the bases

Fig. 13 – In-situ replicas at the "lion terrace" on Delos

of lions were set across from the Letoon, along a way leading from the north-eastern bay of Skardana[100] **(Fig. 13)**[101]. All these lions are made of Naxian marble, dated 600-575 BC[102]; they are very similar and all stand in the same position. Each lion was set about 3.50m from the next.[103] Each lion stands on an oblong plinth sculpted from the same block and massive enough to serve as a base. Time has left its mark on these statues and they are in an advanced stage of erosion as they remained outdoors in the open for centuries but, despite the damage, the slight outline of a mane still visible on several, as well as strong shoulder muscles, and their genitalia indicate that they were male lions.

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suggested by their emplacement when they were found leads him to estimate the numbers of lions originally present on the terrace between 10 and 16.

[100] Gallet de Santerre, 1958, p. 226-227, writes about the use of Skardana as a second port for the island.

[101] Photo: Linda Talatas

[102] The dating of the lions is controversial and has been subject to many discussions. A late 7th- early 6th century BC datation is the best-accepted hypothesis. Cf. Bruneau et al., 2005, p. 226, while some others agree on a mid-6th century dating, like Gabelman, 1965, p. 74 ff. Kokkourou-Alevra, 1993, pp. 91-102, goes even further and suggests a date around 490 BC for the lions, but this theory has not been accepted by the majority of scholars.

[103] Gallet de Santerre, 1959, p. 27

Fig. 14 – Delian lion (L01)

L01 (Fig. 14)[104] and **L08**, the better-preserved examples, display all these characteristics. They are seated straight on their hind legs, their front legs vertical, and their head held high, facing upfront with their mouth open. Their bodies are long and emaciated, narrowing down towards the hind quarters, while the front legs are muscular. The paws are treated in detail and show sharp claws. The coasts are only marked by three stripes very far down the body. The heads are small compared to the rest of the body and the erosion hides the features of the face, and even though the presence of manes is indicated, they must not have been very strongly emphasized.

These Naxian lions were set towards the East, facing towards the lake and leading to the Letoon that was open to the West. Even if it seems unlikely that the Terrace was built as the entrance of the Letoon[105], it isn't impossible that the position of the Letoon was chosen partly to include the Lion Terrace as part of Leto's sanctuary.

c. Archaic pair of lions from the Artemision (L10-L11)

A pair of lions dating from the end of the archaic period, around 500 BC[106] was found at the Artemision of Delos[107] **(L10 and L11)**. These two were most likely facing each other at the entrance of the Artemision. They are fragmentary; the hind parts and lower front legs of L10 are missing and only the head and shoulders of **L10** were saved. These lions are sculpted symmetrically, both bodies set in a frontal position, the head **L10** facing right and the head of **L11** facing left. The body of **L10**, better preserved, shows strong shoulders

[104] Lion **(L01)** displayed at the museum of Delos, to the far-left. Photo: Linda Talatas.
[105] Vallois, 1929, p. 221 and Gallet de Santerre, 1959, p. 34 thought that the disposition of the terrace suggest that it was actually part of the sanctuary of Leto, but Bruneau, 1983, p. 172-174, points out the fact that the Letoon was in fact built after the Lion Terrace was installed and suggest that the lions might have conducted to the sanctuary of Apollo from Skardana or to other sanctuaries built to the East of the area – some travelers mentioned by Gallet the Santerre, opp. cit., p. 12-13, have mentioned such sanctuaries.
[106] Hermary, 1984, p. 22
[107] Delos, A 4104 and A 4103

followed by an emaciated belly with chiseled parallel coasts reminiscent of dog representations. The lions were crouching, their mouths are open and in spite of the erosion we still see traces of the feral fangs of the beasts. Fixation holes inside the mouth indicate the presence of additional ornaments in the mouth, possibly a tongue. The manes are chiseled in layers of symmetrical curls on either side of a middle parting that starts on a line drawn in the middle of the face from the nuzzle, starting around de face and circling the collar, finishing in a point above the shoulders.

d. Late-Archaic lioness (L12)

A statue of the lioness found on Delos **(L12)** and dating from 475-450 BC[108] was probably part of a pair even though its counterpart has been lost. Unfortunately, the date and location of its discovery has not been recorded but we can assume that this statue was set as an offering in one of the main temples on Delos, as it can be easily compared with the earlier pair from the Artemision **(L10 and L11)**[109].

The lioness is crouching, its forelegs flat in front of her, her head slightly turned to the right with her mouth open. Her hind quarters are slightly raised but her hind legs are missing. Her head is surrounded by a slight mane, much more discreet than the one sported by the two earlier males from the Artemision. Her ears are rounded and placed on the upper sides of her head. The lower belly is clearly delimited from the rest of the body by a clear line going from the front to the back legs. Her genital parts are sculpted with precision, which was something new in the second quarter of the 5th century[110]. Her genitalia and her teats show the importance given to the gender by the artist. It is interesting to note that the number of her teats amount to ten, and is possibly inspired by female dog sculpture. Real life lionesses only have four teats, detail which was probably ignored by the sculptor; but the fact that her mane is lesser than the one of the earlier male lions also found on Delos indicate a new concern for gender differentiation by the mane representation that

[108] Hermary, 1984, p. 20-22

[109] Hermary, opp. cit., considers it probable that this lioness was originally set in the Artemision as he considers that the animal was mainly associated with Artemis; we will discuss this theory further on in our study.

[110] Hermary, opp. cit., considers the rendering of the animal vulva to be the first in Greek art.

wasn't as emphasized in earlier representations[111]. The attitude of this crouching lioness corresponds to a type considered as Attic by Gabelman while Payne thought it was rather an Ionian work[112]. Its style indicates the transition from the Archaic to the Classical artistic period: the animal displays a much higher flexibility and impression of movement than its two predecessors **(L10-L11)** from the Artemision.

e. Hellenistic pair of lions for the Syrian gods Hagne and Hadad

Two symmetrical Hellenistic statues of lions from the same pair have been found in the Syrian Sanctuary on Delos[113]. The better-preserved lion **(L13)** is crouching on its front legs while his hinder parts are raised high and, while his body is oriented frontally, his head is turned to his right – probably towards the entering visitor, if we assume that the pair was guarding the entry of the sanctuary. The hind legs are missing, as well as part o the plinth and the face is very damaged but we can see the mane falling in curls around the neck of the animal and its muscled carefully carved along its sides; the claws of the front legs are visible and rest on the plinth, sculpted in the same block as the lion. On the front of the plinth is an engraved dedication[114].

The counterpart **(L14)** of the lion on the inscribed plinth is only fragmentary, but the preserved part (the head, shoulders and the forepart of the body) indicates that the statue was the pendant of the other lion **(L13)** from the same sanctuary as its body is oriented to the front and the head turned to the left of the animal. The head is better preserved on this lion and shows big oval eyes on a face surrounded by a wavy and thick mane while the mouth is open.

The lions were possibly placed so that their body would face each other, both crouching towards each other, as to protect the space between them while their heads were turned towards the approaching visitors, watching them from afar and letting them know through their alert position and roaring maws that they were fiercely ready to protect the sacred space.

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[111] The archaic lioness pediment of the Hekatompedon, for instance, depicts a lioness with as many as 16 teats, and thus clearly a female, but the beast is also represented with an exceptionally bushy mane.

[112] Gabelman, 1965, p. 95-100; Payne and Young, 1950, p. 50; Hermary, 1984, p. 21

[113] Marcadé, 1969, p. 382

[114] See further in the chapter "V. The dedications on the offerings of monumental lions and their implications"

2. A pair of lions from the Acropolis of Athens

a. Contextual reminder on the Acropolis of Athens and its sanctuaries

Of course, the first thing that comes to mind when the Acropolis of Athens is mentioned is the sanctuary of Athena. But the sanctuaries to other gods present on the Acropolis shouldn't be forgotten and the lion statue **(L15)** found on the Acropolis could well be part of a pair[115] of guardian lions, like the ones from the Artemision in Delos **(L10 and L11)**. We do not know much about the finding spot, and could imagine these lions were originally set in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis, although we should as well keep in mind that numerous lions were found in architectural details within the sanctuary of Athena, in particular on several pediments of the Archaic temple, such as the lioness savaging a bull[116], generally interpreted as a pediment from the Hekatompedon, and the fragmentary group of two lions savaging a bull[117], also possibly from a pediment, found east and southwest of the Parthenon.

b. The pair of lions from the Athenian Acropolis

A fragmentary archaic statue of lion[118] **(L15)**, made of island marble, was found on the Acropolis. Its attitude and some fragments also discovered on the Acropolis suggest that it used to belong to a pair[119]. Its body was probably crouching; the mouth is open and the tongue hanging out. The mane is stylized with deep incisions indicating the waves of the hair; the ears are rounded and placed up on the head. Coasts are carved low on the lower belly. The stylization of the statue indicates that it was probably made in an Ionian workshop[120]. The body position is frontal and the head is turned left; it was probably the pendant of a symmetrical lion guarding the entrance of a temple or a sanctuary, possibly the one of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis.

[115] Schrader, 1910, p. 72, fig. 61-64; Dickins, 1912, p. 282-283
[116] Brouskari, 1974, n°4, fig. 14
[117] Brouskari, 1974, n°3, fig. 80-81
[118] Acropolis Museum, no. 3832
[119] Dickins, 1912, p. 182-183
[120] Dickins, 1912, p. 182-183; Gabelman, 1965, p. 98-99

3. Archaic lions from Didyma

a. Introduction to the sanctuary of Didyma

The Oracle of Apollo at Didyma, the Didymaion, was the second most sought after Delphi. The sanctuary of Apollo and his large temple were neighbored by the sanctuary of the god's twin sister, Artemis. The name of the sanctuary, meaning "twins"[121] reminds us that both gods were honored in Didyma.

Visitors who travelled to Didyma would usually access the sanctuary from the city of Miletus, through the 17th Sacred Way linking the two places. The Sacred Way to Didyma was adorned with numerous statues, particularly offerings from the Branchidae[122] family. The Branchidae, a wealthy family, administered the sanctuary until its destruction by the Persians in 494 BC, and they would interpret the oracles issued by the priestess of Apollo. Our two statues of lions were both part of the rich offerings the Branchidae set as offerings on the Hiera Odos. The inscription on one of the lions **(L16)** indicated that the offering was made to Apollo. Other lion colossal statues were found in the area of the Sacred Way, but only these two could clearly be defined as offerings: tombs and other monuments were erected along the road, and the other lions might have been funerary offerings. These concentration of lion statues should, however, be noted: the lion was an important emblem in the region and its strong presence at the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma might not be due to its traditional mainland associations with the god but also to local forms of syncretism.

b. Lions bordering the Sacred Way leading to Miletus

Two marble lions were found amongst the Branchidae offering set along the Hiera Odos leading to the temple of Apollo at Didyma. The oldest **(L16)** dates from around 600 BC[123]; it is couchant on its right side, its left paw resting over the right and its tail curled up around its hind leg. The head is missing but the

[121] Fontenrose, 1932, p. 245, descends Didyma from the Carian Idyma and the Lycian Siyma. The origin of the name may have been foreign, but nonetheless, the name of the place was the Greek word meaning "twins". At a place where both Apollo and Artemis had attested sanctuaries, the Ancient must have clearly associated the name of the sacred destination to the twin pair of gods honored there (marking the importance of Artemis at a place where the main attraction was her brother's temple and oracle).

[122] Hammond, 1998, p. 339

[123] Smith, 1892, p. 22, n°17; Rouse, 1902, p. 144

setting of the shoulder suggests that it was turned to the right. The work is very stylized but the position seems very natural. An inscription in boustrophedon[124] is engraved directly on its right side, all along the side of the animal.

The other lion from Didyma **(L17)** about half a century younger, shows a more detailed anatomical treatment. It is crouching on its plinth, slightly raised on its forepaws. The mane is stylized and only its contour indicated; the paws are carefully rendered and the strength of each finger emphasized. The front paws and face are missing and the statue is damaged on several places, especially the haunches.

4. The colossal lion of Kea

The least certain lion statue *anathema* is a monolithic smiling stone lion **(L18)** found on the island of Kea. It was carved directly out of the bedrock and is about 9 meters long. The natural relief of the place suggests that it could have been a rural open-air sanctuary, and the lion could have been laying at its entrance[125], guarding the place. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Kea gives an important place to lions in its autochthonous religious. Lion bones were found on the island in the Bronze Age, and a mythological lion was famed to have chased away the water nymphs who dwelled on the island because of the jealousy of the Olympians. The possibility of this lion being an *anathema* is therefore rather strong.

[124] See further in the chapter "V. The dedications on the offerings of monumental lions and their implications"
[125] Welter, 1954, p. 78-86

V. Typology and presentation of free-standing lion *anathemata* in written sources

Six lion statues offered at sanctuaries were found in ancient written sources; two of these form a pair and will be presented in the same catalogue entry **(La5)**: Pausanias mentions five of them (**La1, La3, La4** and **La5**): of these, **La3** is the most famous, and several other others (Plutarch, Polyaenus and Pliny) also write about it. **La2** was mentioned by Herodotus.

1. List of free-standing lion *anathemata* known from literary sources

La1

A stone lion dedicated by Herakles at Thebes was recorded by Pausanias[126], who saw the statue in front of the temple of Artemis Eukleia at Thebes: he was told that the hero dedicated the stone lion after his victory in the battle of the Orchomenians against the king Erginos, son of Clymenos: *"τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος **λέων ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθε λίθου πεποιημένος**: ἀναθεῖναι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἐργῖνον τὸν Κλυμένου νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ."*

La2

A lion of pure gold was offered by Croesus at Delphi. The offering was recorded by Herodotus[127]: when he saw it, the statue was kept in the Treasury of the Corinthians, where it had been set after the temple was burnt down in the archonship of Erxicleides[128] (548-47 BC) and the statue fell. Herodotus describes the circumstances of the offering in great details. "*ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἅπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὰν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ **καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα**. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον: ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον."*[129]

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[126] Pausanias, 9, 17, 2
[127] Herodotus, 1, 50
[128] Pausanias, 10, 5, 13
[129] Herodotus, 1, 50

Croesus first offered a lavish sacrifice of 3000 animals of all kinds, and the burning of various precious objects belonging to him and the other Lydians with him[130], Croesus melted a large amount of gold and silver into 117 ingots measuring 6 x 3 palms (ca. 46.2 x 23.1 cm)[131]: 4 of the 117 were of pure gold and weighted 2.5 talents each; the rest were an alloy of gold and silver and weighted 2 talents each. These ingots were used to build the base of the lion statue. Croesus had the lion itself made of another 10 talents of pure gold (260 to 380 kg)[132]. Herodotus notes that the lion was 3.5 talents lighter than its original weight when he visited Delphi, because the priests had melted some of the gold for financial use. He was likely told the story by a local guide, and the numbers might have been inflated to impress visitors.

La3

A bronze lioness, portrait of Leaïna by Amphicrates offered by the Athenians on the Acropolis of Athens. Pausanias[133] claims to be the first to record in writing the reason of this offering but affirms that it is generally agreed upon amongst the Athenians. The statue is also mentioned by Polyaenus[134], Plutarch[135] and Pliny the Elder[136]. According to Pausanias, Leaïna had been the mistress of Aristogeiton and after the murder of Hipparchus, his brother Hippias tortured the woman to death: the Athenians dedicated a bronze lioness in her memory. The statue was set next to a statue of Aphrodite, made by Calamis and dedicated by Callias: the artist and dedicators have mistakenly been associated with the lioness rather than with the statue of the Leaïna because of a

[130] Herodotus, 1, 49

[131] This conversion is using the scale presented in Humphrey, Oleson and Sherwood, 1998, p. xxiv: 1 palm = 4 dactyls, corresponding to 77 mm. However, measures varied depending on time and location: for instance, the ideal Solonian palm was 81.86 mm: Stieglitz, 2006, p. 198. These conversions nevertheless give us a general idea of the size of the ingots, but there might have been variations of up to 3 cm in length and 1 cm in width.

[132] Scale: Humphrey, Oleson and Sherwood, 1998, p. xxiv. 1 talent = 60 minae, equivalent to 26-38 kg.

[133] Pausanias, 1, 23, 2

[134] Polyaenus, 8, 14

[135] Pliny, 34, 19, 72, notes that she was a skillful lyre-player, acquainted with Harmodius and Aristogeiton and that she was tortured to death: the Athenians wished to honor her without having to represent a courtesan, which is why they dedicated her portrait as a lioness, for the similarity of her name with the animal, and made the statue without a tongue.

[136] Plutarch, *De Garrulitate,* 505d-f

commonly accepted erroneous translation published in the Loeb library.[137] *"ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεί τε ἀπέθανεν Ἵππαρχος, —λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἥκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς—Ἱππίας εἶχεν ἐν αἰκίᾳ ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἷα ἑταίραν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐπιστάμενος οὖσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων: ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραννίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,* ***χαλκῆ λέαινα Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός****, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος."* The dedicators of the statue were the Athenians, who made the offering to commemorate the woman after the fall of the Peisistratids.

Plutarch considers Laïna as the mistress of both Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and praises them for loving a woman with such self-moderation: he confirms the setting of the bronze lioness in the entrance of the Acropolis as a collective offering made by the Athenians. He comments on the lioness representing the woman's *thymos* and the absence of a tongue honored her silence in the keeping of a holy secret: "***Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ χαλκῆν ποιησάμενοι, λέαιναν ἄγλωσσον ἐν πύλαις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀνέθηκαν****, τῷ μὲν θυμοειδεῖ τοῦ ζῴου τὸ ἀήττητον αὐτῆς τῷ δ᾽ ἀγλώσσῳ τὸ σιωπηρὸν καὶ μυστηριῶδες ἐμφαίνοντες οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω λόγος ὠφέλησε ῥηθεὶς ὡς πολλοὶ σιωπηθέντες: ἔστι γὰρ εἰπεῖν ποτε τὸ σιγηθέν, οὐ μὴν σιωπῆσαί γε τὸ λεχθέν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκκέχυται καὶ διαπεφοίτηκεν*."[138]

Pliny attributes the statue of Leaïna to the artist Amphicrates and confirms that the offering the Athenians as dedicators as well as the absence of a tongue for her silence, the reason of her being honored. He describes the courtesan as an excellent lyre player, familiar of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Pliny interprets the choice of the lion rather than a realistic portrait as the refusal of the Athenians to portrait a prostitute, and, for that reason, chosing to represent the animal of which she bore the name: *"****Amphicrates Leaena*** *laudatur. Scortum haec, lyrae cantu familiaris harmodio et aristogitoni. Consilia eorum de tyrannicidio usque in mortem excruciata a tyrannis non prodidit; quam ob rem athenienses, et honorem habere ei volentes nec tamen scortum celebrasse, animal nominis eius fecere atque, ut intellegeretur causa honoris, in opere* ***linguam addi ab artifice vetuerunt****."* [139]

Polyaenius' mention of Leaïna[140] in his list of important women in war

[137] The translation by W.H.S. Jones, used in the Loeb library, omits "*παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης*" and thus mistakenly attributes the dedicator Callias and the sculptor Calamis to the lioness and not to the statue of Aphrodite.

[138] Plutarch, De Garrulitate, 505f

[139] Pliny, 34, 19, 72

[140] Polyaenius, 8, 45

stratagems corroborates Pausanias' version. Polyaenius writes that Leaïna was the mistress of Aristogeiton, tortured to death by Hippias and her statue was erected in her honor by the Athenians in the Propylaea of the Acropolis. Athenaeusdoes not mention the statue but remembers Leaïna in his list of famous courtesans: he considers her as the mistress of Harmodius, and confirms the story according to which she was tortured to death without saying a word: "*Λέαινα ἡ ἑταίρα, Ἁρμοδίου ἐρωμένη τοῦ τυραννοκτονήσαντος: ἥτις καὶ αἰκιζομένη ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἱππίαν τὸν τύραννον οὐδὲν ἐξειποῦσα ἐναπέθανεν ταῖς βασάνοις."* [141].

La4

A bronze lion offered by the Elateians at Delphi is mentioned by Pausanias[142]: we know from the context that it was a Hellenistic offering. Indeed, it was sent to Apollo by the inhabitants of Elateia, in Phocis, following their successful defense on their own land against the siege of Cassander. Pausanias notes that they had been victorious with the help of Olympiododus of Athens: *"Φωκέων δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες Ἐλάτειαν—ἀντέσχον γὰρ τῇ Κασσάνδρου πολιορκίᾳ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου σφίσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀμύνοντος—λέοντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χαλκοῦν ἀποπέμπουσιν ἐς Δελφούς."*

La5

A pair of stone lions offered at the temple of the Mother of the Gods was seen by Pausanias[143] five stades (less than a kilometer) away from Asea, near the source of the Alpheios in Arcadia, just by the side of the road. The two stone lions are the only offerings Pausanias comments upon at the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods: "*σταδίους δὲ ὅσον πέντε ἀπὸ Ἀσέας τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ μὲν ὀλίγον ἄπο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα παρ᾽ αὐτήν ἐστιν ἡ πηγὴ τὴν ὁδόν: πρός τε τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῇ πηγῇ* ***ναός τε Μητρὸς θεῶν ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον καὶ λέοντες λίθου δύο πεποιημένοι***." It is difficult to date this offering because the sanctuary was not found. Excavations at Asea and around have revealed an activity from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period; when Pausanias visited, the city was in ruin; the fortifications he describes seem to correspond to a 3rd century wall. The temple of the Mother of the Gods, at the source of the Alpheios, was likely located around the modern village of Dorizas.

[141] Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, 13, 70 / 596f
[142] Pausanias, 10, 18, 7
[143] Pausanias, 8, 44, 3

VI. Distribution and significance of lion *anathemata*

1. Grouping and placement of lion *anathemata* within the sanctuaries: Sacred Ways, pairs and single statues

Free-standing lions were often grouped. At Delos, the whole series of Archaic lions **(L01-L09)** is reminiscent of the Egyptian custom to set sphinxes or other sacred animals along Sacred Ways, but they are only set on one side of the way. In Didyma, again, the lions do not come from a group of identical offerings dedicated at the same time, but they were set close to the sanctuary of Didyma but on the way to Miletus, to another important sanctuary of Apollo; on the same Sacred Way from Didyma to Miletus, several other lion statues were found[144], but the others appear to have belong to tombs or other monuments along the way, and only **L16** and **L17** could clearly be identified as offerings to the god. Lions placed alongside ways likely had a protective function and are exclusively dated from the Archaic period.

Pairs were also common: two pairs were found on Delos, one Archaic pair, **(L10-L11)** and one Hellenistic pair **(L13-L14)** dedicated to Hagne; the lioness **L12** probably also belonged to a pair. The lion **(L15)** from the Acropolis of Athens had a pendant, too. And Pausanias reports seeing a pair of lions **(La5)** in the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at the source of the Alpheios. The pairs of lions were likely placed near gates and bore an apotropaic function of guardians of the sacred, as did the lions represented as part of groups including the Mother of the Gods or Cybele. All the surviving pairs of lions are symmetrical, making them ideal apotropaic guardians of entrances.

Lone lions therefore are the minority: of the surviving statues, only the colossal lion at Kea **(L18)**, was not part of a pair or placed along a Sacred Way with other lions, and its identification as an offering is controversial.

In literary sources, however, the contrary is true: while ancient *periegetes* do not seem very interested in the frequent lion pairs, found in excavations, they describe the single lion offerings made in specific circumstances: out of the six lions known only through written sources, only two form a pair **(La5)**, while the four others were dedicated in distinct, memorable, sometimes quasi-mythical occasions. In chronological order, one lion **(La1)** was famed to be the dedication none less than the hero Herakles; another was made of pure gold **(La2)** and dedicated by Croesus, a king who had become a legend; the third **(La3)** was an important dedication of the Athenians in their home sanctuary and was the portrait of a local heroine whose name meant lioness. The last and most

[144] Five of them are now exposed in the yard of the museum of Miletus

recent offering was a Hellenistic lion **(La4)** offered at Delphi for political reasons.

It seems like lion offerings were often placed in open-air: pairs might have been set inside or outside the doors of a sanctuaries, but the series of lions on Delos **(L01-L09)** and the ones along the Sacred Way at Didyma **(L16-L17)** were set outside, along roads. The pair from the Brauroneion (**L15** and pendant) in Athens might also have been placed outside, near the gates of the open-air yard. Pausanias specifies that, in Thebes, the lion **(La1)** was placed in front of the temple and that the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Arcadia, where two stone lions **(La5)** were offered, had no roof. The lion of Kea **(L18)** was also placed in the open.

2. Sanctuaries and deities receiving lion *anathemata*

Fourteen out of eighteen votive lions were found on Delos; two of these **(L13-L14)** were Hellenistic statues dedicated to Hagne and Hadad, while the other twelve appear connected with the Apollonian trinity. The lack of inscriptions make the receivers of these statues unsure: the series of Naxian lions **(L01-L09)** offered along the way leading to Skardana on Delos might have been an offering to Apollo, because they were male and placed on a way leading to the sanctuary of the god, where the Naxians had offered a colossal statue of Apollo with an inscribed base. However, their proximity to the Letoon could also have made them the protector of an area dedicated to the divine mother, who had likely been connected to lions as Rhea or the Mother of the Gods were. Or they could have been addressed to all three main deities of the island: Apollo, Artemis and Leto. The pair of lions **(L10-L11)** found at the Artemision were almost certainly dedicated to Artemis; these had a mane, but their hind-parts are missing, making their gender uncertain (in the same century, the pediment of the Hekatompedon in Athens showed a maned lioness). At last, the lioness **(L12)** is positioned in a way suggesting that she was part of a pair; her teats, full of milk and more numerous than nature, suggest that the statue was the portrait of a mother. Her exact provenance of discovery is unknown, but her characteristics point towards a possible connection with Leto: the Artemision might have been guarded by a pair of lions **(L10-L11)** and the Letoon by another pair (**L12** and its missing counterpart).

The two votive lions from Didyma **(L16-L17)** can be more directly linked with Apollo: even though Artemis also had an important cult at Didyma, the inscription on **L16** indicates the god as the receiver. In Didyma, however, the lion had a regional significance as a local emblem. Indeed, other stone lions were found in the same area, most of which appear to have been grave markers, and two colossal lions were also set on either side of the entrance to

the Lion Harbor at Miletus, the main entry to Apollo's sanctuary of Miletus. Lions also appeared on Carian coinage from Miletus and Didyma and were the symbol of the royal dynasty in the neighboring Lydia. As a solar symbol in Anatolia, the lion was in direct association with Apollo as a sun god in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

Lion statues are attested at Delphi, the center of Apollo's cult, in literature: in the Archaic period, the gold lion **(La2)** offered to Apollo by Croesus can be, like the lions at Didyma, connected to the solar symbol of the lion, and even more as the emblem of the dedicator. The other lion offered to Apollo in Delphi **(La4)**, a Hellenistic offering, was a local offering of the Elateians to celebrate a defensive victory against Cassander: in this case, the lion was likely chosen as a metaphor for the courage of the dedicators.

The other three lions mentioned in literature can be connected with feminine deities: at least three lions were set on the Athenian Acropolis between the Archaic and the Hellenistic period. The Archaic pair (**L15** and its pendant) were possibly set in the Brauroneion as offerings to Artemis. The early Classical portrait of Leaïna **(La3)** was undoubtedly the most famed lion *anathema* in Ancient Greece; it was placed in the Propylaea and might have been an offering to Athena Polias, or an offering not clearly dedicated to any deity, but to the woman herself as a heroized symbol of the democracy: her placement next to a statue of Aphrodite might have been a deliberate association.

The other lion offerings include an undated pair of stone lions for the Mother of the Gods **(La5)** in Arcadia; the location of the sanctuary at the immediate proximity of the source of the Alpheios, one of the two most important rivers in the Peloponnese was likely a symbol of fertility and the goddess at the origin of all creation was likely chosen for these reasons: her lions were the guardians of a place charged with meaning. Indeed, the water was born in the wilderness of the mountain, but no civilization could thrive without the blessing of fresh water. The stone lion in Thebes to Artemis Eukleia **(La1)**, supposedly offered by Herakles, was likely an Archaic statue. Artemis Eukleia was a local goddess, and therefore a logical choice for an offering celebrating a Theban victory, but in the Archaic period, she might also have retained more of Artemis' primal aspects in connection with the *potnia theron* and the mother than she did in later periods.

The lion of Kea **(L18)** was placed in an area that could have been a rural open-air sanctuary, but there is no sufficient material to assume which deity was venerated there. The strong associations of the islands with the water nymphs, Apollo, and local legends involving a devastating lion tend to place this colossal statue as a topical emblem of a strong feminine deity preceding the

Olympian reign of Apollo and other second-generation gods.

3. The surviving inscribed dedications

Only two of our lions come with an inscription: one of the Archaic lions found in the Sacred Way at Didyma **(L16)** has an inscription engraved on the whole length of its side and one of the Hellenistic pair of lions coming from the Syrian sanctuary in Delos **(L13)** has an inscription on its plinth (ID 2297).

The inscription on **L13**, from Delos, dates from 150-100 BC. The inscription indicates that the statue was offered by a Laodicean to the "Ἁγνεῖ θεῶι και Ἀδάδωι". Unfortunately, the rest of the inscription is too badly preserved to be readable and the name of the dedicator is lost to us, we can only read that he is a Laodicean. The counterpart (A 6053) of this statue can be considered as part of the same offering, and included in the dedication.

The singular form of "Λαοδικεὺς"[145] indicates the private character of the offering. In Syria, lions were a common attribute of the goddess Atargatis[146]. Her consort, Hadad, who is usually associated with bulls is of a lesser importance than the goddess but often associated to her on inscriptions. The dedicator, originating from Asia Minor, was likely familiar with the oriental cults celebrated at the Syrian sanctuary on Delos. In Greece and on Delos, Atargatis was often associated with Aphrodite, but syncretism works in oblique ways and, even though Atargatis is usually associated with Aphrodite and Hadad with Zeus, the dedicator might also might have conceived Hagne and Hadad as a manifestation of the divine close to the local triad of gods, to whom lions had previously been dedicated. The dedication is carved on the front part of the plinth, while the lions are crouching forward and turning their head sideways, symmetrically. We can imagine that this pair of lions was placed at the entrance of the Syrian sanctuary, and that, while passing between the two lions, the visitor would read the dedication and know who offered the statues.

The inscription on the lion from Didyma **(L16)** reads: "*τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ὡρίωνος παῖδες το(ῦ) ἀρχηγο(ῦ), Θαλῆς καὶ Πασικλῆς καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος κ(α)ὶ Εὔβιος καὶ Ἀναξίλεως, δε(κά)την τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι"* (that can be translated as: "these statues were offered by the sons of the governor Orion: Tales, Pasikles, Hegesandros, Eubios and Anaxileos as a tithe to Apollo") is engraved in five lines of boustrophedon straight on the side of the recumbent animal, on all its length. On the dedication on the Archaic lion statue from Didyma **(L16)**, the father of the dedicators, Orion, is mentioned before his sons'

[145] Marcadé, 1969, p. 382
[146] Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 31

names, possibly as a mark of respect for the head of the family, but also as an indication of social status, as Orion's status of governor is mentioned. The word "παῖδες" is conveniently enclosed in between the name of the father and his social quality, putting the quality of "ἀρχηγος" closer to the children's names: their genealogy establishes the high rank of the five brothers who are offering the group of statues. The offering was namely made to Apollo. The offering was made from a *dekate*: its value represented the tithe of a likely very large income. The magnificent offering also served as a reminder of the wealth and piety of the one who offered the statues.

4. Apotropaic guardians of the sacred

Lion dedications were more often offered as series along sacred ways or pairs – likely set at the entrance of sanctuaries. This emphasizes their apotropaic aspect. Lions, which had been disappearing from the Greek fauna and, simultaneously, a quasi-legendary beast associated with a mysterious Great Mother and with solar cults coming from the east, appears to have been an Archaic guardian for the divine. This role survives in smaller representations of the Mother of the Gods, and a pair of lions is found in the Hellenistic period on Delos, but the apotropaic function of the lion seems to be principally an Archaic notion. Fierce lionesses guarding temples of female deities might be a surviving aspect from autochthonous rites, while the presence of male lions, for Apollo but also for goddesses of fertility appears to come from abroad. The two sets of tradition find a fusion in the Archaic apotropaic lions at sites sacred to Apollo, Leto, Artemis, the Mother of the Gods and the Syrian Goddess.

5. Lions for victory and *thymos*

The dedication of a stone lion by Herakles of a stone lion **(La1)** in front of the temple of Artemis Eukleia at Thebes, in commemoration of a victory over Orchomenos[147] suggests that, since Heroic times, the offering of a lion statue could symbolize victory. The battle commemorated was a victory Theban victory with Herakles as the champion of the city, and was recorded by several ancient authors.[148] While the heroic dedication by Herakles might be a myth, the stone lion seen by Pausanias was likely an offering made by the Thebans or a prominent Theban (if not the hero himself) as a symbol of the city's power,

[147] Pausanias, 9, 17, 2

[148] Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 4, 11; Diodorus of Sicily, 4, 10, 3-5; Strabo, 9, 2, 40; Pausanias, 9, 37, 2

greater than the strong Orchomenos, a neighboring city. In Boeotia, stone lions were an important symbol of power, and they were often set on common burials for warriors who died for their land[149]: the lion dedicated to Artemis Eukleia (whose epithet underlines the importance of glory in her sanctuary) likely carried a similar symbolic to those funerary lions, but instead of being offered to the souls of the dead warriors, it was offered to the local goddess. In both cases, however, it was a warning to the visitors, who would see in the statues the *thymos* of the Thebans. The bronze lion offered at Delphi by the Elateians[150] **(La4)** commemorated a defensive victory, but was also likely an allegory for their courage, and a display at the Delphic sanctuary of their invincibility, sending the message to prospective assailants that even the powerful Cassander did not manage to capture Elateia.

The lion **(L16)**, offered at Didyma by the family of a governor, probably not involved with agricultural or commercial activities, the large amount of wealth acquired was most possibly made of war spoils, in which case the statuary group offering could be a way to thank Apollo for a victory[151].

Lion statues dedicated for victories are comparable to the funerary lions placed on fallen warriors' collective graves to honor their *thymos*, as seen in several examples from Boeotia, at Amphipolis and at Knidos.

Lastly, the lioness **(La3)** made as a portrait of Leaïna is the incarnation of *thymos* par excellence: the courtesan is made into a heroine through her representation as a lioness. Her homonym animal represents her *thymos*, which brings her immortal glory in the form of a lion collective lion offering.

6. Apollonian lions as eastern tradition and fierce lionesses for goddesses

The choice of lions as subjects of free-standing statues appears to be specific to recurrent deities, which suggests that religious considerations were the primary reason for lion dedications. They were, indeed, offerings mostly reserved to feminine deities related to the *Potnia Theron* or the Great Mother: Artemis, Leto and the Mother of the Gods were several manifestations of this pre-Archaic female deity, and to Apollo.

The connection between Apollo and lions appears to be mostly a tradition from Asia Minor: Caria and Lydia have the lion both as a symbol of power and

[149] See sub-section on "Lion statues in funerary art and victory monuments" earlier in this chapter: the lion of Chaeronea commemorated the courage of the Sacred Band of Thebes, and several other large stone lions, now set in the yard of the archaeological museum of Thebes, were used as grave markers for heroized soldiers.
[150] Pausanias, 10, 18, 6
[151] Rouse, 1902, p. 144

of the sun, which explains the long history of lion offerings made to Apollo, on the Sacred Way between Didyma and Miletus **(L16-L17)**, when Croesus offers a golden lion at Delphi **(La2)**, and even at Delos: the Naxian lions **(L01-L09)** appear to have been directly influenced by the art of Asia Minor (with heads similar to representations of lions on Lydian coins while the emaciated bodies were inspired by dogs).

However, the lion had already lived a long local tradition of assimilation with female deities in the Greek mainland as well as in the Aegean islands and Asia Minor: the *Potnia Theron* had many common aspects with the Thea Syria, Atargatis, mistress of lions. This strong manifestation of the divine in a female form is found in the primal aspect of several Greek goddesses at their creation: for this reason, lions are suitable attributes for Artemis, Leto, Rhea, Hera and even Aphrodite and Athena in the Archaic period. After the Archaic period, however, these characteristics mostly survive in the figures of Artemis, Cybele and the mysterious Mother of the God – a goddess in which several others can be recognized. The particularity of Delos is the celebration within one island sanctuary, of the solar Apollo, but also of motherhood and wilderness through Artemis and Leto, which is why the Naxian lions **(L01-L09)** on Delos might be addressed to all three deities to honor the duality of feminine and solar aspects of lions, making the bests very suitable offerings for all the deities in the island. The insistence on the maternal aspects of the lioness **(L12)** is a further testimony of the strong links between lionesses and goddesses, suggested in Greek literature since Homeric times and already present in the autochthonous religion of the Mycenaean period.

7. Social and political implications of lion *anathemata*

The most impressive statues of lions were placed in important Panhellenic sanctuaries, where they would be seen by the many visitors.

Dedications of lions to Apollo, influenced by the solar symbolism of lions in Asia Minor, seem to have brought glory to the god, but also to the dedicator, because the dedication of a lion likely emphasized a high-birth, as lions had been the emblem of Lydian kings, who reigned in the immediate vicinity of the Greek Caria. This best illustration of this idea is the pure gold lion **(La2)** given by Croesus at Delphi: the king offers to the god his own symbol, but also the symbol of the sun, which Apollo incarnates.

The lion **(L16)** from Didyma, offered as the tithe of a formidable income, was probably chosen to illustrate the glory of the dedicators as much as to bring glory to the god. The offering of **L16** shows the extreme wealth of Orion's family; the very fact that the statue is offered as part of the tithe shows that the

monetary value of the piece is an important part of its dedication. The offering Apollo is also an offering made to the main sanctuary in the region, and placed on the side of a highly frequented Sacred Way, on which the numerous visitors coming for the oracle of the Didymaion would pass and see the displayed statues. Aside from the religious value of the offering, this conferred a social value to the statue: the wealth and success of Orion's sons was there for all to see, and their pious gesture spoke for their good ethics through their devotion the gods. Through its dedication, this lion gives us an interesting example of a private offering that reaches beyond the limits of the private sphere, to become a public ostentation of power, wealth and social status. Here, the offering isn't only working as a religious object, but also as a social media, advertising people who are, really, public figures, or aspiring to be through their genealogy.

The Archaic lions **(L01-L09)** offered at Delphi were also a public display of wealth and craftsmanship, but they were likely public *anathemata*, dedicated in behalf of the Naxians. These lions stood as the sign of the island of Naxos' extreme wealth as well as a *tour de force*, the proof that Naxos was the best able to craft and transport colossal statues; they had the material, the technique, the ships and the manpower necessary, and the statues they erected in Delos were there not only as a sign of piety but also for all Greeks to bear witness to their strength.

The dedicator of the two Hellenistic lions **(L13-L14)** on Delos, a Laodicean, might have been a rich merchant: the dedication of lions to gods of Asia Minor in a time of fast change and syncretism might have been an indication of his piety for the eastern visitors to notice, and a way to attract more clientele from Anatolia as Delos was an important center of commercial exchanges.

The lions dedicated to illustrate victories (**La1, La4**, and maybe **L16**) were a sign of the *thymos* of the dedicators: usually made from the tithe of the spoils, they were a warning to the visitor of a sanctuary against the victors mentioned in the inscriptions. The public offering made by the Athenians of a bronze lioness **(La5)** on the Acropolis illustrated the *thymos* of a common heroine also acted as a warning to any budding tyrant: democracy would be defended fiercely by its guardians in all strata of society.

Bears

I. Historical overview

1. Autochthonous brown bears of the Greek mountains

Brown bears (*ursus arctos*) are native to Greece; in antiquity, they inhabited most of Eurasia since early prehistory; it evolved from two species of cave bears already present in the area in the Pleistocene era, *ursus spelaeus* and *ursus rossicus*.[1] About 200 individual bears have been spotted and an approximate of above 450 individuals still inhabit an area of 13 500 km² in the mountainous forests of Pindos and the Rhodope massif in contemporary Greece, and constitute one of the largest bear populations in southern Europe.[2]

For the Ancient Greeks, the bears had, consequently, always been there. Pausanias doesn't seem particularly interested in bears, but appears to consider them quite common in the Arcadian mountains.[3] The extreme transformation of the landscape has pushed the population further north in preserved areas, but it is safe to assume that the bear population was firmly established throughout mainland Greece at least, in the mountainous areas of the Peloponnese, Central and Northern Greece.

The Greek brown bears have a median size of 130 kg and 1.80 m of total body length (standing on their hind-legs) for adult males, 80 kg and 1.6 m for adult females and about 45 kg and 1.2 m for sub-adults (around 2 years of age).[4] They have an approximate lifespan of 22 years and reach sexual maturity at 4 years old. Males stand on four legs, their most common posture, at an average of 1 m and females around 80 cm shoulder height. The weight of each individual is variable depending on the seasons: bears accumulate fat before hibernation, that can last around 95 days – they are much lighter in the spring than in the autumn.

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[1] Murtshkvaladze *et al*., 2010, p. 1930-1931

[2] Karamanlidis *et al.*, 2015, p. 13 present a sampling study conducted from 2007 to 2010 in Vitsi Varnoundas, Northern Pindos, Central Pindos and Southern Pindos; information also provided by Callisto, Environmental Organization for Wildlife and Nature based in Thessaloniki.

[3] Pausanias, 4, 11

[4] Based on data found in Kanellopouls et al., 2006, p. 25 and on data found in Swenson, 2007, p. 37-47

Bears are omnivores and very curious of new tastes. The diet of the Greek bears presently living in the Greek mountains is approximately 89% vegetal and 11% animal: fleshy and dried fruit constitute the major portion of their nutrition; the bears show a preference for foods with soft textures such as sprouts, roots, berries, flowers and mushrooms but also eat protein-rich pine cones and acorns. The animal part is mostly composed by insects such as ants, reptiles such as tortoises and livestock carcasses. [5] It has been demonstrated in studies led in other locations that brown bears had become more carnivorous than they used to be in the modern world, because of the human destruction of their vegetable food supply: the bears turn to animal consumption as a second choice, and, when enough vegetation is available, small insects are the only animals consumed by brown bears.[6] More vegetarian bear groups tend to be smaller than the more carnivorous ones, and the Greek bears are towards the smallest size compared to other brown bears across the globe: they most likely have had a very vegetal diet for a long time until the effects were recorded in their genetic material.

Bears live a solitary life: males and females only meet to mate, and the female nurses her cubs for two and a half years, therefore only reproducing once every three years. Cubs are born very small, around 400 g, blind, toothless and hairless. They grow for 4 to 5 years before reaching full size; they feed on their mother's milk for an average of 2.5 years and are rarely autonomous before the age of 3 years old. Regardless of the date of mating, conception happens when the dormant hibernal period starts and cubs are born around 8 weeks into the hibernation period, while the mother is still asleep, and the cubs feed on the maternal milk until spring comes and their mother wakes: they are then around 8 kg and have developed teeth to be able to alternate between maternal milk and external foods. One litter usually holds between 1 and 3 cubs; older females tend to have several cubs.

Adult males and females with cubs are the most susceptible of displaying aggressive attitudes, while young adolescent males are the least antagonistic individuals. [7] Females tend to keep to smaller territories to avoid endangering their cubs in unfamiliar terrain: adult male will kill cubs if they have the chance, to bring the mother into mating dispositions. That is why mothers with cubs feel the need to display particularly reclusive and aggressive behaviors to insure the survival of their litters. Maternal instincts become so strong that female bears

[5] Information provided by Callisto, Environmental Organization for Wildlife and Nature based in Thessaloniki.
[6] Paralikidis *et al.*, 2010, p. 33
[7] Dahle *et al.*, 2003, p. 663

sometimes adopt stray cubs or even try to steal cubs from other smaller females when they wake up from hibernation.[8]

2. Interactions between bears and humans

Small brown bears such as the Greek subspecies normally avoid contact with humans. They are so difficult to spot because of their shyness: most papers on modern Greek bears mention the difficulty of spotting individuals. Even in the event of an encounter within their own habitat, the chance of attack of a bear on a human who doesn't initiate the hostilities is very low, but unpredictable, as the animal has more chances to attack if it feels surprised or menaced.[9] When an attack does occur, however, it often proves critical or fatal.

As a consequence, bear hunt is a dangerous sport, but bears and humans can easily and peacefully ignore each other even despite a geographical proximity. The only real danger of having bears near a settlement was the occasional loss of free-range cattle, horses, sheep or goats, but in a far lesser extent than the damage created by wolves or lions. As we have seen previously, Greek bears mostly fed on vegetation and they were more likely to finish over-kills left behind by large felines or canines, both primarily carnivores, than causing much damage to the flocks, especially when the domestic animals were guarded by dogs.

Pausanias mentions that the Arcadian mountaineers would wear the hide of wild beasts, namely wolves and bears.[10] The passage indicates that wearing bear or wolf hides was very uncommon and reflected on a wild lifestyle of dangerous hunts: the skins were a warm garment and trophy for hunters rather than a luxury item destined for trade. The killing of bears in Greek antiquity was therefore likely done, for the most part, by resentful owners of domestic animals, who would then proudly wear the hide, protecting themselves against the mountain cold while boasting about their hunting skills. Pausanias also mentions the purchase of bear cubs, especially if they looked exotic – like the Thracian white bears[11]; it is however possible that the practice, contemporaneous with Pausanias, was initiated at a later period as the perception of bears might have changed in late Greek antiquity with the Hellenistic glory hunts followed with the very Roman fascination for wild beasts in captivity and circus games.

[8] Erickson and Miller, 1963, p. 584-585
[9] Herrero, 1985, p. 219
[10] Pausanias, 4, 11
[11] Pausanias, 8, 17

In Classical Greece, bears were already brought into cities in the context of entertaining shows, described by Isokrates around 350 BC, along with other tame beasts, such as lions.[12] It is possible that tame bears existed since long before that: orphan cubs are small, easy to catch and relatively easy to tame.

3. Osteological remains of bears in sanctuaries

Bear bones are quasi-absent from the rich animal osteological evidence found in the religious context in Greece. Ekroth[13] brings forward the fact that "dogs, horses, donkeys, mules, cats, chicken, geese, pigeons, red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, wild boars, foxes, bears, wolves, weasels, turtles, snakes, crocodiles, gazelles, camels, vultures and lions" are all present in the osteological evidence at sanctuaries, even though they rarely represent more than 10% of the finds and are largely underrepresented compared to cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. As she points out, their existence has often been ignored or considered outside of the religious sphere, but their presence in sanctuaries should be considered separately for each species, taking different factors into consideration.

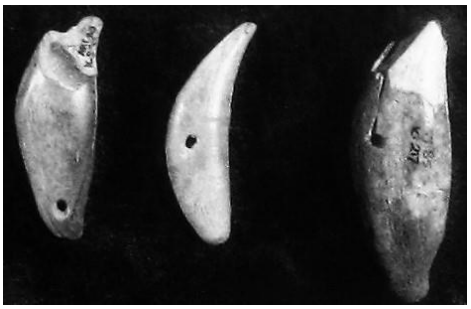

Fig. 1 – Bear teeth from the Artemision of Ephesus

At the Artemision of Ephesus, bones of horses, donkeys, dogs, deer, hare, bear and lion were found. Along with animal bones, human bones showing traces of butchering and burning were found together with the sacrificial remains of the Artemision.[14] The particularity of the osteological evidence on bears is that only teeth[15] have been found, and they were pierced **(Fig. 1)**[16]: they were possibly part of jewelry or amulet(s) offered as votive offerings. The bones of all the other species found at the sanctuary indicate the possibility of a sacrificial use, and maybe meat consumption, because of the traces of butchering and burning. Bear teeth were also found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi in Arcadia.[17] These bones can be put in

[12] Isokrates, 15 (*Antidoses*), 213-214
[13] Ekroth, 2007, p. 257
[14] Bammer, 1998, p. 40
[15] The teeth were studied by Rita Krachler; her unpublished doctoral dissertation, accepted in 1993 at the University of Vienna, was used by Anton Bammer in his 1998 article "Sanctuaries in the Artemision of Ephesus", where he presents the finds.
[16] Bammer, 1998, p. 40, fig. 12: "Pierced teeth of bear (85/K 583; 85/K 319; 85/K 217)"
[17] Bevan, 1987, p. 17

parallel with the gazelle phalanx and crocodile bones[18] found at the Heraion of Samos: these two species are found in no other osteological studies of Ancient Greek sites and "are not to be taken as the remains of sacrificial victims, neither as the leftovers of outlandish meals, but as votives."[19] The bones of these exotic animals are however, to be distinguished from ursine bones, because of the fact that bears were endemic to Greece, and therefore not as difficult to procure as animals native from the far East: the crocodile and gazelle were probably killed in their region of origin and their bones brought to Samos as a trophy. Ursine bones also appear in very small quantity in another sanctuary: osteological evidence from the early Archaic to late Classic periods were found in a pit dug in the center of a cult building dedicated to Heroes and Demeter at Ancient Messene reveal about 5% of bones from wild animals, amongst which along with red deer, roe deer, wild goat and wild boar were present in larger number, along with a very small number of fox, weasel, wolf and bear bones – the bear bones were the rarest in the group.[20] In the nearby sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, however, where wild species are also present, ursine bones are not attested. These pierced teeth are, to my knowledge, the only occurrences of osteological evidence for ursine bones at sanctuaries. The bear is therefore the least represented wild animal endemic to Greece in the context of potential meat consumption and sacrifices. The presence of the several pierced bear teeth at the Artemision of Ephesus reflect however on the fact that symbolical parts of the animal were an appropriate token in a votive context.

II. Bears in Greek literature

1. Bears in literature: perceptions and ancient zoology

In the fifth *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the goddess lays with Anchise on a bed well covered with hides of bears and lions hunted in the mountains by the hero himself.[21] This story takes place in Phrygia. In another passage of the same hymn, the wild creatures of the Ida mountains are reputed to be grey wolves, lions, bears, leopards, all of them preying on deer.[22] In several other passages

[18] Boessneck and Von Den Driesch, 1981
[19] Ekroth, 2007, p. 257
[20] Ekroth, 2007, p. 258; Nobis, 1997, p. 101-102
[21] Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 5, 159
[22] Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 5, 33

of the Homeric Hymns, bears are associated with lions and wolves[23]. In the Odyssey, bears are put on equal foot with wild boars and lions, as ferocious beasts of the mountains; they are represented on Herakles' golden baldric when his shadow raises from the Hades before Odysseus, symbolizing hunting game worthy of a hero.[24] Dionysos changes into a lion and then into a shaggy bear to scare off some pirates:[25] the episode uses the bear as a scare rather than illustrates a symbolical divine metamorphosis.

Herodotus mentions the bear in a rather incredible list of animals and strange humans found in Western Libya[26], and tells us that bears are rare in Egypt[27], where wolves are also no smaller than foxes. As often, Herodotus' account is not very helpful for precise historical accuracy, but it suggests that bears could be used for a comparison between Greece and other regions, because they were common in ancient Greece. Aristotle also considers the bear as a local animal, and describes bear copulation as the male lying on the female rather than mounting her from behind as the other animals did: bears are shown as more humans in this light.[28] He also knows that a mother bear gives birth to usually one or two cubs, and five at most, and that the young are unusually small at birth compared to other animals: he considers them to be smooth, blind and inarticulate. He places the mating period in the spring, during the month of Elaphobolion, and the time of birth at the end of the autumn, when the mother is at her fattest and ready to retire in a cave for the winter; she then comes out of her hibernation in the spring, after three months when her cubs are reared. These observations are rather accurate and show a good knowledge of the autochthonous animal.

2. Nurturing she-bears: Aristotle's biology and mythological bear mothers

Aristotle mostly speaks about bears in their reproductive habits: and describes she-bear as fierce and hard to catch after giving birth.[29] Pliny writes similar remarks to Aristotle's; he confirms ancient beliefs about bears and a special interest for the he-bear as a mother. The mother bear was viewed as more than a simple vessel for her cubs: she was believed to give birth to

[23] Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 4, 223
[24] Homer, Odyssey, 11, 611
[25] Homeric Hymn to Dionysos, 7, 32
[26] Herodotus, 4, 191, 4
[27] Herodotus, 2, 67, 2
[28] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 30
[29] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 18 and 30

shapeless offspring that she would then lick into shape.[30] This belief indicates that ancients probably were aware of how small and unformed new-born bears. Pliny goes on adding that the mother bear keeps her young warm by holding them close to her and lying on them as birds do: this idea probably comes from having found hibernating she-bears with their cubs without understanding the hibernation process. These zoological concepts reflect on the perception of the mother bear as a strong and creative matrix for her cubs inside and outside the womb.

A she-bear gave her milk to Atalanta[31], when she was exposed at birth by her father, and kept the girl alive until the hunters rescued her – even after reaching maturity, until she found her parents again, the heroin chose to remain a virgin and dedicated herself to the hunt, keeping to Artemis' realm. She was tricked into marriage by Hippomenes (or Melanion, depending on the versions) with a golden apple from Aphrodite, that distracted her from the race. Once married, she and her husband were believed to have loved each other in the precinct of Zeus during a hunt, and were consequently changed into lions as a punishment for their indiscretion. We can conjecture that the punishment, related to her relationship with her husband, was not only a consequence of her trespassing on Zeus' territory, but of her transgressing Artemis' rules of chastity. Indeed, having been nursed by a she-bear somehow makes her the adoptive child of the goddess in her therimorphic aspect. The temptation of the apple made her pass into the realm of Aphrodite, Artemis' opposite, and in the end, the transformation was made into animals believed to not be able to reproduce with each other[32] – making Atalante's marriage infertile even in her new animal embodiment.

3. Bear metamorphoses and theramorphism

The bear is widely accepted as the therimorphic animal of Artemis. [33] Primates were not native to Greece, and bears were likely the closest animal to man shape when indigenous myths were developed on the Greek mainland. Indeed, bears can stand up, walk on their hind-legs, hold hands, clap hands, walk in rhythm, and Aristotle thought that bears would even copulate like

[30] Pliny, 8, 4
[31] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 9, 2
[32] Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 185, in the context of Atalanta's myth explains the common held belief in Greek Antiquity that lions couldn't breed with each other but had to mate with leopards in order to reproduce.
[33] Bammer, 1998, p. 40

humans.[34] The indigenous beast was the very symbol of the Greek mysterious wilderness. The most famous bear in mythology was a she-bear who had started her life as a human woman. Calisto[35], an Arcadian nymph or a princess – daughter of the king Lykaon (whose name is also associated with wild beasts), had taken a vow of chastity to dedicate herself to Artemis, but Zeus seduced her[36] and she became pregnant by him: Artemis, when discovering the pregnancy, changed Calisto into a bear, and it is in this shape that she gave birth to her son, Arkas (whose name is reminiscent of "bear"). Even though some version attribute Callisto's death to Artemis herself or Hera, Hesiod's older version of the myth[37] tells that Arkas, not knowing her, was ready to kill her when he saw the animal about to enter Zeus' precinct: when witnessing the scene, Zeus took pity on her and changed her in a constellation before she was killed by her own son. Tradition associates Callisto to Artemis as her companion, and maybe another form of the goddess: in Arcadia, the goddess was worshipped as Artemis Callisto near the place where the grave of the she-bear was believed to be located.[38]

The Bear as a constellation is a Greek invention: in Ancient Egyptian astronomical mythology, the Great Bear of the Greeks was considered as the old goddess Apt or Kebt as a hippopotamus, and later on as a manifestation of Hathor, primarily as a woman with a roaring hippopotamus head, and then as a milk cow.[39] Both the hippopotamus and cow were in Egypt strong manifestations of female powerful deities, even more so with the hippopotamus than with the cow, as the female hippopotamus was a feared and revered animal. In Greece, the bear could have had a similar level of divinity: the bear was a primal aspect of Artemis, who is herself an embodiment of an old *Potnia Theron*, wild and powerfully feminine. In the bear, the Greeks may have found a combination of all aspects of the original Artemis: the virgin girl of the wilderness, revived by the Little Bears who served at Brauron, the protective and nurturing mother, ready to adopt abandoned children as her own as a she-bear did with Atalanta, and the fierce beast with uncontrollable passions that men are so eager to hunt, at the risk of being punished: Artemis sent a plague to Athens when her animal was killed by hunters. The first known

[34] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 30

[35] Hesiod, The Astronomy Fragment, 3; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3, 8, 2; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica*, 2, 1

[36] The version according to which Zeus changed himself into Diana (Artemis) to approach her doesn't appear before Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2, 405-431

[37] Hesiod, *The Astronomy Fragment*, 3

[38] Pausanias, 7, 35, 7

[39] Massey, 2013, vol. 1, p. 309

mention of the Ursa Minor as the Lesser Bear (Callisto's cub, Arkas) dates back to Thales of Miletus[40] in the 6th century. Homer only mentions one Bear as a constellation; Mesopotamian accounts considered these stars to be the Wagon of Heaven.[41] From Homeric times[42], "Ἄρκτος" was often used to refer to Ursa Major, the Great Bear constellation. Both constellation, Ursa Major and Minor, were known and distinct through the use of the adjectives "μεγάλη" and "μικρά"[43]. The lexical occurrences of the word meaning "bear" are numerous in Classical dramaturgic and prosaic literature,[44] but most of them refer to the constellations used as spatiotemporal markers.

These observations confirm the bear as an autochthonous animal of the Ancient Greek landscape, and its use as an aspect of Artemis is an old tradition that might have pertained to an older local goddess of nature rather than an import. The bear was very present in Greek mythology and almost always characterized as female with nurturing aspects. Its rare presence in representations might have pertained to some taboo surrounding this feared and respected embodiment of Artemis as the essence of wilderness before being humanized and portrayed as a hunting goddess.

4. The little bears of Artemis

The word "bears" was also used to refer to the little bears, the *arktoi* of Artemis, the girls appointed to the service of Artemis Brauronia. In Aristophane's *Lysistrata*,[45] the women, in one voice, declare having been "ἄρκτος" at Brauron, wearing a "κροκωτὸν". They put it on the list of things they have done to be useful for the city ("*κατάρχομεν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων*"[46]):

> "*ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ᾽ εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν,*
> *εἶτ᾽ ἀλετρὶς ἦ δεκέτις οὖσα τἀρχηγέτι,*
> *κᾆτ᾽ ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις,*
> *κἀκανηφόρουν ποτ᾽ οὖσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ᾽*
> *ἰσχάδων ὁρμαθόν*"[47]

In the chronological progression of her life, the perfect Athenian girl

[40] Diogenes Laertius, 1, 1, in his biography of Thales, who flourished around 585 BC
[41] Wagman, 2003, p. 312
[42] Homer, Iliad, 18, 487; Odyssey, 5, 6; 5, 273; 11, 611
[43] Strabo, Geography, 2, 5, 35-36
[44] Sophocles, *Trachinae*, 131; Euripides, *Electra*, 733; Euripides, *Ion*, 1154; Plato, *Critias*, 118b; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 3, 165
[45] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 643
[46] Aristophanes, Lysistrata. 638-639
[47] Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 643-647

becomes an *arrheophoros* as early as seven years old; she then serves as a grain-grinder (*aletris*) and, when reaching the age of ten, she becomes a bear (*arktos*) at Brauron, dressed in a saffron robe; later, when she has become a beautiful girl, she is a basket-bearer (*kanephoros*), adorned with a string of dried figs.

The origin of the cult has been attributed to a type of transposed metamorphosis in an *aetion* exposed by a scholium on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*[48], according to which the human *arktoi* were to serve Artemis at the *arkteia* and "mimic the bear" (*μιμούμεναι*) as a substitute for the goddess' bear, killed by an Athenian youth. According to this version, the she-bear of Artemis had ventured close to Athens and befriended girls who lived there; the animal accidentally scratched one of her young friends in their games, and the brother of the girls killed the bear as a retaliation. Following the incident, Artemis sent a plague on the city and the only gesture that eased her anger was the creation, on Apollo's advice, of her Braurorian Mysteries performed by little girls, who would be her little "bears" in replacement for the loss of her sacred she-bear.[49] The theme of interchangeability between girls and animals is recurrent in Artemis' mythology, and her first priestess at Brauron was Iphigenia, who was replaced by a doe, another sacred animal of the goddess, when she was about to be sacrificed.[50] And the reason why Agamemnon was about to sacrifice his finest daughter (*τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων ἡ κρατιστεύουσα*) in the first place was Artemis' anger at the killing of a deer – and Atreus not sacrificing her the golden ewe – also in the female in Pseudo-Apollodorus' version.[51] Eustathius also speaks of a similar substitution with the sacrifice of a human girl to repay the sacrilege killing of Artemis' bear at the sanctuary of Mounychian Artemis in Piraeus.[52] It was thus a natural request for Artemis to ask for the finest girls of Attica – the daughters of the Athenian citizens, to act as substitutes for her most sacred animals. One of the very few known aspects of the rites followed by the *arktoi* was the wearing of a *krokotos*, a saffron-dyed cloth, a very feminine cloth, associated with wedding rites and erotic scenes[53]: an interesting choice for unwed girls, dressed as brides and incarnating bears at the service of Artemis, a goddess of maidenhood, but also a protector of

[48] Scholiast on *Lysistrata*, 645
[49] Kahil, 1977, p. 87
[50] Euripides, 1585-1594
[51] Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 3, 21: "*τὴν χρυσῆν ἄρνα*"
[52] Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, 2, 732
[53] Brulé, 1987, p. 241 for the associations of the *krokotos* with nuptials and eroticism; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 138 shows the krokotos as an inappropriate cloth for a man, a sign that he was effeminate, and, also in *Thesmophoriazusae*, 939-942, Euripides wears a *krokotos* to disguise himself as a woman.

motherhood in her assimilations with the Kourotrophos and Eileithyia. The color of the cloth might also have been a reminder of the bear pelt.[54] In her mythology, Artemis is a goddess of anger, but also a goddess of mercy, who saves Iphigenia beyond her ritual death into her priestess-hood. The *arktoi* might have been dancing the last steps of their virgin years as the companions of Artemis, before a metamorphosis into adulthood through marriage, when they would bear children - and the bears of mythology have proven to be excellent mothers and wet-nurses: playing the bear was therefore a good preparation for the part they would have to play in society. They would therefore come to Artemis as girls, be bears for her and return to the goddess as expecting mothers to be granted her protection anew in another of her aspects: their children would then be protected by the goddess and their daughters would be bears to ensure the continuity of the natural cycle under the protection of the most ancient deity of the wilderness, likely originally honored as a bear, through her cyclical manifestation of natural femininity. A ritual race of the little girls was also organized for the little bears at Brauron but also Artemis' young followers at the several Attic sanctuaries of the goddess, as Kahil's study of the iconography of the Arkteia has shown.[55]

The dances of Artemis' *arktoi*, were likely inspired by bear movements observed since before the Archaic period; captive tame bears are common in many cultures and bear shows are attested by Isokrates[56] in 4th century BC Athens, but could have been tamed since several centuries earlier, and even maybe kept as sacred animals at some of Artemis' sanctuaries. Isokrates notes that the bears (and he uses the feminine to speak of bears) are rolling around

Fig 2. Three little brown bears "dancing" close to their mother

[54] Brulé, 1987, p. 205; Kahil, 1988, p. 802
[55] Kahil, 1977, p. 87-90
[56] Isokrates, 15 (*Antidoses*), 213-214

and imitating humans: "τὰς δ᾽ ἄρκτους καλινδουμένας καὶ παλαιούσας καὶ μιμουμένας τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐπιστήμας". Little girls and bear cubs were not only interchangeable on the spiritual level: they also were physiologically close to one another and the playful steps of live little bears **(Fig. 2)**[57] can easily be assimilated to human dance and copied in ritual movements by little girls mimicking the animal. The evidence presented by Kahil strongly suggests the use of bear masks in ritual dances[58]; live bear cubs might have occasionally have been tamed and kept at sanctuaries, but the bear dances were likely taught by older girls wearing a mask and to the youngest novices. The cult might have been a remnant of a Mycenaean religion centered around Iphigenia as chthonian goddess of fertility older than Artemis and assimilated to a bear, who would later have been converted into the goddess' protégée when she was integrated to the post-Mycenaean Greek mythology and religion.

III. Representations of bears in Archaic to Hellenistic Greece

While bears have been represented very early on in northern Europe, on the walls of the Lascaux cave, and even though excavated bones attest of their presence since at least the Neolithic period in Greece, they are very seldom represented in Greek art. Bear representations have only been identified at five Greek sanctuaries.[59] The Brauroneion on the Acropolis of Athens, where the only known statue of bear **(U1)** made in Greece between the Archaic and the Hellenistic period was dedicated; at the same sanctuary, a small terracotta bear was also discovered but appears to date from the Roman period.[60] At the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, where many other animal figurines were

[57] Photo: Valtteri Mulkahainen/Solent News & Photo Agency. Brown bears (ursus arctus), of the same family as the Greek bears, observed and photographed in Finland. The author of the photo tells the story behind it: the three little bears, two males and a female, danced in a circle while clutching their hands and clapped their feet in rhythm while their mother relaxes close to them. Other photos taken at the same occasion show the end of the dance: one little bear climbs up the tree, another sits on the ground and the third stays standing and claps its hands. A scene reminiscent of human playgrounds.

[58] Kahil, 1977, p. 94-95: a ram, a donkey and a bear mask and forelegs are represented on little girl's body at Lykosoura, where Demeter and Artemis are tightly linked in the local cult.

[59] Bevan, 1987, in an article following her thesis published in 1983 in which she researches animal representations in sanctuaries of the Olympian gods throughout Greece.

[60] Morgan C.H., 1935, p. 212

dedicated, two bear figurines dating from the Archaic period were found: one in terracotta and one in ivory[61]; a limestone relief of the beginning of the 6th century BC from the same sanctuary has an eroded animal which might be a bear[62]. Terracotta bears were found at the Archaic Artemision of Thasos[63], along with many other animal figurines: birds, bears, monkeys, boars, pigs, tortoises and a snake. An undated clay bear head was found at the Argive Heraion, and an early 7th century anthropomorphic bronze statuette with what appears to be a bear head was found at Tegea, a work reminiscent of Mycenaean figurines and statuettes found at Lykosoura in Arcadia, one of which has a bear head carved under the mantle of a deity identified as Despoina.[64]

All the other animals represented on free-standing offerings as well as many others were featured on Greek coinages: from the Aeginitan turtle, to the octopus from Eretria, but the bears on coins are extremely rare in Greek antiquity: they are only found on rare tribols from Mantinea in Arcadia, from 470 to 490 BC, featuring a bear with a star on its shoulder **(Fig. 3)**[65]. The following known coins on the Greek timeline displaying a bear date from the Roman period, after the emperor Hadrian presumably killed a she-bear and minted for the foundation

Fig. 3 – a (up) - b (down) – Tribols from Mantinea

[61] Dawkins R.M., 1929, p 158, fig. 13 and p. 232, pl. 153; Bevan, 1987, p. 17

[62] Dawkins R.M, 1929, p. 193, no. 53

[63] Daux G., 1958, p. 810; the number of bear figurines is not mentioned but likely not very high as the bears are only mentioned towards the end of the enumeration of animal representations found at the Artemision of Thasos.

[64] Dugars C., 1921, p. 356, no. 55, fig. 17

[65] Photos: wildwinds.com. 3-a (up): Arcadian tribol from Mantinea, ca. 490-480 BC, 2.98 g. “Bear walking left of dotted groundline, countermark of star on shoulder / M-A, dolphin swimming right within a dotted square, all within an incuse square”; Jameson 1261. 3-b (down): Arcadian tribol from Mantinea, ca. 490-480 BC, 2.91 g. “Bear […] walking left with open jaws / M-A, three acorns arranged in a triangle, oak leaf on the left, all within a triangular incuse”, BMC 2; BCD Pelop. 1449.

of his city, Hadrianothera in Mysia with his profile on one side and the profile of a bear on the other, in the first half of the 2nd century AD[66], at a time when bears start also appearing on other stamped objects.[67]

In funerary art, bears appear on the architrave of the Nereid monument at Xanthos, in the 4th century BC:[68] in the frieze, an adult bear is showing standing on its hind-legs, and holding its forepaws together as if they were hands.[69] No free-standing bear statue was found in any context nor mentioned in literary sources in our timeframe.

Bears were therefore seldom represented. Even though it was an indigenous, well-known animal with a strong mythological presence and important symbolism, it was mostly present at sanctuaries in the form memorabilia made of symbolic animal parts, such as claws or teeth, but bears were rarely depicted in art. Lions, another wild animal, were often represented, and so were birds and the common domestic animals, offered by the thousands in the form of figurines. The scarcity of bear representations in sanctuaries cannot be blamed on the lack of natural observations: if claws and teeth could be found, bear hides were certainly available – and bears were not harder to spy on than lions, especially because hibernating bears could be found in caves. The non-representation of bears was a deliberate choice and it might convey a silent mystery and taboo surrounding Artemis' closest animal counterpart.

IV. Bear *anathema*: presentation and significance

The little bear **(U1)** from the Artemision, is not only the only surviving free-standing large *anathema* of bear from a sanctuary, but the only bear statue found in Archaic to Hellenistic Greece: no sculptural groups including a bear, or other free-standing bear statues are known. Moreover, it is also amongst the very few bear representations found at sanctuaries: bear dedications were only found at four other sanctuaries – and only two of these had figurines of the whole animal: the Artemision of Thasos, and of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

No free-standing bear statues are mentioned in literature, and no inscription could be linked with any bear dedication.

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[66] Von Fritze, 1913, p. 199, no. 565-566.
[67] On a 2nd century AD lamp from Knidos, kept at the British Museum
[68] British Museum 1848,1020.113; sculpture 889, ca. 390-380 BC
[69] Moltesen, 2002, p. 282, fig. 8

Item	**U1 Bear cub**
Category	Bears
Sanctuary	**Acropolis of Athens**
Location	**Acropolis - 3737**
Datation	**4th century**
Material	**Pentelic marble**
Size	**H: ca. 70 cm** **Life-size**

Photo: © Acropolis Museum by Socratis Mavromatis

Description

Found in the **Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis of Athens**.

This little bear, about half the size of an adult bear seems to be the representation of a small life-size pre-adult she-bear - that is about half of a life-size adult.

The bear is sitting on its haunches on a plinth. The general attitude seems peaceful. The left hind leg is missing but was probably resting on the plinth, while the other leg has its knee up and the paw on the ground. Both front legs are broken from the shoulders. The face is also very damaged. The torso is exposed and is decorated with the same carefully styled soft curls as the rest of the body. The area where the genitalia could have been represented is damaged.
The attitude of the animal and the shape of the plinth indicate that the bear was possibly set on a small column serving as a base.

Sources

Moltesen, 2002, p. 282, fig. 7
Kahil, 1977, p. pl. 22, fig. 6-7
Ross, 1841, p. 29

1. Context of the Brauroneion on the Athenian Acropolis

The Athenian Brauroneion has been the object of a detailed presentation earlier in this dissertation.[70] The *arktoi* who resided in the halls of Brauron were, for the most part, Athenian girls of high birth, and the Brauroneion, set in their hometown since the reign of the Brauronian-born Peisistratos, was another place for their rites in honor of Artemis, when the veneration of Artemis Brauronia became a state cult. It included banqueting halls for the little bears to gather. As previously seen in this chapter, they performed a little-known mystery cult for the goddess. It appears from representations connected with this cult that the rituals might have involved either a real bear or a costumed human imitation of one – the evidence, however, is slim and the painted vases with such scenes are of unknown provenance.[71] Regardless of the presence of a physical bear or close costume at Brauron, the importance of the animal as a symbol in the cult of Artemis Brauronia both at Brauron and in her Acropolis sanctuary is unequivocal.

2. The marble bear (U1)

The little marble bear is the size of a live bear cub. The treatment of the movement suggests the 4th century BC, a date agreed on by Kahil and Bevan.[72]

Because statues contemporary to this one are inexistent for comparison, the observation of natural bears in captivity and on pictures was useful for a better understanding of this sculpture. It has led me to believe that the little bear from the Brauroneion is a very accurate representation of a female cub of about one year of age. The hair is lightly curled, which suggests a softness of the fur while adult bears have a shaggier coat with straighter hair. Adults also display less flexibility in their movements, while the cubs tend to flex their bodies in soft curves. One picture of a North American male brown bear cub **(Fig. 4)**[73] - a sub-species of *ursus arctus* very similar to the Greek one – shows a cub sitting in a position almost identical with the bear cub from the Brauroneion: the main difference between them is that the sculptural bear has her head up while the

[70] See chapter on "dogs"

[71] Kahil, 1977, p. 86, studies *krateriskoi* from a private collection and unknown provenance for her study of scenes that she reads as depictions of the *arkteia*; also, Bevan, 1987, p. 18

[72] Kahil, 1977, p. 94; Bevan, 1987, p. 17

[73] Photo: © GrizzlyBearBlog. Taken in Alaska. The author of the picture comments that he shot the image while the cub, not even a year old, was using a stone to scratch his belly, a gesture showing higher intelligence and mental faculties observed in primates.

live bear on the picture keeps his head down. The bear on the picture is resting its left hand on the ground and holding a stone in his right, to scratch his belly with it. The arms of the statue are broken but because the feet and the body are in a similar position as this seated bear (and many other observed seated bears) it is likely that the left hand of the bear in the statue was set on the plinth, helping maintain the balance of the statue, while the other hand was used otherwise. It is impossible to know what the sculpted bear was doing with her right paw, but it isn't impossible that she was holding an object, showing her dexterity.

Fig. 4 – Seated bear cub scratching his belly with a stone

Comparison with natural bears indicate that the bear represented in the anathema was a female cub, shown in a peaceful attitude and possibly holding something in front of her belly or to her mouth with her right paw. The break of the lower jaw and the high position of the muzzle also suggests that the mouth was open. The cub might have had her mouth open to let out a growl or a yawn or to ask for attention, a movement often observed in cubs separated from their mother and weaned too early, rather than to display any sort of aggression.

Lilly Kahi suggests that the little she-bear might have belonged to the cult statue of the goddess. Pausanias does mention the statue of the Brauronian Artemis, made by Praxiteles, with no further description; the colossal head of the statue was found and is now exposed at the Acropolis museum. If the bear was at the feet of Artemis, it is highly probable that Pausanias would have mentioned it, especially considering the scarcity of bear representations in Greece – Pausanias does mention the dog lying at the side of Asklepios' cult-statue as well the snake in the god's hand at Epidauros[74]; he also mentions the presence of a cock on the helmet of the chryselephantine cult statue of Athena on the Elian Acropolis[75] and also remembers to mention the eagle perched on Zeus' scepter at Olympia.[76] The only important missing animal attribute in Pausanias' descriptions is the owl, which likely have been set on the

[74] Pausanias, 2, 27, 2
[75] Pausanias, 6, 26, 3
[76] Pausanias, 5, 11, 1

outstretched hand of some of her Athenian statues, as she does on Attic bronze statuettes: Pausanias does note, however, that thieves or, less likely, a flock of crows had broken the spear and owls off a statue of a chryselephantine Athena at Delphi as well as the dates of a palm-tree set next to her[77]: animals placed on fragile parts of statues were more likely to go missing. The Acropolis bear **(U2)**, on the other hand, is well-preserved and solidly set on its plinth, and there would have been no reason for it to be separated from a statue to which it had belonged, especially since the statue was still standing when Pausanias saw it.

The little bear **(U2)** was more likely a free-standing offering set on a votive column inside the Brauroneion as it was first suggested by Ross in the 19th century.[78]

3. Significance of the bear cub *anathema* to Artemis

The important symbolism of the bear and its tight links with Artemis' mythology and the central figure of the Arkteia, the most important festival of Artemis Brauroneia, was likely celebrated both at Brauron, the main center of worship for the goddess, and on the Acropolis of Athens, from where the little Athenian girls who were to become *arktoi* started and finished their rite of passage, before and after leaving their families to serve at Brauron. The choice of a female bear cub as a subject of this statue strongly suggests that this portrait of an *arktos* was both the portrait of the animal and the essence of the role that the little girls who carried that name were incarnating during their initiation. Nothing is known of the dedicator: the statue couldn't be associated to a column or inscription but its quality suggests that it was made by one of the lead artists of the 4th century, who started mastering Hellenistic constructions, maybe even Praxiteles, who had worked on the cult statue. Because it is a small statue, it could have been a private offering; but it could also have been dedicated by the Athenians to the scale of a life bear, emphasizing the tenderness and vulnerability of their precious girls. While many marble statues of children of both genders (a higher number of boy statues but higher quality girl sculptures – likely the little bear priestesses) were dedicated in Brauron in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the finds from the Athenian Acropolis do not echo the statues from Brauron: instead of many children, only this bear was discovered. The occurrence of other portraits of women in the shape of animals based on name consonances, and the interchangeability of girls and bears in myths associated to Artemis suggests that through the offering of this little bear as a symbolic prenuptial portrait of the finest Athenian girls, Artemis was entrusted with the care of the future mothers of the *polis*.

[77] Pausanias, 10, 15, 5
[78] Ross, 1841, p. 29

Wolves

I. Gray wolves: autochthonous Greek carnivores

The wolf, λύκος (*Canis lupus*) is native to Greece. A genetic study lead in 2013[1] has established that Greek gray wolves belong to the same genetic cluster as the gray wolves found in Croatia and Bulgaria; and their DNA can be differentiated from the wolves found in north-eastern Europe and central Europe, suggesting that these groups have been formed over several millennia; Greek and Bulgarian wolves are also slightly different from the ones found in Croatia. Wolves are territorial animals, and, while they walk many kilometers every day, they tend to remain in the same general area where they were born if they are not pushed to migrate because of ecological and environmental factors. Consequently, because wolves had large amounts of forested areas at their disposal in Greek antiquity, there were likely large populations in the forests and mountains throughout the land, especially in the mountainous areas, where they would find more quiet and isolation from the increasing human population.

Greek gray wolves[2] are predominantly brown and grey in color, weight 20 to 40 kg and have a lifespan of 8 to 16 years; they reach maturity a little before two years-old and females give birth to litters of 3 to 7 cubs once a year in the spring. Even though lone wolves sometimes choose to live in isolation, wolves are very social animals and usually live in large packs of over 50 individuals; they howl to locate one another. They are mostly nocturnal and have excellent night vision.

As most wild carnivorous animals, wolves were a very uncommon sacrificial victim, and, for this reason, their remains are rarely found in human settlements, where excavations are usually led. Even though they were very common in the forested and mountainous areas, wolves were an uncommon sight for those who lived a sedentary life in towns. Like bears, wolves were wild animals living in the forests and mountains: Pausanias reports their existence in

[1] Stronen et al., 2013, online article

[2] Information about Greek gray wolves provided by Callisto, Environmental Organization for Wildlife and Nature based in Thessaloniki. Gray wolves survive in contemporary Greece; their population is estimated to around 5000 to 7000 individuals distributed in about a hundred packs of 50 to 70 individuals each at least.

the Arcadian mountains, where the local mountaineers would kill them and wear their hides[3]. Wolves were at the top of the food chain and knew no other threat than lions (although lions were already very scarce in Archaic Greece) and men: bears wouldn't normally choose to attack other carnivores. Hunters and shepherds were the most likely to encounter wolves, as they preyed on cattle, sheep and goats; in these circumstances, dogs were the allies of men in keeping the wolves away from the domestic animals.

II. Wolves in Greek literature and mythology

1. Descriptions and perception of wolves in Greek literature

In antiquity, the process of domestication of wolves into dogs that took place millennia prior had long been forgotten; wolves and dogs were viewed as diametrically opposed animals in spirit. While wolves and men had cohabitated for millennia without considering each other as a threat,[4] wolves became a public enemy when domestication started being practiced in larger scale, because of the menace they represented to livestock: as early as the 6th century BC, the war on wolves was officially declared when Solon offered a reward for each killing of a wolf.[5] In Homer, they are mostly viewed metaphorically as a murderous and ravenous beast[6], ready to savage the flocks of the inattentive shepherd.[7]

Wolves were generally perceived as a treacherous animal, with the appearances of dogs, men's faithful companion, but a very different personality: the concept of the wolf in sheep clothing, made wildly famous in Occident through its use in the New Testament[8], already existed in Greek antiquity, and the fake love of wolves for sheep "*ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπῶσιν*"[9]

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[3] Pausanias, 4, 11, 3

[4] Fagan, 2015, p. 23

[5] Plutarch, Solon, 23, 3, "*λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίσαντι πέντε δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, λυκιδέα δὲ μίαν, ὧν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμήν*". 5 drachmas for a wolf and one for a female cub, a reward supposedly calculated on the price of an ox and of a sheep in the Archaic period according to Demetrios of Phaleiron (these prices, however, are about 20 times less than those known for cattle and sheep in the Classical period).

[6] Homer, Iliad, 4, 445; 4, 73; 13, 103

[7] Homer, Iliad, 16, 352-354

[8] *Gospel of Matthew*, 7, 15

[9] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 241d. Long before, Homer, *Iliad*, 264, remarks of the difference of heart between wolves and sheep, the ones being malicious and the other innocent.

was the metaphor chosen by Plato to describe the unnatural undertones of pederasty. Athenaeus also nicknames the pederasts "wolves"[10]. Plato also notes the apparent physical resemblance between wolves and dogs, contrasting with their completely different nature. Indeed, wolves had been observed to behave in a soft manner towards their prey at first, before devouring them. Wolves certainly had a high rank in the Greek imagery as many sayings were constructed around them[11], usually constructed around the animals' presumed malice and treachery; many places and a few heroes also drew their name from wolves. [12]

The use of the word *λύκαινα* as a synonym for prostitute, doesn't appear in texts from Archaic to Hellenistic Greece. The word was likely translated from the Latin *lupa* and was used by Greek authors in the Roman period, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, for instance, in which the prostitute-lover who initiates Daphnis is named Lykaina. In Greek literature, the she-wolf is usually referring to Leto's transformation.[13]

Aristotle gives a considerable amount of information about ancient knowledge of wolves in his *History of Animals*. Aristotle describes wolves as wild animals that, like leopards but unlike some other wild animals, could not be tamed.[14] Females are defensive of their puppies, as are the she-bears and lionesses, and, while they don't fight among themselves, they are aggressive towards intruders.[15] He also considers the wolf as brave and crafty animals – but not noble and generous like the lion, and, because of that difference, he believes that the wolf can't easily set aside its nature.[16] As for the color, Aristotle considers that hyenas are the same color as wolves, but the wolves are less hairy and don't have a mane on their back[17] (this mistake might, however, be due to his lack of knowledge about hyena, as wolf skins were

[10] Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, 1165, 69

[11] Examples: Aristotle, Eudemian Ethics, 7, 1235a, "ἔγνω δὲ φώρ τε φῶρα, καὶ λύκος λύκον" ;Pausanias, 7, 12, 2 "*βεβαιοῖ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς ἄρ᾽ ἦν καὶ πῦρ ἐς πλέον ἄλλου πυρὸς καῖον καὶ λύκος ἀγριώτερος λύκων ἄλλων καὶ ὠκύτερος ἱέραξ ἱέρακος πέτεσθαι*"; Polybius, 16, 25, 5, "*τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, λύκου βίον ζῆν. παρ᾽ ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἁρπάζων καὶ κλέπτων*"; Suda, λ, 811, "*Λύκον εἶδες: ἐπὶ τῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀχανῶν γινομένων. σὺ δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δύναιο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιβλέπειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον οὐ φθέγξῃ, λύκον εἶδες, εἴπερ ἄλλοθί που, κάνταῦθα δόξει κυρίως εἰρῆσθαι*"

[12] Lykaon was an early king of Arcadia, where wolves abounded, for instance; cf. Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 8, 1 and Pausanias, 8, 2, 1.

[13] Aristotle, History of Animals, 6, 29, 2. The metamorphosis of Leto into a she-wolf is analyzed later in this chapter, in the part about wolves in myths.

[14] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 1, 1, 12

[15] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 17, 3

[16] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 1, 1, 14

[17] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 28, 2

certainly easier to procure in Greece). He notes that wolves and dogs present similarities: they copulate in the same manner[18] and in the same season, have the same periods of gestation and both produce blind pups at the start of summer.[19] It was also believed that, in Cyrene, wolves and dogs copulated together and produced offspring[20]. Aristotle also notes that wolves are carnivorous and that lone wolves are more dangerous to humans than wolves that hunt in packs,[21] but boars fought fat boars[22] and fed on sheep[23]; they would also attack oxen, donkeys and foxes[24]. Aristotle notes that both wolves and dogs were smaller in Egypt because Greece provided them with more preys[25], and so does Herodotus[26]. Aelian notes that the wolf had a good night-vision, even when there was no moon, which gave the Greek name for twilight, λυκόφως.[27]

2. Wolves in myths and cults

Wolves seem almost exclusively connected to Apollo, Artemis and Leto in their cultic aspect. Zeus, Leto's consort and father of the Delian twins, was also venerated as Lykios.

In the *Iliad*, Apollo is referred to as a wolf-born[28] archer god, and in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, he is invoked as "the Wolf lord" ("*Λύκει᾽ ἄναξ*") [29] and asked to become a wolf who groans to the enemy; his archer sister Artemis, born of Leto is invoked in the same prayer. Indeed, according to a legend reported by Aristotle[30], Leto had come from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos in the shape of a wolf to avoid been recognized by the jealous Hera. Her errancy lasted twelve days, and for that reason lionesses were fabled to be in pain for twelve days before they could be delivered of their cubs. Aristotle also mentions another tale according to which, because of Leto's assimilation with the wolf at the time of her delivery, real she-wolves only gave

[18] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 5, 2, 3
[19] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 29, 2
[20] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8, 22, 8
[21] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8, 7, 1
[22] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8, 8, 3
[23] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8, 12, 3
[24] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 9, 2, 5
[25] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 8, 27, 4
[26] Herodotus, 2, 67
[27] Aelian, Historia Animalium, 10, 26
[28] Homer, Iliad, 4, 101 and 109
[29] Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*, 145-146: "*καὶ σύ, Λύκει᾽ ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ / στρατῷ δαΐῳ στόνων ἀντίτας. / σύ τ᾽, ὦ Λατογένει-/α κούρα, τόξον εὐτυκάζου Ἄρτεμι φίλα*."
[30] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 6, 29, 2

birth once in their lives. The philosopher and zoologist does not admit these beliefs inspired from tales as truths, but his mention of these myths, confirmed by Aelian[31], suggests a strong folkloric association between Leto and the she-wolf.

Leto's two children, Artemis and Apollo, were both honored in association with the animal: there were several sanctuaries of Apollo Lykios and Artemis Lykeia. Pausanias visited sanctuaries of Apollo Lykios in Sicyon[32] and in Argos[33]; he also went to sanctuaries of Artemis Lykeia, who had a temple in Troezen[34], supposedly built by Hippolytos himself.

Pausanias' guides on these different sites all provide him with alternative versions of the reasons for the creations of the temples of Apollo Lykios and Artemis Lykeia: they often connect the origin of these sanctuaries to a killing of wolves that were ravaging the land, or to symbolic murders of cattle by wolves, but Pausanias admits that there might be other explanations that he is not aware of,[35] which could mean that the wolf cults were associated with mystery cults, and Pausanias is not prone to revealing or guessing religious mysteries (he also abstains from describing the sanctuary of Eleusis, following a dream he had the night before he visited, for instance).

The only known wolf sacrifices in written sources are made to Artemis and Apollo. At the festival held in honor of Artemis Laphria in Patras, in which a variety of wild beasts, including birds, boars, deer, gazelles, wolf-cubs, bear-cubs and adult beasts were offered together with vegetal offerings, according to Pausanias.[36] The Scholiast on Sophocles' *Electra*[37] writes that wolves were sacrificed to Zeus Lykaios at Argos: he might be confusing Zeus for Apollo at Argos, or both cults might have been celebrated together: Pausanias does mention a *zoanon* of Zeus and Artemis in front of the temple of Apollo Lykios at Argos.[38]

It seems like Apollo could pass on his wolfish aspect to his progeny: he was known to have a son named Lykoros by a nymph, and that son created a town on Parnassos named Lykoreia, where wolves would howl. This Lykoros was famed to be the grandfather of Delphos, who was also fathered by Apollo, and

[31] Aelian, Historia Animalium, 4, 3 also reports the tale spread by the Delian according to which the she-wolf only delivers her cubs after twelve days, the time that it took for Leto to get from the Hyperborean land to Delos.
[32] Pausanias, 2, 9, 7
[33] Pausanias, 2, 19, 3
[34] Pausanias, 2, 31, 4
[35] Pausanias, 2, 31, 4
[36] Pausanias, 7, 18, 12
[37] Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 6
[38] Pausanias, 2, 19, 7

who became the founder of Delphi[39], Apollo's main cult center, not far from Lykoreia.

Zeus received a similar but not identical epithet: Lykaios (rather than Lykios like Apollo); no sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios was described in Pausanias, who does attest the cult and the epithet, but only in the context of legends or tales in which he does not believe. Zeus Lykaios might have had altars within sanctuaries of Apollo Lykios and Artemis Lykeia. The wolfish cult of Zeus appears to relate to folk tales of lycanthropy. Pausanias tells the myth according to which Lykaon had sacrificed a human baby on the altar of Zeus Lykaios, and was changed into a wolf after the sacrifice, but that after nine years of not eating flesh, Lykaon turned back into a man.[40] Another legend about the Arkadian boxer Damarkos, an Olympic victor, told that the athlete had been changed into a wolf in the context of a sacrifice he made to Zeus Lykaios, and that he turned back into a man after nine years. Pausanias doesn't believe in this legend, and doesn't see it recorded at Olympia the boxer dedicated a statue.[41] These beliefs in human transformation into wolves and back connected to Zeus Lykaios might originate in Scythian beliefs: the incredulous Herodotus reports a hearsay that, at the Scythian city of Neuri, where Greeks were also settled, there was a yearly festival in which everyone in the city turn into wolves for a few days and then change back.[42] The difference in epithets between Apollo and Zeus might suggest the true wolf-born aspect of Apollo versus a wolf-like aspect of Zeus.

These cultic associations lead to understand wolves as a primitive theramorphic aspect of the divine, a characteristic shared with bears. Because of Leto's metamorphosis, some traditions might have considered that Apollo and Artemis were born as wolf cubs as a variation for their anthropomorphic aspect; that is the way Aelian reads the Greek legend. Zeus might have been associated to the lykomorphic family because of his role Leto's consort in association with Apollo and Artemis'. Not much is known of his encounter with Leto, his first cousin by both parents, according to Hesiod' *Theogony*. To Hesiod, Leto is simply known as a very gentle to gods and men (one of the characteristics of the Mother of the Gods, who also is a friend of lions and

[39] Pausanias, 10, 6, 2
[40] Pausanias, 8, 2, 3 and 8, 2, 6
[41] Pausanias, 6, 8, 2
[42] Herodotus, 4, 105, 2

wolves[43]) and the goddess is wearing a dark veil[44], which might be a reference to her primitive wolf fur. Zeus is known for his animal metamorphoses: some traditions might have considered that Zeus and Leto conceived their children in the form of wolves. What raises questions is the absence of Leto Lykeia in written documents. Indeed, it seems like the wolf aspect of the Delian family originates with her transformation, but nothing is said of her probable wolf cult; this suggest the possibility of a taboo surrounding Leto's wolfish aspect.

3. Absence of wolf depictions and *anathemata*

While most animals are represented in small votive offerings, wolf figurines and statuettes appear to be completely absent from sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. In her wide survey of animal representations at sanctuaries of Olympian gods, covering over fifty sanctuaries (in which sanctuaries of Artemis, Apollo and Zeus, the three wolf-related deities are present), Bevan does not find any wolf representation.[45]

Osteological studies on wolves in antiquity are lacking and approximative: in the absence of genetic studies, wolf and dog remains are mainly differenced based on size, which is not always a reliable factor, considering that there were large breeds of dogs, like the Molossians, comparable to wolves in size. However, lupine bones have been occasionally identified at sanctuaries where osteological analyses were led: for instance, a wolf shoulder bone was found at the temple of Artemis Orthia with material dating from the early Archaic period.[46]

At the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, one little amulet made of the canine tooth **(Fig. 1)**[47] of a carnivorous animal crimped in a bronze pendant, was made with the fang of a wolf or of a dog (the difference is impossible to tell in the absence of a DNA analysis). It might be the only wolf-related offering discovered at a Greek sanctuary.

Fig. 1 – Wolf or dog fang pendant, Brauron

[43] *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 1-5

[44] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 405-407: "*Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, μείλιχον αἰεί, / ἤπιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, / μείλιχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀγανώτατον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου*."

[45] Bevan, 1986

[46] Nobis, 1994, p. 302; Ekroth, 2007, p. 258, notes that the shoulder was the fleshier part of the animal, which had likely been consumed.

[47] Photo: Linda Talatas. Brauron Museum, inv. 245

Representations of wolves in ancient Greece are quasi-inexistent; wolves do not even appear on funerary monuments. Some Hellenistic coins from Argos have been interpreted as depicting a wolf, but the image they bear is more likely of a dog. Some Hellenistic silver obols from Laranda in Lykaonia, a large region to the interior of Asia Minor, show a wolf, a symbol directly related to the name of the region. The Lykaonians, however, are not Greeks and some of the coins show Baal on their other face.[48] These Lykaonian coins are a useful parallel with Greek coins on which canines are represented. The wolves on the Argian coins appear more dog-like, but they might really have been wolves represented as a symbol of Aopllo Lykios, who had an important local cult.A few Attic vase paintings of uncertain provenance **(Fig. 2)** [49] represent the Homeric hero Dolon[50], who serves as an intermediate in the discussions between Greeks and Trojans and whose identifying physical characteristic in the *Iliad* is to be clad in a wolf-skin. Other than that, wolves seem to be completely absent from any support of representation.

Fig. 2 – Dolon

Wolf representations are, consequently, completely absent from Archaic to Hellenistic Greek sanctuaries, while the wolf was an important symbol in the cults of Leto, Apollo, Artemis and Zeus. This absence in representations can be put in parallel with the quasi-absence of bear representation, another important cultic animal in relation with Artemis.

[48] SNG France 443; SNG Levante 225; SNG Levante 227 for silver obols from Lykaonia ca. 331 BC with the wolf on one side and Baal on the other. The sun symbol is depicted above the wolf as it is above the lion on Lydian coins.
[49] Photo: Judy Green. Louvre, CA 1802.
[50] Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 332-335 and 454

III. Typology and significance of sculptural wolf *anathemata*

While no wolf representation survives from ancient Greek sanctuaries, Pausanias does mention one lupine offering:

Wa1[51]

A **bronze wolf** was dedicated at Delphi by the Delphians themselves near the great altar. "*Δελφῶν δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστιν αὐτῶν πλησίον τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου λύκος χαλκοῦς. λέγουσι δὲ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων συλήσαντα ἄνθρωπον, τὸν μὲν ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσίῳ κατακρύψαντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἔνθα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μάλιστα ἦν συνεχὲς ὑπὸ ἀγρίων δένδρων, λύκον δὲ ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καθεύδοντι, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁσημέραι φοιτῶν ὠρύετο ὁ λύκος: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ παραγίνεσθαί σφισιν ὑπελάμβανον, οὕτως ἐπακολουθοῦσι τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ ἀνευρίσκουσί τε τὸ ἱερὸν χρυσίον καὶ ἀνέθεσαν λύκον τῷ θεῷ χαλκοῦν*."[52]

Pausanias reports the local reason given for the offering: that a thief had taken gold from the god and hidden it in the forest on the Parnassos mountain. A wolf killed the thief, and then went every day to the city and howled, until it was understood that this behavior was not unrelated with the god and people followed the beast, discovered the sacred gold and dedicated the bronze wolf to the god.

Aelian[53] gives his opinion on this offering too, although he likely only knew about it from written sources and not from a direct observation on site as he writes from Rome in the 2nd century AD. He knows the contemporaneous version of Pausanias on the reason why the offering was made, but differs about it. Instead, he suggests that the bronze wolf was set there as a reminder of Leto's birth pains "*ταύτῃ τοι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνακεῖσθαι λύκον πέπυσμαι χαλκοῦν τὴν τῆς Λητοῦς ὠδῖνα αἰνιττόμενον*". Aelian's opinion, however, might have been tainted by the Latin veneration for the wolf-mother, a common subject in Rome, where a she-wolf was often depicted nursing Romulus and Remus. In Greece, there is no known image of a nursing wolf (while there were representations of nursing goats and does as well as myths of nursing bears). The myth of Leto as a wolf mother was an important belief in Greece, but does not seem to have been the subject of visual representations.

Pausanias' visit to Delphi, even though it occurs several centuries after the dedication of the bronze wolf, does provide a direct contact between the author and the statue. The local guide might have created an exciting story to

[51] Lacroix, 1992, p. 161-162; Jacquemin, 1999, no. 213, considers that the statue had been dedicated before the 5th century BC.
[52] Pausanias, 10, 14, 7
[53] Aelian, 10, 26

keep the visitors interested, but Pausanias might also have seen an inscription on the statue base, indicating that the Delphians were the dedicator, and maybe the reason of the offering. Besides, Pausanias tells the story of the wolf using the masculine to describe the animal, both for the animal in the statue and in the explanatory tale. If, as Aelian suggests, the wolf had stood for Leto, the statue would have displayed female characteristics, such as the heavy teats represented on sculptures of mother-lionesses, and Pausanias would likely had talked about a she-wolf, in the feminine.

Plutarch relates that the Lacedaemonians had their right to the *promanteia* engraved to the front of the base of the bronze wolf, and the Athenians on the right side after that[54]: this places the offerings at least to the mid-5th century, as the Lacedaemonian obtained the right of priority to the oracle in 450 BC.[55]

The bronze wolf, placed indefinitely at one of the most important spot of the sanctuary, was likely the incarnation of Apollo himself, in his theramorphic aspect. The wolf of the legend could have been either the god metamorphosed, or a wolf inhabited with the spirit of the god, who wished to get his treasure back to Delphi. The Parnassos mountain was certainly a place where Wolf-Apollo could choose to dwell: that is where his son Lykoros created the settlement of Lykoria, even before the creation of Delphi. The tale and the bronze wolf set near the altar of Apollo at Delphi might have been a way to connect Apollo's two aspects, the old lykomorphic god of the forest, and the lord of Delphi in his newer aspect. Aelian was right to connect the bronze wolf to Leto, but only in that she as a wolf mother gave birth to a wolf god. In their offerings, the Delphians acknowledged the importance of the cult of Apollo Lykios, likely celebrated at Lykoria, but they also illustrated the god's will for his monetary offerings to remain at his Delphic sanctuary where they belong, not at any other place, not even his sacred Parnassian forest. The bronze wolf at Delphi was a reminder from the Delphians to all the pilgrims that Apollo encouraged and valued the offering of precious resources at Delphi and would punish fiercely whoever dared displace the sacred gold.

[54] Plutarch, *Perikles*, 21
[55] Roux, 1976, p. 79

Tortoises

I. Live land tortoises and sea turtles in ancient Greece

Both land and sea turtles are endemic to Greece and were known as χέλυς or χελώνη, feminine words. Land turtles (tortoises) and sea turtles belong to the order Testudines or Chelonii, and are the oldest group of reptiles, directly evolving from dinosaurs. 327 species are alive today, and several subspecies of tortoises were already native to Greece in antiquity: the Greek tortoise (*Testudo graeca*), Hermann's tortoise (*Testudo hermanni*) and the marginated tortoise (*Testudo marginata*), but there might also have been others. Both land tortoises and sea tortoises have a longer lifespan than humans, around 125 years. Greek tortoises are born just a few cm long and have an adult size of 20 to 30 cm while sea turtles (such as Caretta Caretta) can reach sizes of over 1 m long.

Tortoises were well known: they easily venture into human settlements and are slow[1] to escape. Tortoises were used as the better-known reference for ancient comparisons between land and water turtles.[2] They were known to be oviparous and to bury their eggs, which would hatch the next year.[3] Aristotle believed that tortoises often ate vipers, and oregano afterwards to counteract the poison.[4]

Tortoise sacrifices did not exist in Greece, and were regarded as a completely foreign practice when Herodotus tells the story of Croesus boiling a tortoise with a lamb in a bronze cauldron, to later have the Pythian priestess guess what he had been doing and make sure that her power was real.[5]

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[1] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 2, 7, 4 comments on tortoises being slow.

[2] Pausanias, 1, 44, 8, "ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. χελώνη δὲ ὑπενήχετο ταῖς πέτραις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἁρπάζειν· εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι πλὴν μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν ὅμοιαι ταῖς χερσαίαις, πόδας δὲ ἐοικότας ἔχουσι ταῖς φώκαις": the water turtles that dwelled in the isthmus of Corinth and supposedly grabbed the people who fell in the water, were described as resembling land tortoises except for their size and their feet, which looked like the feet of seals.

[3] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 5, 4, 4; 5, 27, 1

[4] Aristotle, *History of Animals*, 9, 7, 3. Indeed, Aristotle reports that when the observer of the phenomenon took all the oregano away, the tortoise died.

[5] Herodotus, 1, 47

II. Perception and mythology of tortoises

Most references to χέλυς or χελώνη in Ancient literature are used with the meaning of "lyre", which was the main practical use for tortoises in ancient society; the word λύρα is post-Homeric, and the synecdoche "tortoise" for "lyre" was remained very popular throughout antiquity. Tortoises might have been associated with noise and music since very early periods, as mating rituals involve very a loud banging of the shells for several hours, that can be heard from far away in echoing mountains.

In Hesychius' *Lexicon*[6] alternative meanings based on the root of "tortoise" include, χέλυν, a part of sanctuaries, χελωνίδος, the threshold of the scene's door, and χελώνη, a footstool. These words underline the symbolism of tortoises as a link between the inside and the outside, and with the ground (a footstool was close to the earth).

The animal was famous for its very slow pace: Zeno of Elea uses the tortoise to illustrate his paradox of "Achilles and the tortoise", quoted by Aristotle[7], according to which even if Achilles ran very fast, if he gave a head of advance to the tortoise, he would be never be able to catch her: this paradox inspired the fable of the Tortoise and the Hare attributed to Aesop. The shell of the tortoise was assimilated to its home but could also be used as a metaphor for a strong defense.[8]

Fig. 1 – Classical lyre

In Greek mythology, the tortoise's main role is in the myth of the creation of the lyre **(Fig. 1)**[9] by Hermes as a gift to Apollo, first told in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*[10], and remembered in later periods.[11] When Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, was still a new born, his first deed was to steal Apollo's cattle, and his second to create the lyre out of a tortoise he found in the mountains. In the *Homeric Hymn*, the killing of the tortoise is quite graphic: the child god cuts the limbs of the animal and

[6] Hesychius, χ, 333, "χέλυν· [χεῖλος. καὶ] μέρος τῶν ἱερείων"; 343, "*χελωνίδος· οὐδὸς τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς*"; 345, "*χελώνη· τὸ ὑποπόδιον. καὶ (νόμισμα) Πελοποννησιακόν. καὶ ἡ τρόπις τῆς νεὼς διὰ τὸ ἐπικαμπές*".

[7] Aristotle, *Physics*, 6, 239b

[8] Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 428

[9] Photo: © British Museum. BM 1816,0610.501. Classical lyre (likely 5th-4th century BC), restored from remains.

[10] *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 23-49

[11] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3, 10; Pausanias, 8, 17, 5

scoops its marrow out with an iron spoon, [12] while the captured animal still alive was considered as a toy (ἄθυρμα) when he caught it.[13] Throughout the hymn, χέλυς signifies both tortoise and lyre; the word λύρα exists but is only used once, and κίθαρις is used to mean the act of playing the lyre. Before Hermes kills the tortoise, he tells a few words to the animal, which are full of meaning as to the understanding of its symbolism: "ἦ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσεαι ἔχμα ζώουσ᾽: ἢν δὲ θάνῃς, τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν ἀείδοις."[14] It is common knowledge that once dead, the tortoise would produce a wonderful sound, but Hermes also mentions its use when it is alive as a powerful tool of witchcraft to overcome an enemy.

The use of tortoises in ancient magic is not further developed in Greek literature, as magic spells were often only carried in oral traditions; its long lifespan, longer than humans', its shell-shield, and its many eggs, as well as the fact that eggs were buried in the ground and baby tortoises seem like they are born from the earth, certainly gave them a special status. Despite the lack of information on uses of tortoises in magic apart from the words pronounced by a god, the comparison with other Mediterranean folk witchcraft can help understand their status. Tortoises are used in folk magic in North Africa, where they are believed to host powerful spirits – depending on the place, these spirits can be malignant or benevolent. Village witches also sometimes give tortoises as a shield to cast back negative energy to its emitter. In rural North African households, tortoises are kept in the yard to keep the snakes away, and are also believed to store the negative energy that would otherwise

Another myth, apparently created at a later date[15], told how the tortoise got her shell: according to that story, when she was invited to the wedding of Zeus and Hera, along with all the other animals, decided that she would rather stay at home. As a punishment, Zeus or Hermes changed Chelone into a tortoise, condemned to carry her home on her back. Even though this fable was possibly not invented before the Roman period, this story underlines the perceived links between Hermes and the tortoise in the Roman heritage of Greek mythology and the perception of the tortoise's shell as her house.

Ancient authors have also wondered about the meanings of the association between Aphrodite and the tortoise as shown in sculpture by Pheidias.[16]

[12] Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 41-43
[13] *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 40
[14] *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 37-38
[15] In the Chambry edition of Aesop's *Fables*, 508, Zeus is at the origin of the transformation, while Servius, in his scholia On Virgil's Aeneid, 1, 505, Mercurius (Hermes) is in charge of the invitations and operates the metamorphosis.
[16] See the part on representation of tortoises in sculptural group later in this chapter

Plutarch interprets the tortoise as a symbol of the woman staying at home and keeping silent[17]. Llewellyn-Jones[18] associates Plutarch's interpretation with the image of the veiled woman as the model of chaste love; he also illustrates the idea of the tortoise as a mute animal with the words of the nymph Kyllene about the lyre in a fragment of Sophocles "In death the creature got a voice, in life it had none"[19]. The shell of the tortoise could certainly be seen both as a chthonian symbol and as a metaphor for female modesty.

III. Representations of tortoises in Archaic to Hellenistic Greece

1. Small votive offerings

Little ceramic and bronze tortoises were not dedicated very often, as figurines represented sacrificial victims, but were not uncommon either. They were found at various sanctuaries in the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor, mostly in the Archaic period[20], especially in connection to Artemis, Apollo, Athena and Hera, with a strong preference for Artemis and Athena Lindia.[21] A very naturalistic small marble tortoise found at Galaxidi **(Fig. 2)**[22] might also have been a votive offering. These small offerings might have been linked with *euches* of fertility as the animal produced many eggs and was a chthonian creature, physically close to the earth. They could also have been associated with ancestral magic rites to repel negative energy or cause damage to an enemy.[23]

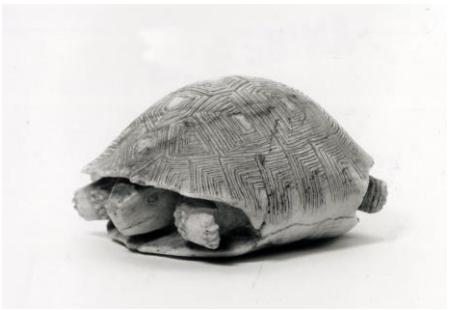

Fig. 2 – Marble tortoise, Galaxidi

[17] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 142d

[18] Llewellyn-Jones, 2003, p. 189

[19] Sophocles, *Fragments*, 314, 300, from the play The Trackers as quoted in Llewellyn-Jones, 2003, p. 190

[20] Bevan, 1985, p. 160, reports representations of tortoises at 16 of her fifty Greek sanctuaries under study. They were distributed in four sanctuaries of Artemis, four of Apollo, four of Athena, three of Hera and Aphaia's sanctuary in Aegina.

[21] Bevan, 1985, p. 161, notes that 27 tortoises were dedicated to Athena, 23 of which were classical offerings made at Lindos. More than twelve tortoises were dedicated to Artemis, five to Apollo, five to Hera and two to Aphaaia.

[22] Photo: © British Museum. BM 1882,1009.8. It was found in Galaxidi but its exact find-spot is unknown. L. 9 cm.

[23] In consideration with Hermes' words to the tortoise in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 37-38, as previously seen in this chapter, which might refer to popular rites known to the audience of the hymn.

Dedications of plain tortoise shells were found in Archaic to Hellenistic Greece, while they were occasionally discovered at Mycenaean and Minoan sanctuaries[24]: in Kalapodi, in a Mycenaean deposit situated in front of the 5th century temple of Artemis Laphria, for instance.

2. Turtles and tortoises on coinage

Tortoises appear on coins from several cities in Classical Greece: Aegina produced coins with booth sea turtles **(Fig. 3)**[25] and land tortoises[26] ,on them since the Archaic period possibly for the association between the animal and Aphrodite; Athens[27] also had coins with tortoises on them, and imitations of Aeginitan triobols were minted in Crete.[28]

Fig. 3 – Hemidrachm from Aegina

3. Sculptural groups

In sculptural groups, the tortoise is shown in association with Aphrodite Ourania. At Elis, Pausanias sees a chryselephantine cult-statue of Aphrodite Ourania crafted by Pheidias showed the goddess with a foot on a tortoise, and her Ouranian aspect in this representation is emphasized by the fact that, within the same sanctuary, Aphrodite Pandemia, represented in a bronze statue by Skopas as riding a goat, had another precinct.[29]

A life-size Pentelic marble statue of Aphrodite[30] **(Fig. 4 a-b)**[31], apparently made in the 5th century, and possibly a work of Pheidias matches this description. It represents the goddess entirely draped, from neck to feet, and her sleeves fall from her elbows down. The head and arms are missing, but it seems like the forearms were uncovered. The very modest image reveals,

[24] Bevan, p. 166, no. 16
[25] SNGCop 504, Hemidrachm from Aegina, 510-490 BC with a sea turtle.
[26] British Museum, 1906,1103.2753: lead coin from Aegina tortoise, 5th-4th century BC.
[27] British Museum, 1914,0106.30: copper alloy kollybos from Athens, 4th century BC.
[28] British Museum, 1926,0116.697: silver triobol minted in Crete, Aeginitan imitation (curator's comment), 480-431 BC.
[29] Pausanias, 6, 25, 1
[30] Berlin, SK 1459; unknown provenance: statue purchased in 1892. Llewellyn-Jones, p. 189, fig. 134; Schoch, 2009, p. 35-39.
[31] Photos: © Sedefscorner. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 1459. a – whole statue; b – detail of the tortoise.

Fig. 4 a-b – Aphrodite Ourania stepping on a tortoise

nonetheless, the goddess' charms, as the draping reveals the curb of her breasts and the high belt makes the chiton's fold high enough to show the curve of the belly; a heavier fabric is folded around the hips and thighs, and the legs are only covered with a very light veil, molding the advanced left leg. The left foot stepping on the turtle, is sandaled with only two thin straps on top, but a thick sole is separating it from the turtle shell; the toes of the other foot point from under the dress. The turtle appears to be struggling to escape, with its head stretched, its mouth open, its feet firmly camped to the ground, its under-shell slightly raised and its eyes wide open; its mouth is sculpted against the inner curve of the foot; it might want to bite the foot that is stepping on it. A 2nd-3rd century AD statuette of Aphrodite stepping on a tortoise was also found in Syria, at the sanctuary of Artemis from Dura Europos is clearly inspired by the same model of Pheidias' Aphrodite Ourania.[32]

Pausanias also reports seeing a statue of Hermes with the tortoise he caught to make the lyra in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios at Argos.[33] Although no original has been found of this type, the Roman 2nd century AD Hermes **(Fig. 5)**[34] sitting on a rock with a hand on a tortoise, for instance, is likely a copy of a 4th century BC Greek

Fig. 5 – Hermes and the tortoise, Roman copy

[32] Louvre, AO 20120

[33] Pausanias, 2, 19, 7

[34] Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum. Saint-Petersburg, The New Hermitage Museum ГР-4162, formerly in the collection of Campana in Rome.

original. Several other Roman and Gallo-Roman statues and statuettes of Mercury with a tortoise might have been inspired by Greek statues showing Hermes with the tortoise as an attribute. The tortoise could be seen as a reminder of his ingenuity. The dedication of such a statue at a sanctuary of Apollo also makes sense because Apollo was the receiver of the finished product resulting from Hermes' encounter with the tortoise.

IV. Large free-standing tortoise *anathemata*?

No life-size tortoise statues were found; the only possible of a tortoise *anathema* is found in Pausanias, and cannot be defined with certainty:

Ta1

A **stone tortoise** at a temple of Hermes Akakesios at the Agora of Megalopolis was all that was left of the temple, completely in ruin by the time of Pausanias' visit. "Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἀκακησίου πρὸς αὐτῇ ναὸς κατεβέβλητο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο ὅτι μὴ χελώνη λίθου."[35]

If what Pausanias saw was really a tortoise, it could be a large free-standing statue of the animal, but it could also be a part of a cult statue of Hermes represented with his animal "toy" attribute. The lexical ambiguity surrounding the word χελώνη, however, makes this testimony too vague to be certain that Pausanias saw a stone tortoise: what was left from the ruined temple of Hermes Akakesios could also have been a stone footstool, a stone threshold, another architectural part of the sanctuary, or a stone lyre, and none of these objects would be surprising at a sanctuary of Hermes. It is therefore difficult and dangerous to admit the existence of free-standing tortoise anathemata other than small figurines based on only Pausanias' ambiguous description.

If, however, **Ta1** is indeed a free-standing tortoise *anathema*, its placing at a temple of Hermes would not be surprising. Akakesios, an Arcadian[36] epithet of Hermes, likely comes from "ἄκακος", which was found as an epithet of Hades in Megara[37]: this might indicate that Hermes Akakesios had chthonic or bucolic aspects. Like Hermes, the tortoise drew interesting links between the underworld and the heavens: a chthonian animal in nature had become the instrument that brought music to the heavens in the hands of the Olympian god

[35] Pausanias, 8, 30, 6
[36] Also found in Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 3, 143
[37] IG7 117, 3

of the arts, and Hermes, born from a mortal woman, made his way to becoming an Olympian through the gift of the tortoise made lyre. The tortoise statue would have been a representation of the mountain tortoise that had helped shape Hermes' destiny and that had become one of his attributes.

Other animals – *in absentia*

In the previous chapters, each category of animals represented as free-standing offerings in archaeological data or ancient written testimonies have been treated in a contextual approach. Cattle, lions, goats, pigs, birds, horses, a bear, a wolf, a donkey and even maybe a tortoise have been the object of at least one large sculptural *anathema*. However, Greek art and literature is replete with images of several other animals, which were not found in the context of this study on sculptural *anathemata*. The animals present in sculptural groups in a religious context are particularly important to treat *in absentia*: indeed, their absence can help us understand, in comparison, the significance of the animals that do exist as free-standing sculptural *anathemata*. Snakes, deer, panthers and dolphins are the absents with the strongest presence at sanctuaries and important mythological associations with Greek deities. The absence of animals other than these four, briefly addressed at the end of this chapter, is less surprising considering the general scarcity of their presence in Greek art and religion.

I. Snakes

Snakes were one of the most important animals in connection with the divine: both live snakes and fantastic snakes had a place in Greek religion, and the animal was also a very common animal in the immediate surroundings of settlements.

1. Live snakes

Snakes were very present in ancient Greece, and abundantly used and noticed and valued for their predating skills against pests such as rodents and insects. Many clay snakes and depictions of female figures holding snakes in both hands survive from Minoan and Mycenaean times and, in Greek, like might be surviving from earlier religions, they were sometimes fed milk, eggs and honey cakes (the snakes probably didn't eat the cakes, but the smell likely attracted mice, which would be the real feast for the snakes)[1]. The "οἰκουρός

[1] Robertson, 1996, p. 60

ὄφις"[2] of the Acropolis, was likely a sacred transposition of secular household snakes who were used to protect the grain from other animals.

Fig. 1 – "Snake of Asklepios", *Zamenis longissimus*

The two main words for snakes were ὄφις and δράκων – the variation mainly appears to be a difference in size, a *drakon* being a very large *ofis*.[3] Bodson and Knox[4] have led a study on ancient herpetology based on textual descriptions and comparison with snakes still dwelling in Greece, and found that differentiations between snakes were even more associated with their behavior than with their morphology. The snakes of Asklepios, *drakontes*, were non-venemous snakes – their exact subspecies has been disputed, but all agree that they were a type of *Elaphe* or *Zamenis longissimus* **(Fig. 1)[5]**, also known in English as "rat snakes", large and long snakes[6], which can reach a size of up to 2.5 m long and have a lifespan of about 15 years. The viper (ἔχιδνα) was also well known and feared as a lethal animal, unlike the large innocuous healer snake of Asklepios, and several of its sub-species were differentiated.[7]

Live snakes were kept and fed at several sanctuaries: Asklepios' snakes were the most famous (and they could even be transported to other sanctuaries for a visit: it became a custom to bring a sacred snake from Epidaurus to Eleusis, for instance). A snake was also kept in a rock cave of the Acropolis, where the *arrheophoroi*, priestesses of Athena fed them cakes; it is also possible that the young priestesses were, unknowingly, carrying snakes in their baskets, in

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[2] Hesychius, o, 270: "οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς φασι, ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεσθαι"; Herodotus, 8, 41; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 759.

[3] Scholium on Euripides, Orestis, 479: "*γένος μὲν γὰρ ὄφις, εἶδος δὲ ὁ δράκων*"; Knox and Bodson, 1981, p. 63: other poetic words for snakes could be found but were rarer: δάκος, ἑρπετόν, κινώπετον, κνώψ and κνώδαλον.

[4] Knox and Bodson, 1981, p. 55-78

[5] Photo: © Jeroen Speybroeck. Shot in Montenegro.

[6] Knox and Bodson, 1981, p. 69 note that three kinds of *Elaphe: quatuorlineat, longissima and situla* are found in Greece and Asia Minor. The snake known to Knox and Bodson as *Elaphe longissima*, which is traditionally called "Aesculapian snake" and was believed to be Asklepio's snake since the 19th century) is now known as *Zamenis longissimus*.

[7] Knox and Bodson, 1981, p. 61, no. 13

remembrance of the discovery of the infant Erichtonios, future king of the city, in a basket[8]. The oikouros ofis of the Acropolis was so important that, when the great snake of Athena went missing and didn't eat its cake during the Persian invasions, the Athenians thought it was a sign that the goddess had abandoned them and they fled the city. [9]

Snakes did have a terrifying element, but they were overall received positively by the ancients: snakes had potential for evil (a viper killed Eurydice), but they were more often benefactors for humanity. The terror they provoked could have a healing factor, as in the case of the mute child who regained her voice when she screamed at the sight of the sacred snake.

Snake sacrifices are not mentioned in written sources, and snake bones are usually not found in osteological evidence from temples, but the discovery of snake bones in a pit near a sanctuary at Poros show traces of butchering and cooking, and their flesh was possibly consumed.[10] These uncommon osteological finds might have been linked to witchcraft.

2. Snakes in myths and perceptions

Snakes were at the center of autochthonous cults predating Greek antiquity: representations of the snake goddess or priestess in Minoan Crete show that the handling of snakes was likely practiced in a religious context, in connection with feminine forces, likely in the context of fertility rituals.

In Greek mythology, snakes were at the center of many stories of origins, showing the importance of the chthonic animal in the oldest indigenous cults. For instance, Pytho, who precedes Apollo at Delphi, is a *drakon*, and Kekrops, the founder of Athens was represented in a half-serpentine form[11] and was the adopted father of Erichthonios, found in a basket. Erichthonios was another anguiform hero and the next king of Athens; he was believed to be born from the earth and in strong connection with Athena. Pausanias believes that the snake standing next to Athena Promachos was Erichthonios[12]. Ogden[13] published a very complete work on the myths and cults relating to *drakontes* and snakes, in which he relates the snakes in Mycenean and Minoan cultures

[8] Robertson, 1996, p. 62
[9] Herodotus, 8, 41
[10] Mylona, 2013, p. 160-161; the snake bones were found in a context dating from the early Roman period.
[11] Gourmelen, 2004, dedicates his whole book to the study of Kekrops as a chthonian half-snake figure
[12] Pausanias, 1, 24, 7
[13] Ogden, 2013, *Drakon: Dragon Myth & Serpent Cult in the Greek & Roman Worlds*

with the perception of snakes in ancient Greece. He also presents drakontes, composite snake-monsters and *ketes* (sea snakes) slain by gods and heroes; but he also shows the important symbolism of snakes as guardians of treasures, as producers of both poison and cure (*pharmaka*), chthonian characteristics transferred to anguiform heroes of the underworld. Snakes were also a force of wealth and good luck, in their association with Zeus Meilichios, and in the form of *Agathos Daimon*, and gods of healing, a power transferred to Asklepios as an anthropomorphic vessel, better suited to Greek religion. They were a strong instrument of divination, and a link between the divine and the mortals, through dreams and physical contact. Snakes were also a strong force of fertility: unfertile women who visited Epidaurus and had a snake lay on their stomach or dreamed of having intercourses with children were known to give birth to several children in the following year[14]. They could bring life, but also death, as in the myth of Eurydice.

The theramorphic snake gods of earlier traditions are remembered in Greece through epithets and attributes of the new gods, sometimes even snake metamorphoses. For instance, in Delphi, Apollo is known as Pythian, and the Pythia, who gives the oracle and sits in a rock cavity is reminiscent of the *drakon*, and speaks wisdom in a language only understandable by the god and his priests. Pausanias also relates that Asklepios was brought to Sicyon in the form of a snake[15], which suggests that before being anthropomorphic, the god was a snake: the sacred snakes with healing powers used in his cults are still surrounded with a divine aura.

The oracular quality of snakes is a recurrent theme in its symbolism at Delphi and its mediator function at oracular sanctuaries of Asklepios. The myth of the prophet Tiresias is also connected with snakes: when he disturbed copulating snakes, he was changed by Hera into a woman and when he witnessed the same scene again without disturbing the snakes, he was changed back into a man.[16] This myth of Tiresias seems to be directly inspired from an episode of Indian mythology found in the *Mahabarata*, the *Jatakam* and the *Minipaticaritram*, [17] in which the king Brahmadatta gets the gift of oracular vision following an episode in which he disturbs a Nagini, a snake goddess, copulating with a real-life snake.

[14] Błaśkiewicz, p. 67
[15] Pausanias, 11, 10, 3
[16] Apollodorus, 3, 6, 7
[17] Krappe, 1928, “Teiresias and the Snakes”, p. 267-275

3. Snake representations

Snakes are one of the most represented animals in all periods of Ancient Greece: in the Archaic period, they appear on pediments of buildings set on the Acropolis of Athens **(Fig. 2)**[18]. At Delphi, a snake (likely a reminiscence of Pytho) twirls around representations of the *omphalos* of the world in a protective way throughout antiquity. Miniature *omphaloi* with a snake curling around them are also found on Delos and at other Apollonian sanctuaries.

Fig. 2 – *Drakon*, Archaic pediment of the Athenian Acropolis

Snakes were also the chief attribute in statues of Asklepios **(Fig. 3)**[19], the god of medicine, and they also are represented with his daughter Hygeia. In some cases, the snake might also have been the therimorphic representation of Asklepios. For instance, at Sicyon, to where the god was famed to have come in the shape of a serpent, a sculptural group at his sanctuary showed Aristodama, who had a child with Asklepios, riding a large *drakon*[20]: in that statue, the snake might well have been Asklepios himself. Snakes are intertwined on Hermes' caduceus, and vipers stick out of Medusa's hair and later of Athena's shield – and even from Athena's *peplos*. Bearded and crested snakes are the attribute of Zeus Melichios. They are also a common theme on vase painting, and serve as ornaments on many supports: tripod stands, bronze handles, jewelry of all kids, especially bracelets and rings.

Fig. 3 – Epidaurian Asklepios

However, despite numerous snake representations within sanctuaries and their presence on votive slabs at sanctuaries of Asklepios, votive figurines of snakes are extremely rare in Greek sanctuaries. Two inscribed

[18] Photo: © Shumata. Snake from a pediment from an unidentified Archaic building of the Acropolis of Athens before the Persian sack.
[19] Photo: © Giovanni Dall'Orto. Athens, National Museum, NM 263. Pentelic marble. Roman copy, ca. 160 AD of a 4th century BC statue of Asklepios. From Epidaurus.
[20] Pausanias, 2, 10, 3

Fig. 4 – Votive inscribed bronze snake, Pergamon

bronze votive snakes **(Fig. 4)**[21] of ca. 40 cm each and likely dating from the early Roman period were found at Pergamon[22] (where snakes were represented on the local coinage), were likely offerings made by non-Greek dedicators: indeed, the inscriptions on the snakes written in Greek letters but in a non-Greek language. Therefore, the snake representations present the animal as a powerful companion of the divine world, but it was not a usual subject for small or large freestanding *anathemata* found at Greek sanctuaries.

The snake is the mediator between Asklepios and the worshippers, or even an incarnation of the god; it can also be a guardian of the earth and of sacred treasure, or a fierce and poisonous assistant of war deities such as Athena, and it is with these qualities that it sometimes appears on dedicatory material. Snakes could also be great protectors of treasures, cities, and of the world itself when they curl around its *omphalos*. Healing snakes of Asklepios could be represented on votive slabs as an accompaniment to grateful offerings addressed to both the god and its snake, but the single *anathemata* addressed to healing sanctuaries were body parts rather than snakes – the objects of the healing rather than the medium.

II. Deer

Another animal often depicted with a deity is the deer (*ἔλἄφος*), an important attribute of Artemis, as her favorite hunting game and companion.

1. Live deer: sacrifice and cults

Roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) were common hunting game and abunded in the Mediterranean regions.

In the *Iliad*, horned stags were the choice game of several predators: lions,

[21] Photo: © David John. Pergamon, Museum, no. M 58/359.

[22] Pergamon, Museum, no. M 59/24: bronze snake with inscription, L. 39.4 cm; no. M 58/359, bronze snake with a little inscribes plaque, L. ca. 39 cm. Ziegenaus and Lucas, 1968, no. 465, pl. 61 and no. C p. 173, pl. 62.

dogs and wolves were all coveting it as a prey.[23] Yet, the animal was at the bottom of the food chain and being "deer-hearted" was the equivalent of being a coward ever since the Homeric epic.[24]

Deer sacrifices were rare, as was generally the case for wild animals, and especially connected to the cult of Artemis: deer bones were found in the Archaic layer of the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis in Kalapodi along with wild boar.[25] They were also found under the foundations of the Archaic Artemision on Delos: animals for sacrifices were possibly imported to the island for this specific purpose.[26] Cakes in the shape of deers were made for the Elaphebolia spring festival in honor of Artemis and might have been used in the cult and given to the winners of competitions.[27] At least in later times, relations betwen Artemis and the deer were magnificently displayed at the festival of Artemis Laphria in Patras, witnessed by Pausanias[28]: the priestess, likely empersonating the goddess, arrived in a chariot drawn by deer and, at the same festival, deer were also sacrificed to the goddess along with other wild animals. The idea of Artemis driving a chariot drawn by deer was already found in Callimachus, who tells how the goddess captures six golden-horned stags to attach to her chariot.[29] The deer has an ambivalous aspect in its relation to Artemis: it is both the game she hunts, and a companion that she appears to cherish as a pet in representations. In later periods, deer were also sacrificed to Isis as a choice victim, considered as fine as cattle.[30] The cult practiced in Tithoreia, involving deer sacrifice and described by Pausanias are clearly Egyptian and might not have existed before the end of the Hellenistic period as they involved wrapping up animals like mummies and complete combustion of the victims.

Tame deers were kept at several sanctuaries: at Artemis Agrotera's enclosure[31], close to Athens, and at a sanctuary of Despoina in Lykosoura in Arcadia, where the sacred deer wore a collar[32], for instance. Deer are still kept tame at sanctuaries of other cultures – for instance, several shinto shrines in Japan[33] have tame deers associated with nature-deities: in these contexts, the

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[23] Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 190 (dogs); 3, 24 (lions); 16, 159 (wolves).
[24] Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 224
[25] Ekroth, 2007, p. 258
[26] Personal communication from Jean-Charles Moretti.
[27] Athenaeus, 14, 646e; Lawler, 1947, p. 51
[28] Pausanias, 7, 18, 2
[29] Callimachus, *Hymn 3*, *to Artemis*
[30] Pausanias, 10, 32, 16
[31] Philostratus, *Eikones*, 1, 28, 6
[32] Pausanias, 8, 10, 10
[33] Nara and Miyajima are the largest of these deer-keeping sanctuaries: both are set in nature, close to a forest-shrine. In these sanctuaries, the deer are not kept in an

animals behave in a friendly way towards the visitors. In the sanctuaries of Artemis where live deers were kept, such scenes are easily imaginable.

2. Divine associations

The place of the deer in Greek mythology confirms its strong links with Artemis. The goddess hunts the animal, but it is a privilege that she claims for herself, and when a deer is hunted in her sacred woods, it angers the goddess. The reason given for the demand of Artemis to receive Iphigenia in sacrifice is connected to Agamemnon's killing of a deer sacred to the goddess[34]; Iphigenia is then replaced by a doe by the goddess when she is about to be sacrificed at Aulis.[35]

The interchangeability between Iphigenia and the doe suggest a deeper connection between the girl and the animal: the doe might stand for purity and be the animal aspect of the goddess' main priestess, while the little priestesses were bears.

Aside from its associations with Artemis, stags are sometimes associated with cults of Dionysos, in which "playing the fawn", *nebrizein* was a common performance; a fawn, which might have been an incarnation of Dionysos himself, was also sometimes dismembered in early Dionysiac rituals.[36] Deers were considered as graceful animals, and were recurrently compared to dancers,[37] a characteristic which might have been exploited in cults of Artemis and of Dionysos.

3. Deer representations

The deer is often represented in reliefs and vase paintings depicting scenes of wilderness as the victim of wild predators since the Archaic period,[38] a theme likely inspired from Homeric images of lions falling on horn stags or wild goats.[39]

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enclosure, but are free to roam the sacred woods around the shrines; yet they are most often found close to the temples, and approach the visitors in hope for treats.

[34] Allen, *Homeri Opera*, 5, p. 104, quoted in the original by Clement, 1934, p. 393

[35] Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 3, 21

[36] See Lawler, 1947, p. 50-51, for associations between deer and Dionysos.

[37] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1318; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 748; 957-958; 1090-1091; Lawler, 1947, p. 50.

[38] Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux, 1947, p. 162, Delos, inv. B 7070, large Archaic relief from the Artemision of Delos represents lions falling on a deer; p. 169, Delos, Inv. 7073, votive relief showing a griffon against a deer.

[39] Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 24

In relation to Artemis, however, the deer is not only represented as game but also as an attribute of Artemis in a dual relationship as the goddess either hunts the animal or carresses it and treats it as a pet. The Hellenistic statue of Artemis Elaphebolos **(Fig. 5)**[40] found at a house in Delos, shows the goddess ready to slay a kneeling deer with a now missing spear while her face remains serene and impassible to the cruelty of the action.

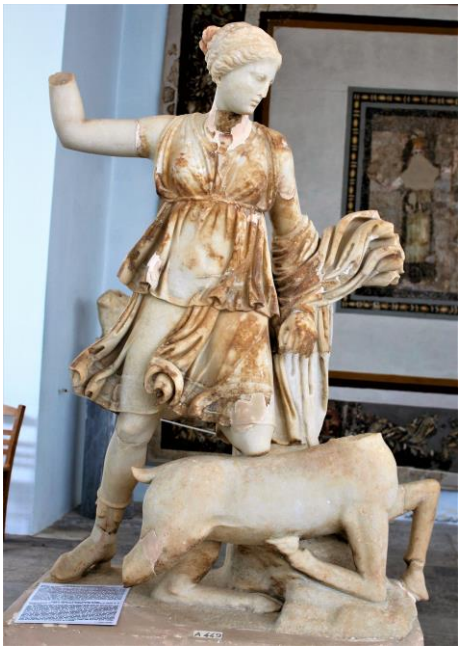

Fig. 5 – Artemis Elaphebolos, Delos

At Brauron, however, the goddess is represented seated and holding a pet foan on her lap in at least five Late Archaic clay figurines[41], seated with a doe next to her on Archaic painted ceramique reliefs, and, in Late Classical marble votive reliefs in which she welcomes processions of worshippers of mixed genders and ages, she is represented once with a stag and once with a pet doe. In the relief where she sits next to a stag **(Fig. 6)**[42], the goddess and the stag are represented in a larger scale than the human family of worshippers represented: children lead a goat as for sacrifice to the goddess, and the goat, even though it is large in comparison to the humans, is only half the size of Artemis' sacred stag; a female follower, maybe a servant, is holding a large basket on her head. The stag in the scene looks towards the goddess in a trusting manner.

Fig. 6 – Artemis and her stag welcome worshippers, Brauron

In sculptural groups with deers and heroes, the animal can be represented as a nurturing mother – a point that it shares with goats and bears in mythology.

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[40] Photo: Linda Talatas. Delos Museum, no. 449. Statue found in the courtyard of House III in the Theater Quarter. Dating ca. 125-100 BC.

[41] Brauron Museum, exhibition nos. 29-34 in the central hall

[42] Photo: Linda Talatas. Brauron, Museum no. 1153. Marble votive relief. Ca. 350 BC.

Pausanias tells the myth[43] according to which Auge had a son by Herakles out of wedlock: she gave birth at the sanctuary of Eileithyia in Tegea while she was being carried away to be downed on her father's orders and the child was exposed on mount Parthenios, where it was suckled by a doe. There was a statue of the doe nursing the child[44] at a shrine to Telephos on Mount Parthenios, on the road from Tegea to Argos, and another one at the Mouseion on the Helicon.[45]

Other artistic representations show the ambivalence of the deer as game and as object in scenes portraying famous mythological hunters, as an echo of the alternance of motives found in representations of Artemis. For instance, Atalanta is represented holding a fawn[46] next to Melanion: while their marriage would prove unfertile and cursed, the heroin, a famous huntress who also used to be Artemis' protegee is shown, displaying maternal affection for the small deer. A painting of Polygnotos at Delphi[47] shown even more clearly the ambivalence of the hunter's relationship with game – it showed Actaeon and his mother sitting on a deer skin and holding a fawn in their hand while a dog was stetching next to him. The image was one of tragic irony as the hero would be killed by his own dogs as a punishment for seeing Artemis naked[48]; however, he had previously been a favorite of the goddess, and the image showed the double relation of that hunters had with deers: the skin showed that Actaeon had proudly killed the mother, but the small fawn inspired compassion in the hunter, who handles it gently it as a pet companion. The tame deers from enclosures sacred to Artemis might have originally been rescued fawns taken back from hunts in which their parents were killed.

While Artemis clearly had an important connection with the deer as a huntress and a carer, and appreciated receiving the skin and antlers of the animal as offerings from hunters and occasional deer sacrifices, votive dedications depicting only the animal were not common. Indeed, it seems that the deer in its representations is inseparable from the goddess as an attribut. The lack of its representation in free-standing small or large anathemata

[43] Pausanias, 8, 48, 7
[44] Pausanias, 8, 54, 4
[45] Pausanias, 8, 48, 7
[46] Pausanias, 5, 19, 2, sees the scene on an old cedar chest from the Heraion at Olympia.
[47] Pausanias, 10, 30, 5
[48] Callimachus, *Hymn 5, to Artemis*. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1290-1292 gives a different version, according to which the punishment came from Actaeon boasting that he was a better hunter than Artemis.

suggests that animal anathemata representing the animal alone were a gesture more directly linked with the relations between humans and animals than between gods and animals. Indeed, the deer was *de natura* under the protection of the goddess. Offering spoils from a deer hunt to Artemis made sense, as it illustrated the gesture of giving back the most beautiful part of the animal to their mistress while thanking her for the meat. The non-representation of deer as offerings while they were wildly represented in where the goddess was the main subject, might mean that it was not directly logical to the ancient mind to offer to Artemis the representation of an animal that already belonged to her.

III. Panthers

Panthers were the most common animal-attribute of Dionysos and, for this reason, their absence as free-standing offerings must be considered.

1. Foreign beasts

The term πάνθηρ was used to describe various spotted *Felidae*, including lynxes; this lexical choice reflects the wilderness perceive in these big cats: the word panther literally means "all-wild beast", as θήρ is the generic word for "beast of prey" or "beast of Pan", another god of the wilderness whose cult sometimes merges with Dionysos'.

In the modern use of the word, the only panther known in Greece was the leopard (*Panthera pardus*), known as παρδάλεος, a foreign animal. In the *Iliad*, leopards and other spotted cats are used for comparisons or described as peopling the mountains, as do the lions, wolves and bears were. The two only references to the animal in the epic are about panther skins (*παρδαλέη*); in one instance, the divine Alexander (Paris) wears a panther skin on his shoulders to get ready for combat[49], while in the other Menelaus clads himself in a panther skin as a disguise to go spy on the Trojans.[50] Lynxes, native to Northern Europe and Asia, might have existed in the mountainous regions of northern Greece and Asia Minor, but were likely not a common animal in any Greek location. Panther hides were probably purchased from foreign merchants coming from the north and the east and well known in Greece, but as a foreign attribute. Pausanias does report a Homeric song that hadn't been recorded before him

[49] Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 17
[50] Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 29

according to which a leopard skin was hung over the entrance of the house of Antenor as a sign that Greeks should keep away from the house.[51] The artist Polygnotus also uses the leopard skin as a garment of the amazon Penthesila, who holds a Scythian bow in the same picture.[52]

Panthers were thus a very foreign animal, and their appearance must have been felt as even more foreign because of the quasi-absence of cats in Greek antiquity. Lions were disappearing and there were close to no house cats before the Roman period: no close relative to panthers were readily available for comparison. Unsurprisingly, no osteological studies have revealed leopard bones at sanctuaries: it would have been difficult to sacrifice an animal that was not present in the first place.

The wild and foreign animal was a logical companion for Dionysos, a god that had likely been worshipped in Greece since Mycenaean times, but whose foreignness was an important religious characteristic as it went together with the boundless wilderness, madness and inebriation that he brought with him. In their quality of companion of Dionysos, panthers, never directly witnessed in Greece, had likely acquired a quasi-fantastic status. However, the representation of bacchantes wearing leopard hides suggest that the import of hides likely existed. Panthers were often represented in relation with Dionysos on various supports and in all periods. Archaic pediments in temples of Dionysos could have panthers on them. On the late 6th century pediment from Corcyra, it is likely Dionysos that is represented, banqueting in company of an ephebe, with panthers lying under the dining bed as household dogs would **(Fig. 7)**[53].

Fig. 7 – Symposium pediment from Corcyra

[51] Pausanias, 10, 27, 3

[52] Pausanias, 10, 31, 8

[53] Photo: © Monophtalmos. Corfou, Archaeological Museum. Found at the Kerameikos at Figareto, ca. 500 BC.

Fig. 8 – Panther from Cyrene

Roman copies suggest that, in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the god was represented with his panther in sculptural groups. For instance, an early Roman life-size limestone panther **(Fig. 8)**[54] found at the temple of Dionysos in Cyrene, in Libya, was likely a part of the cult statue, as the plinth appears broken to the left, where it would have continued to support the statue of the god. The male panther can be identified as Dionysos' pet because of the ivy collar around its neck. It is holding out a forepaw and looking up towards its master as a dog would do. This statue is outside of our main geographical and chronological frame, but was likely inspired from earlier representations likely pre-existent in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and Asia Minor. In vase paintings and mosaics, Dionysos is also often shown riding his panther.

In the Archaic period, when wild beasts were a favorite theme of artists, they were also present in the architectural sculptures of the temples of other gods and goddesses: they appeared on the reliefs of the temple of Apollo in Thasos,[55] and a leopard was also represented in a relief from the Acropolis of Athens from the end of the 6th century, on which the animal's spots are represented as concentric circles.[56] On the limestone pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corcyra[57] from the beginning of the 6th century, panthers were represented on either side of Medusa, a male to the left, and the right leopard is too fragmentary to determine its gender. Human figures are represented in a much smaller scale than Medusa and the leopards, which might have had a fantastic status in this context, as guardians of a monstrous force, but also as the temple guardians as the scene was set on the eastern pediment, above the entrance.

Artemis as a *Potnia Theron* is sometimes represented with a panther as well as a lion[58]: the presence of the panther was likely an influence from Asia Minor, where aspects of her cult had originated.

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[54] Photo: © British Museum. BM 1861,1127.156. 1st century AD. H. 58.5 cm.
[55] Louvre, MA 704 and 705. See chapter on Lions, Fig. 10.
[56] Acropolis Museum, nos. 552 and 554.
[57] Corfou, Archaeological Museum
[58] Pausanias, 5, 19, 5

Fig. 9 – Funerary female panther, Attica

In funerary art, panthers were likely very rare, but a well-preserved example of a Hellenistic funerary statue of a crouching female panther **(Fig. 9)**[59] from Attica shows their existence: her multiple swollen teats show that the artist intended to represent a mother panther. Because the statue is fragmentary and the lower parts of the legs are missing, it is impossible to know if this was a free-standing grave marker or a part of a group or a pair; its position suggests that it might have had a pendant. In the absence of further context or inscription, it is difficult to understand the symbolism of this panther in the context of a sepulture; if it was free standing, it could might have been a "portrait" of a deceased woman as the lioness on the Acropolis stood for Leaïna, but other conjectures would also be acceptable.

Panthers were clearly the animal attribute of Dionysos and were also sometimes with Artemis and Apollo, especially in earlier periods. The iconography of panthers accompanying Dionysos or serving as a mount for the god is very rich, and so was the presence of panther skins in depictions of bacchantes. Panthers do not, however, appear to have been represented by themselves in votive figurines and statuettes, and not as free-standing sculptural *anathemata*. As for the deer, it would seem that the animal was often represented in the company of the god that it characterized, but not offered to that same god as an offering. This absence of free-standing panthers could mean that it was not a natural gift for ancient Greeks to dedicate to the god an animal which already belonged to him. In the case of panthers, this would make even more sense, because Greeks didn't behold the animal, which was only found in foreign regions: panthers might have been considered as an animal living in a fantasy world, at the limit between the human and the divine.

IV. Dolphins

Another animal common in religious sculptural groups from sanctuaries were dolphins. The friendly sea mammals, common in the Aegean, were likely known through local stories for acting as rescuers or playing with swimmers, and they were used as a mount by several gods and heroes of Greek mythology.

[59] Photo: © Glyptotek, Munich. Marble life-size panther, inv. 495.

The nominative of the word for dolphin was δελφίς and later δελφίν. Before Greek antiquity, the dolphin had a very important place in Minoan representations.

Associations between Apollo and the dolphin are important. In the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, Phoibos Apollo takes the shape of a dolphin to meet men of Pylos aboard their ship[60] and lead them to Knossos, the city of Minos, from where he brought back the priests who would start his cult at Delphi. Because of that metamorphosis, the god asks the Cretans to be worshipped as Apollo Delphinios. The hym serves as an etiology for fact the close homonymy between Delphi and the word δελφίς, but it is also a reminder of the importance of the dolphins in the Minoan religion, and integration of some of its aspect in the new Greek religion. Apollo inherits of aspects of an older dolphin god from Crete. Temples of Apollo Delphinios were known as Delphinia. At Miletos, the most important sanctuaries of Apollo in Asia Minor together with Didyma, the Delphinion was at the center of the oracular cult since the 6th century BC. Dolphins were also an important theme on Delos, the island-sanctuary of Apollo, where they were represented on several supports, within the god's temple and in houses, where they are represented on several mosaics, leaping or swimming around anchors.

Dolphins were, as a sea animal, a logical attribute of Poseidon, but were also associated to heroes that they saved, or who saved them. Pausanias mentions nine statue groups including dolphins, none of which were of the animal by itself. Three were bronze cult statues of Poseidon with a foot on a dolphi: one in Corinth[61]; one in Hermione[62] and one in Anticyra.[63] Dolphins also appear in the decoration of sanctuaries of Poseidon: on Tinos, for instance, dolphins were included in the marble architectural decoration of the Hellenistic shore temple of the god.

Two of the other sculptural groups with a dolphin mentioned by Pausanias were in connection with Palaemon, Poseidon's son: in Apollo's sanctuary at Isthmia, a chryselephantine Palaemon riding a dolphin was accompanying the chariot led by Amphitrite and Poseidon[64] and in Corinth, on the road to Lechaios, there was a statue of Palaemon on a dolphin next to Poseidon and

[60] Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, 399-402
[61] Pausanias, 2, 2, 8
[62] Pausanias, 2, 35, 1
[63] Pausanias, 10, 36, 8
[64] Pausanias, 2, 1, 8

Leucothea.[65] Palaemon's myth was, indeed, of first importance in the Corinthian region. When Ino threw herself in the sea with her son Melicertes, fathered by Poseidon, it is a dolphin that brings the boy's body back to the shore[66]: in death, the mother and her son would become Leukothea and Palaemon, in honor of whom the Isthmian games were started at the temple of Poseidon.

Two others were of Arion of Methymna, a mythical lyre player, also riding a dolphin, one at Tainaron[67], on the southern Peloponnesian shores, and one on Mount Helicon[68]; it seems that, on both statues, the boy was represented with his instrument. Pausanias knows his story through Herodotus: the dolphin had been saved by the boy and, in exchanged, carried his human friend wherever he wished to go. The links between the dolphin and the lyre-player are reminiscent of the association of the animal with Apollo.

There was also a statue of the Lacedaemonian Phalantus next to a dolphin at Delphi and Pausanias relates the story according to which the man had been in a shipwreck when reaching Italy but had been saved by a dolphin.[69]

The only sculptural group including a dolphin and not in link with Poseidon or legends directly related to contact between humans and dolphins was the wooden "Black" wooden statue of Demeter, not directly witnessed by Pausanias because it had been burnt in a fire. The statue was set at Demeter's shrine on Mount Elaius, where she had sojourned after her rape by Poseidon, thus giving birth to Despoina. It represented the goddess with a horse head, snakes and other beasts came out of her head, and one of her hands was a dolphin while the other was a dove. The statue was likely a reminiscence of the *Potnia Theron*, putting Demeter as a mistress of all beasts, and the dolphin was representing the sea beasts; but the dolphin was also reminiscent of the rape of the earth goddess by the sea god.

Sculptural groups featuring Aphrodite and Eros riding a dolphin are also attested **(Fig. 10)**[70], but often are Hellenistic and Roman works, indicating that the connection between the sea-born goddess of love and her cherub are not as ancient as the associations of Apollo or Poseidon with the animal. Aphrodite

[65] Pausanias, 2, 3, 4
[66] Pausanias, 1, 44, 8; 2, 1, 3
[67] Pausanias, 3, 25, 7
[68] Pausanias, 9, 30
[69] Pausanias, 10, 13, 9
[70] Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture. Thasos Museum, marble sculptural group depicting Aphrodite and Eros riding a dolphin. 3rd century BC.

and Eros with dolphins might have been a variant of Leukothea and Palaemon with dolphins.

Fig. 10 – Aphrodite and Eros riding a dolphin, Thasos

While statues of dolphins being ridden by deities are common, the offering of single dolphins without a rider as anathemata was not very common: in her study on animal representations in sanctuaries of Olympian gods, Bevan finds only a very few dolphins, mostly dedicated in early periods: a bonze and a terracotta dolphin at Elateia and a bronze dolphin from Tegea date from the geometric period; one archaic small bronze dolphin was found at Isthmia, and one classical bronze leaping dolphin at Delphi.[71]

The scarcity of dolphins as small *anathemata* and their absence in free-standing statues emphasize the dolphin's role as a companion of gods and heroes and an esthetical maritime theme in decorations of sanctuaries of sea-deities rather than a suitable offering to the gods by itself.

V. Kai ta loipa

Other animals, not represented in free-standing offerings and rare in the context of sculptural groups are not surprising in their absence. Nonetheless, many other animals were present in everyday life, in the wild, and in the ancients' imaginary world.

1. Household animals

To brooch the subject of household animals, we must consider that the concept of pet in our modern world is the result of a long social evolution, which is still growing slower in Mediterranean cultures than in northern Europe. Animals that can be defined as pets are those kept in the house, mostly for pleasure rather than as a work animal. While strong feelings of affections were manifested towards dog companions, the relationship to pets was not necessarily one of great respect or consideration for the animal's comfort.

Dogs were already considered in a chapter dedicated to them as they were

[71] Bevan, 1986, p. 400-404

present in the context of free standing anathemata. But there were other pets in ancient Greek households: tortoises kept in the yard, birds tamed by little girls, as seen in previous chapters. Rabbits could also be adopted and cared for by children, as shown in a marble statue of a girl holding her rabbit in Brauron. The rabbits, doves and other birds that children played with might have been only kept for pleasure, or been killed and eaten by the parents: an ambivalence in the animal status still observable in rural areas.

Weasels and ferrets (both belonging to the *Mustela* family) were a local animal depicted in Mycenaean and Minoan figurines, and were likely a common house pet.

Cats are almost completely absent from Greece, and the first contacts with the animals do not seem to occur before the 5th century. The cats that were brought to Greece were smuggled from Egypt, where there was a religious ban on exports of the sacred animal. These restrictions remained strong until the development of Christianity in Egypt.

Pets could also be animals used as toys. For instance, the small birds that boys caught, crickets kept in little cages or scarabs tied by the leg were pets that were viewed more as toys than as companions.

Household animals that had no other function than pleasing their owners do not appear to have been represented in free-standing anathemata. As previously seen, the dog dedications had a direct relation to Artemis. Companions of humans were, therefore, not suitable *agalmata* for the gods even though they could accompany the sepulture of their masters, to whom their image was pleasing.

2. Other animals

Foxes[72], hedgehogs, and many other wild mammalians were well known and part of the human surroundings but didn't have any important space in the religious sphere.

Monkeys[73] weren't present in Greece: the primates were known to the Minoans, but they only came to Greece from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period as an exotic animal observed by travelers who had gone to Africa; a few clay monkey figurines were brought to Artemis Orthia in the late Hellenistic

[72] The main legend concerning a fox appears to be the myth of the Teumessian fox, caught by the hound of Artemis and both animals were turned to stone. Pausanias, 9, 19, 1

[73] Greenlaw, 2011, p. 80-83

period, but the primates were generally not common in Greek representations nor associated with local myths.

Fish and other sea creatures were considered as a food-stock, and fishbones or sea shells were sometimes found at sanctuaries, where they were offered as were other foods. Dedications of fish figurines are rare and apparently limited to the Archaic period: a few were found at Pherai and at Artemis Orthia in Sparta, one at Tegea and a bronze octopus on the Acropolis of Athens.[74]

Lizards, while snakes were almost venerated, were regarded with contempt: they only appear in a sculptural group as the enemy of Apollo Sauroktonos: the god is depicted as ready to crush the reptile, deemed not worthy of living. Several 1st and 2nd century AD Roman copy survive[75], but Pliny attributes the original to Praxiteles.[76] The lizard might be the incarnation of the negative aspect of the *drakon* slayed by Apollo at Delphi. The representation of lizards appears mostly symbolic in Archaic and Classical representations: in vase paintings, they are often added to a human scene either as predators of insects or the prey of birds.[77]

Frogs and toads were well known and their croaks, still resonating in the cisterns of Delos, inspired Aristophanes' cacophonic chorus of the *Frogs*, set in the Styx river of the Hades. Bronze and terracotta frogs were found in Sparta, both at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and at the Chalkioikos of Athena. Another inscribed votive bronze frog[78], also from the Peloponnese, has been interpreted as an offering to Apollo or to a local hero; a Hellenistic epigram[79] also speaks of a frog bronze image dedicated at a spring by a traveler who had been guided to the water by the croaking of the animal. They also appear as an ornament to the votive palm tree offered by the Kypselos[80], the tyrant of Corinth, at Delphi, along with water snakes, also represented at the base of the tree and Plutarch[81], who mentions the offering, is unsure about the symbolical meaning of the frogs in the *anathema* but suggest that they might be the sight of the coming spring. In ancient Egypt, frogs were associated with fertility, and their presence under the palm tree might be inspired oriental influences.

These other animals are more rarely mentioned in literary sources than the ones represented on free-standing offerings, or snake, deer, panthers and

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[74] Bevan, 1986, p. 402-404
[75] At the Louvre, the Vatican Museum and National Museums Liverpool
[76] Pliny, 34, 69-70
[77] Hurwit, 2006, p. 121-129
[78] Rouse, 1902, p. 232-233, no. 12, fig. 35. Inscription: "Ἄμων Σωνόου Βοάσονι".
[79] *Greek Anthology*, 6, 43
[80] Deonna, 1951, p. 162-207
[81] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 339f

dolphins. Their representations are either uncommon or pertaining to secondary fields rather than to the main subject of artistic scenes. Therefore, their absence as free-standing offerings is not surprising.

Part 3: Sculpture
Animal statues as *anathemata*

I. Observations on the visuals of free-standing statues: materials, colors and techniques

1. Bronze or marble, two rivaling materials: aesthetics and techniques

While the archaeological museums dedicated to Greek antiquity in Greece and worldwide present mostly white and sober marble statues as the ambassadors of ancient Greek sculpture, a considerable number of ancient statues have either disappeared or lost their colors. When studying sculpture, the color factor should always be remembered, even when the true colors of the statues under studies are not known: regardless of its use and destination, a statue is, foremost, a visual art creation, and colors play a powerful part in the aesthetics of painted artifacts.

Research on colors is still recent and in progress, but the white marble was often brought to life with a wide range of pigments[1], sometimes still visible, like in the case of the patterned trousers worn by the so-called "Persian Rider" from the Athenian Acropolis[2]. Colors were certainly the first aspect of a statue to catch the eyes of the beholder, and so were the various pieces of ornaments that were often added to marble statues, such as metal jewelry or articles of clothing. Only one of the statues in our catalogue, the dog **(D1)** from the Acropolis of Athens still shows traces of paint: a little bit of red under his left hear and black on his eyelids and pupils – the whole coat was probably brownish-red, the white of the eyes polished to emphasize to make the white marble shine, and the facial features, such as eyelids, nose and pupils marked in black to increase their prominence. Many other of our statues were certainly painted, but the corresponding data has been erased from the marble.

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, bronze, the artificial ally of copper, tin, lead, zinc and other metals found in nature, had become a favorite and many if not most free-standing offerings were cast in bronze: the numerous statue bases meant for bronze statues found in the large Greek sanctuaries, namely the Acropolis of Athens, Delos, Delphi and Olympia illustrate this idea.

[1] Brinkman, 2011, p. 12-17
[2] Acropolis Museum, no. 606

Pausanias, in the descriptions of the sanctuaries he visited, mentions more bronze than marble statues. He might have done so because bronze was more impressive to him; however, if his writings can't prove the predominance of bronze, they, at least, confirm its abundance. Unfortunately, bronze is less durable than marble and has often been recast into other shapes in later periods. Pliny comments of the different kinds of bronzes used in Greek sculpture.[3] In high antiquity, Delian bronze was the most renowned, closely followed by the Aeginetan one. Both of were later surpassed by the Corinthian brass, created by accident at the beginning of the Roman period, when Corinth was burnt down in 146 BC. He also mentions the presence of gold and silver melted into early Greek bronzes.

The temporary exhibition "Power & Pathos" [4], held in 2015-2016, gathered 50 bronze sculptures and related works dating from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD. This exhibition was particularly important because, for the first time, the major part of the surviving Hellenistic bronze statues was brought together thanks to the cooperation between 11 participating countries[5]. A clear majority of the statues gathered are not only made of bronze: most of them are also decorated with copper, some also have some silver, lead or gold, and the eyes are often made of bone, to which glass was added in several instances, for a more realistic rendering.

Bronze statues were made to shine, and their glow was part of what made them attractive to ancient eyes – just as the pigments made marble statues more lively and noticeable. Indeed, when looking to the epithets associated with bronze objects in Homer, the gleaming and fiery aspect of the precious metal comes forward, with adjectives like *νῶροψ*[6], *αἴθων*[7] and *φαεινός*[8]. "Bronze" is also used as a color adjective to describe the hoofs of Poseidon's

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[3] Pliny, 34, 3-7

[4] Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, from March 14 to June 21, 2015; J. Paul Ghetty Museum, Los Angeles, from July 28 to November 1, 2015; National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, from December 13, 2015 to March 20, 2016. The J. Paul Ghetti has collected for the occasion essays by the most prominent scholars who currently work on bronze sculpture in very complete book, *Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World*, edited by J.M. Daehner and K. Lapatin. These essays will be referenced directly to the name of their respective authors. The sculptures are also presented in a very well-organized catalogue in pictures on the website of the National Gallery of Art, where the audio files of related lectures are also available.
www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/exhibitions/2015/power-and-pathos

[5] Austria, Denmark, France, Georgia, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Spain, Tunisia, the United States and the Vatican

[6] Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 578; 7, 206

[7] Homer, *Iliad*, 9, 265; 9, 123

[8] Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 76

horses, while their manes are "golden"[9] – the use of these metals could already be used for horse representations in Homeric times on smaller objects, such as sword sheathes, but these color associations were certainly still present in the imagery of the Classical Greeks when they took metal artwork to a much larger scale. Researches on the colors of bronze statues have reached the conclusion that artists were "exploring metalworking techniques such as inlaying and plating with pure or alloyed metals to add polychrome effects to their works."[10] Vinzenz Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche have made interesting attempts at the reconstruction of colors on ancient Greek sculpture, including the use of patina on bronze **(Fig. 1)**[11].

Fig. 1 – Bronze head with patina (L) / original (R), Exhibition *Bunte Götter*, Munich Glyptotek

Bronze statues made with the lost-wax method were able to exploit the full potential of bronze as a very solid but flexible material, and to include very minute details in the representations: the details of hair locks in surviving human bronze portraits is particularly impressive, and the details of the fur and manes of animals was certainly a strong advantage of bronze over marble. The horse and jockey from the Artemision[12] stands as a witness for the precision with which bronze statues could render musculature and tendons, thus creating a very life-like impression of swiftness.

Marble, however, as Andrew Stewart points out, was, by the Hellenistic period, the usual material for the cult statues of gods and kings, while bronze was reserved to human portraiture, while offerings could be made of either material, which suggests a hierarchy possibly linked with the eternal quality and naturalness of marble, as opposed to bronze, an oxidable and artificial alloy.[13]

Marble artists also reached a high degree of precision in the details, including in muscles and hair, as on the hound **(D1)** and the horse **(H1)** from the Acropolis of Athens, but required a longer carving time to achieve and a greater

[9] Homer, *Iliad*, 13, 23-24

[10] Descamp-Lequime, 2015, p. 151

[11] Photo: Matthias Kabel, CC BY-SA 3.0, taken at the exhibition organized at the Munich Glyptotek; also, see Brinkmann and Wünsche, 2004.

[12] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 15177

[13] Stewart, 2015, p. 40

mastery for barely comparable effects. The marble bull offered by Regilla in the Olympian nymphaion **(B4)** was the result of a great skill and undoubtedly crafted by a renowned master, but it could not have achieved the degree of life displayed by Myron's bronze cow **(Ba10)**.

2. Chryselephantine statues

Literary posterity offers chryselephantine works as the most valued statues in antiquity, mostly known from written sources[14] and appear to have only been produced to be used in the religious sphere. The most famed was the colossal statue of Zeus at Olympia, destroyed around the 5th century AD, and which remains in memories as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Gold and ivory have, unfortunately, only rarely survived the passing of time and the monetary value of these materials made them the earliest victims of robberies: only fragments of gold and ivory have been found to materially attest the existence of these chryselephantine sculptures[15]. There are, however, no trace of free-standing chryselephantine animal sculpture in archaeology or in literature. These very precious statues were usually made as cult statues for a god or a goddess, and, when an animal was present in the composition, it was a smaller scale animal working as an attribute for the deity. The free-standing animal statues found in sanctuaries, or mentioned by visitors who visited them, were offerings, and not cult statues – therefore not filling the prerequisites for a chryselephantine make.

3. Wooden statues and the *sphyrelaton* – silver and gold coating

Prior and into the Archaic period, the cult statues kept at sanctuaries seem to have often been made of wood, which is why many *xoana* were wooden, as the original image of the deity was preciously kept, venerated and used as a model for further copies of the deity of a specific cult[16], even though newer art

[14] Pausanias, 1, 24, 5; 1, 20, 3; 1, 40, 4; 2, 1, 8; 2, 7, 5; 2, 10, 2; 2, 10, 5; 2, 17, 4; 2, 17, 5; 2, 27, 2; 5, 11, 1; 5, 17, 3; 6, 25, 1; 6, 26, 3; 7, 18, 10; 7, 20, 2; 7, 20, 9; 7, 27, 2.

[15] Gold and ivory fragments of several smaller than life-size chryselephantine statues were found in Delphi and are kept at the Delphi museum: the remaining fragments are not sufficient to determine which deities they represented.

[16] In Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, it is with the statue that she and Orestes steal in Tauris on Athena's orders that Iphigeneia founds the cult of Athena at Brauron.

works were more evidently exposed within the sanctuary[17].

Some wooden statues were sometimes coated with hammered metal sheets: the technique of the *sphyrelaton* was particularly popular in the Archaic period, before the greater development of bronze sculpture: often, a sheet of bronze was hammered onto the wood, and in some rarer case, like on the bull from Delphi **(B1)**, sheets of silver and gold were also used. The use of this technique of hammering metal on wood shows the visual taste for metal coating on sculpture at a time when stone statues were in full expansion, also show that the desire to have metallic surfaces on statues was originally not directly related with the offering of a certain weight of precious metal in the shape of a sculptural offering. In classical Greece, the *sphyrelaton* technique has somehow survived in the making of chryselephantine statues, but largely given place to the lost-wax method when it came to bronze sculpture.

4. Works of pure gold: a lavish rarity

While gold was a common ingredient in the making of statues of other materials: chryselephantine statues were partly made of gold, bronze statues could use gold in their composition and their patina, marble statues received golden ornaments, and gold sheets could be applied to wooden statues in *sphyrelaton* works. practical and pecuniary reasons, life-size statues of pure gold were extremely rare, but not undocumented. They are remembered more for their impressive economical value than for their beauty or religious value.

One animal statue made of gold lives in written sources: the colossal lion of pure gold offered by Croesus at Delphi **(La2)** in hopes of obtaining the favor of the oracle, is documented both by Herodotus and Pausanias.[18] The wealthy king offered this pricey lion among immense sacrifices and other gold offerings, and the choice of the theme probably has more to do with himself than with the sanctuary, as lions were a favorite emblem of the monarchy in Lydia and Croesus ordered his own artists to make the statue. This lion is the only free-standing animal statue on which we have information on the weight – and therefore, on the price: ten talents of pure gold – a fortune. Herodotus reports that, by his time, the statue was 3.5 talents lighter after the priests melted part of it, which infers that the clergy of Apollo, at least in later times, perceived this lion statue as a form of monetary donation to the sanctuary.

[17] A few wooden statuettes with traces of textiles are exposed at the Brauron museum; Pausanias mentions many wooden *xoana*, which are often damaged by the time of his visit, like the small *xoanon* of Aphrodite at Delos, 9, 40, 3.

[18] Herodotus, 1, 46-51; Pausanias, 10, 5, 13

II. Price of statues: material, transport and workmanship

1. Price of bronze statues

When wondering "Why Bronze?", Stewart[19] reminds us that it was "the metal from which the men that had preceded the heroes were made, and the one that both gods and heroes had overwhelmingly employed for everything", but that it was also "the standard of value against which all other metals and commodities were rated". Both reasons explain the preference for bronze manifested in written sources from the Classical period forward. Indeed, a bronze statue – or a statue using other precious metals, such as silver or gold, had a long-lasting value beyond the art. A bronze statue certainly couldn't be merely estimated from the weight and quality of its material, but in the event of damage to the artistic piece or dire need, it could be melted down and converted into monetary currencies. And vice versa, currencies, weapons and precious objects taken from enemies could be melted down and stored in the sacred safety of sanctuaries in the shape of statues.

The sources for understanding the economics of sculpture are the building accounts for temples such as the Parthenon, Erechtheion, and Asklepieion[20] at Epidaurus.[21] Andrew Stewart gives a detailed account of his computations on the price of bronze statues[22] and considers, in a summary, that in the 4th and 3rd centuries, a life-size human bronze statue cost approximately 3000 drachmas, with 4-5 mm walls, less than 1% lead, a bright gloss with high reflectivity, rare gilding: the expenses for the making of the statue would have been around 700 drachmas and he conjectures a profit of around 2300 drachmas. In the 2nd and 1st centuries, a comparable statue would have cost 2000 drachmas, with 2-3 mm walls, 5 to 10% lead, duller gloss with lower reflectivity, frequent gilding, and expenses running around 500 drachmas for a profit of about 1400 drachmas.[23] It is difficult to know how the profit was shared, and what part of the profit, if any, was conferred by the master sculptor to his assistants – the

[19] Stewart, 2015, p. 35

[20] Prignitz, 2014, p. 66-73, gives a very analytic table of all the prices involved in the construction of the Asklepieion based on his translation of the epigraphical material.

[21] I warmly thank Prof. Andrew F. Stewart from UC Berkeley, who kindly shared his forthcoming paper with me. It supersedes his 1990 *Greek Sculpture: An exploration*. He also directed me towards the work of others on the question and his published article in *Power and Pathos*, 2015, is currently the most useful work on the economics of bronze sculpture.

[22] Stewart, 2015, p. 41-44 – the prices are slightly revisited in the forthcoming article.

[23] Stewart, forthcoming, p. 32

apprentices and slaves undoubtedly provided free labor and only cost the price of their food to the master.

Based on these prices and if we ignore currency fluctuations from a century to the next and regional markets, we can estimate the bronze lioness on the Acropolis **(La3)** at about 3000 drachmas, and bronze oxen such as the ones offered by the Corcyreans at Delphi **(Ba4)** and Olympia **(Ba5)**, at around 5000 or 6000 drachmas, because they were twice the size of typical human statues: the offering of one bronze bull could be equated to the sacrifice of 50 live bulls[24]: when the Corcyreans offered two such statues, they spent about the same amount as if they paid for a hecatomb.

2. Price of marble statues

Data on the cost of marble sculpture is less complete than on bronze, and the sources refer to architectural rather than free-standing sculpture. Marble was state property and "the Athenian state must have supplied the stone for public projects such as [the ones mentioned in epigraphy]."[25] The accounts mostly refer to programs of architectural sculpture for pediments and Steward calculates a price equivalent to 200 Attic drachmas per figure (of men and horses) for the pediment of the temple of Asclepios.[26] Still using the same accounts, Stewart[27] estimates the quarrying costs to be at 64 drachmas per m^3 and the transport 1 drachma per ton for a km. Moreover, when exporting Pentelic marble, Athens applied a tax of 2% of the quarrying price. While Stewart considered that the price of the marble itself was not stated on the accounts, Prignitz reads supplementary lines in his epigraphical study of the stones and, as per his summary table, adds the price of the marble to the price of the work: a little over 3591 Aeginetan drachmas by the end of the fourth and last year of the project.[28] This new reading is uncertain, but if it is correct, it would mean that the pediments of the Asklepion cost, in fact, about 307 Aeginetan or 439 Attic drachmas per figure in total and a much higher profit for the sculptor.

If Prignitz is correct in his reading of the cost of the marble for the pediment of the Asklepieion, it also gives us an idea of the price for the raw material:

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[24] See Chapter "Cattle"

[25] Stewart, forthcoming, p. 12

[26] Stewart, forthcoming, p. 17, based on IG IV² 1, 102,87-90, 95-100, 109-10

[27] Stewart, forthcoming, p. 18, based on IG IV² 1, 102, 2-17 and IG IV² 1, 103, 56, 58-9

[28] Prignitz, 2014, p. 73, "Marmor für die Bauskulptur?" under "Bauskulptur", 100-102: attributed to several names, including Hektoridas, the master sculptor in charge of the pediments.

Stewart estimates the quantity of marble at 7.7 tons (or 3m²) and 3591 Aeginetan convert to 5135 Attic drachmas: Pentelic marble would cost 667 drachmas/ton or 1711 drachmas/m³ in the 4th and 3rd centuries.

The use of large blocks of marble required specialized transport, as the stone can easily crack; in that regard, it was much easier to transport than bronze, which, albeit heavy, was not fragile and was destined to be entirely reshaped at the workshop. Even though marble statues could be finished on the spot, the block needed to reach its destination in one piece – a colossal undertaking when it came to monumental sculptures. The transport of the Naxian lions to Delos, for instance, can only have been a very costly and time consuming operation, even though the blocks were, most likely, given their final shape upon arrival. The several unfinished monumental statues found abandoned on Naxos, one at Apollonas and the two others at Melanes[29] **(Fig. 2)**[30], dating from the same time frame as the colossal lions offered on Delos, illustrate the risk of shipping hazards. They were left behind when the stone cracked during transport from the quarries to their intended destination. Thanks to the presence of these statues on the way down from the quarries, we know that colossal Archaic statues were partially shaped before transport but finished at a later point, and that not all the blocks successfully reached their final destination. The accidents that happened along the way certainly contributed to increase the price of marble, as they meant that, in practice, more time, work force and raw material were spent than in the unrealistic scenario in which all blocks would be safely moved from the quarries to display location.

Fig. 2 – Shipping accident: unfinished and broken kouros at Melanes, Naxos

Even though prices certainly greatly varied depending on the periods and regions, it is interesting to use these approximations, including Prignitz' new reading on marble price, for comparative purposes: the colossal Delian lions **(L01-L09)** required a little over 1 m³ of marble each, and would, a couple of

[29] These statues are still *in situ* and visible

[30] Photo: Linda Talatas. Unfinished and broken 6th century *kouros* at Melanes, where the marble for the Naxian lions on Delos was likely extracted.

centuries after their actual dedication, have been valued at about 15 405 drachmas for the raw material if there were just nine of them, plus the price of their transport: 9m³ of marble would have cost about 28 800 drachmas for 50 km on land, and we can easily imagine that the transport of monumental blocks by boat was at least as costly. This amounts to about 44 205 drachmas without even including the sculptor's wage. Even though these numbers are using unsure values, that were applied to another time and region, the colossal lions offered at Delos were a truly lavish offering, totaling to a sum comparable to the one needed to build a trireme, when the Athenians aristocracy had an annual income of about 1 500 drachmas[31], or the price of 500 hecatombs of fine oxen.[32] To the other side of the spectrum, statues of small animals, like the doves offered to Aphrodite on the Sacred Way to Eleusis **(A01-A06)**, required very little money for the material and transport (the marble for such small works could even be taken from leftover stone out of blocks brought for other statues that required transport in an unfinished state; these pieces could also be easily carried by a single person from the quarry); they likely were easily affordable offerings, that could cost around 5 drachmas – the wage of skilled laborers for two work days (or the price of a little lamb).[33]

III. Animal-specialized sculptors: contextual comparisons

1. Artists and workshops: identity and specialties

Myron's cow **(Ba10)**, the lost early 5th century bronze cast known through thirty-six admirative epigrams[34], wins the award for most famous animal statue in Greek antiquity. Even though the only two works by Myron to have survived through Roman copies[35] are the group of Athena and Marsyas and the Discobolos, both featuring human subjects, the fame that the cow attracted raises the question of the artist's possible specialization in animal subjects. In any case, the posterity of that work shows how an animal statue could be wildly

[31] Stewart, 2015, p. 41: "the Athenian equivalent of the One Percent had annual income of 1500 dr. or above; when paid by the day (a rarity), skilled laborers earned only one or two and a half dr.; building a trireme (war galley) cost ten talents; and funding its gear and two-hundred-man crew for a year's worth of practice days cost another talent" (1 talent = 6000 drachmas).

[32] See Chapter "Cattle" for prices of live animals based on sacrificial calendars.

[33] See Chapter "Sheep and Goats"

[34] *Anthologia Palatina*, 9, 713-742; Squire, 2010, p. 589

[35] Stewart, 1990, p. 147; the statue is mentioned in Pausanias, 1, 24, 1

admired and bring glory to its maker. Other sculptors could also leave their name to posterity thanks to a well-executed animal statues: the "Fallen Lion", for instance, is known to Strabo as a work of Lysippos[36], and the statue of Leaïna as a lioness known to Pliny as a work of Amphikrates[37].

Pliny the Elder is an interesting source on Greek sculpture, even though his writings must be taken with the caution necessary when using the knowledge of a secondhand author. He dedicates several sections of his Natural History to the history of art: one book on bronze sculpture[38] and one on marble sculpture[39], where he comments on several aspects of Greek sculpture, including famous works, artists and chronology. Pliny's research is based on Greek epigrams and the works of several authors, including Heliodorus of Athens, Praxiteles of Athens and Apollodorus of Athens.[40]

Pliny says of Myron that he was the first to expand naturalistic art, even though he didn't convey feelings in his portraits, and that his sense of harmony was superior than Polykletos'.[41] He advances, however, the hypothesis that Myron might have been more famous because of the praises of the heifer in the epigrams than for his sole talent – the heifer might have, in most part, been famous for the sake of being famous: *"quando alieno plerique ingenio magis quam suo commendantur"*.[42]

The name of the sculptor is known for only 8 of our offerings (taking into consideration both catalogues, with archaeological and written sources). Six of them are cattle statues **(Ba2, Ba3, Bb4, Bb5, Bb6, Ba7)** and two ("Wooden") horses **(Ha4, Ha5)**, all of them in bronze. From these statistics, we can be led to think that if an artist wanted to achieve fame by specializing in animal sculpture, large bronze mammalians would be the right choice of subject. Pausanias supports this theory when he writes that Strongylion was an excellent artist of oxen and horses[43] when mentioning his statues of three out of nine statues of muses at Mouseion on Mount Helicon – he doesn't describe or comments on the aesthetics of the muses, only confirms the authorship of Strongylion, the

[36] Strabo, 13, 1, 19 – the lion was likely a group with Herakles; Strabo reports that Agrippa took the statue from Lampsacus.
[37] Pliny, 34, 19, 72
[38] Pliny, *Natural History*, 34
[39] Pliny, *Natural History*, 36
[40] Isager, 1991, p. 97-108, comments on the development of Greek Bronze Art in Pliny.
[41] Pliny, 34, 58
[42] Pliny, 34, 57
[43] Pausanias, 9, 30, 1

oxen and horse specialist. The only animal statue known to be by Strongylion was the bronze statue of the wooden horse on the Athenian Acropolis, thanks to the dedication found on the base **(Hb1)**[44], but he might also have been the author of the ox **(Ba9)** on the Helicon, which would then have higher chances to be a bronze one. It is no wonder that Pausanias doesn't even think to write Strongylion's name on record when commenting on the colossal Acropolis "Wooden" horse: the attribution was most likely too well known to necessitate a mention.

In his list of famed sculptors[45], Pliny mentions, with no further details, a Polykles who flowered in the 102nd Olympiad (372-369 BC), and the dates could correspond to the artist who co-executes the cow corresponding to one of the bases **(Bb6)** dedicated at Hermione. Pausanias tells us that Polykles was an Athenian – but it is impossible way to know if he talked of the same artist. It would not be unreasonable to conjecture that the heifer offered at Hermione, a sanctuary famous for its peculiar sacrificial traditions, could have been part of the statues that brought enough fame to his name to be remembered in Rome centuries later.

Comparing statues of lions from sanctuaries and the ones from cemeteries indicate that some artists or workshops specialized in lions, even if their name wasn't passed down to us, or, at least, had it as a full section of their repertoire. However, similarities in style can also come from the observation of earlier statues. For instance, the style of the pair of lions from the Delian Artemision **(L10, L11)** might have been different from the one who made the lone lioness **(L12)** also found on Delos had clearly echoed, a century later, in funerary lion sculptures of the Cycladic islands. A funerary lion found on Naxos **(Fig. 3)**[46] and dating to the 4th century, for instance, might have

Fig. 3 – Funerary lion from Naxos

[44] See chapter on "Horses" for association between **Ha4** and the base **Hb1** found on the Acropolis mentioning Strongylion's name and matching the inscription mentioned in a scholium on Aristophanes, Birds, 1128; Pausanias also mentions the sculpture but without giving the name of the artist, which might have been so famous as to be omitted

[45] Pliny, 34, 19

[46] Photo: Linda Talatas; Naxos Museum (Chora), MN 1591

been made by a sculptor who observed the lions displayed at the Delian sanctuary since the beginning of the 5th century and tried to reproduce them, but did not reach the same level of detail: the treatment of the mane follows the same pattern as for the lions of the Artemision **(L10, L11)**, but does not succeed at reaching the same level of detail; ears are added, that remind the ears of the lioness from Delos **(L12)**, slightly posterior to the lion pair: the artist observed previous statues, and tried to blend the features into his new work of art. The quality of the marble was not on his side, as the coarser grain of the Naxian marble made it more difficult for him to reach the precision achieved in the Delian lions. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the funerary lion from Naxos was made by a third-generation pupil of the master who executed the lions of the Artemision **(L10, L11)**.

The very fine funerary lion from Andros **(Fig. 4)**[47], dating from the second half of the 4th century, however, shows more similarities with the lions found at burial sites in Attica, with a stronger musculature, and a completely different treatment of the mane, represented in thick rows. The lions from the Syrian sanctuary on Delos **(L17, L18)**, offered in the second half of the 2nd century BC by a Laodicean, was executed by an artist who had observed that Attic model of crouching lions with thick rows of mane, and tried to follow that fashion, but only achieves a mediocre work: the crouching is exaggerated and unnatural, the neck too long and the mane roughly treated. The pilgrim who dedicated the pair of lions was from Lydia might have commissioned lion statues because of the importance of the animal in his native land, and for religious preferences linked with the Syrian gods to whom the statues were offered, and the dedicator would also have known that lion statues had been a suitable offering on the island in the past. The sculptor who made the statues might, however, have been hired on the spot by the foreign visitor while he was not a lion specialist: it is likely that the artist was not familiar with the treatment of lions and was trying to imitate, based on memories, characteristics previously observed on Classical and Hellenistic works at other locations.

Fig. 4– Funerary lion from Andros

Stylistic comparisons can also help us establish links between statues: the dog **(D1)** from the Acropolis, for instance, displays strong stylistic similarities

[47] Photo: Linda Talatas; Andros, Paleopolis Museum, no. 208, ca. 320 BC, L. 1.34 m, H. 0.76 m, W. 0.46 m

with the "Rampin" rider[48], a couple decade earlier. The two statues have likely been produced by the same workshop (Schneider and Höcker even suggest that they were made by the same sculptor)[49] – that would have been talented at making animals. Unfortunately, the horse was very damaged; only its neck was saved, which impedes a better comparison between the style of the animals. Artists of riders on horses had to focus on the study of horses, a less common subject than the human figure of the rider. The careful rendering of the dog illustrates a patient observation of the subject, and a high interest in movement and expression that echo in the figure of the rider. Bringing together a statue of a dog and one including a life-size horse is interesting: indeed, both animals often appeared in the same scenes on pediments, as accessories to hunts, and artists who worked on free-standing sculpture for the Acropolis of Athens likely also had experience in architectural sculpture: they or their masters might have contributed to the making of friezes and architectural programs, and therefore studied the anatomy of the animals that appeared on it.

2. Sculptors and their materials of predilection

The choice of material for a free-standing animal statue, was not only between bronze or marble (or the other rarer options), but also which bronze and which marble.

According to Pliny, Myron of Eleutherae used Delian bronze for his works, the most esteemed of his time,[50] while his co-student and rival, Polykletos, native of Argos or Sicyon, used the Aeginetan bronze, and there was a rivalry between them on two levels, on talent and material. The famous heifer **(Ba10)** would therefore have been made of Delian bronze. We can imagine that Theopropos of Aegina, who made the bull **(Ba3)** that the Corcyreans offered at Delphi, proudly used the bronze produced at his birthplace. And the artists from Argos, Dorotheos, whose name is on the cow base **(Bb5)**, and Androkydes, who figures as a co-sculptor of the cow on Bb6, and Antiphanes, who made the "Wooden" horse **(Ha5)**, might also have chosen to use Aeginetan bronze to follow the example set fifty years earlier by the Peloponnesian master Polykletos, who had pupils from Argos and other Peloponnesian locations[51].

When it came to marble, the choice of the material varied based on several

[48] "Rampin" rider, Acropolis 590 + Louvre Ma 3104, ca. 550-540

[49] Schneider and Höcker, 2001, p. 87

[50] Pliny, 34, 5

[51] Pliny, 34, 19, lists several famous sculptors from Argos and Arcadia as pupils of Polykletos

factors: availability, quality, transport or political message could weigh in the criteria. The differentiation between marbles is often visually observable, but sometimes necessitates further petrographic analyses that haven't always been led, which is why, when uncertain, the provenance of the marble won't be specified. Naxian marble generally has a larger grain than Parian marble, but that is not often the case – Naxian marble is extracted from two main quarries, Melanes and Apollonas, and, while marble from Melanes is always coarser than Parian marble, some of the finer marble from Apollonas is finer than Parian marble. The pair of lion dedicated to the Egyptian gods **(L17, L18)**, for instance, is made of an intermediary marble that could have been imported from Paros or from Apollonas – in doubt, it is referred to as "Island marble".

Further analyses include measurements of the levels of Manganese (Mn2+) and Iron (Fe3+) in laboratory conditions: the presence of Manganese combined with the size of the grain is a particularly good indicator of provenance **(Fig. 5)**[52], even though overlaps are present regardless of the technique used.

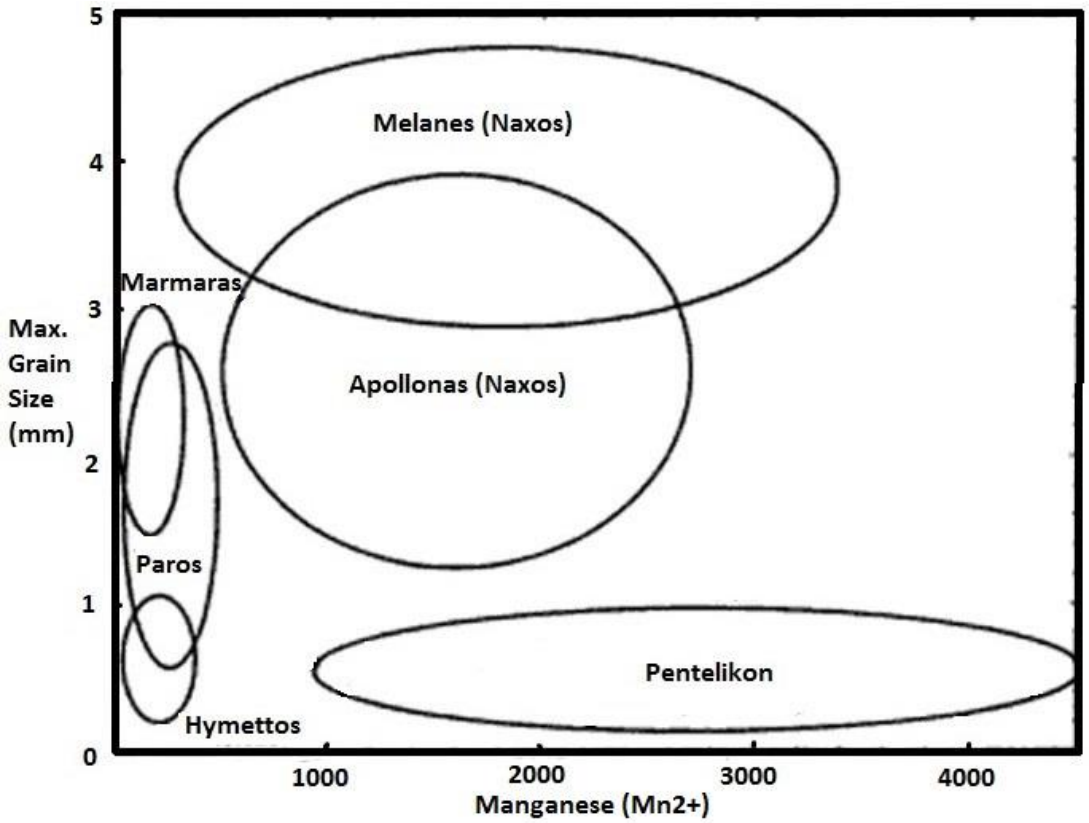


Fig. 5 – Maximum grain size and Manganese in Mediterranean Greek marbles

[52] This figure is based on Kane et al., 1995, fig. 2, p. 320, which showed the concentration of Mn2+ and grain size of the marble of sculptures from the nymphaion at Olympia; the graph has been modified to illustrate only marble grain and Mn2+ for marbles from different origins.

The first marble quarries to be exploited in Greece were those of Naxos, possibly since the 8th century BC, and colossal sculpture made from Naxian marble started appearing in the 7th century BC. Delos is home to the most impressive example the use of Naxian marble. Indeed, the Naxians offered several splendid marble monuments and offerings in the first quarter of the 6th century BC: a colossal statue of Apollo, standing at almost 10 m high and carved in one block together with his plinth, the House of the Naxians, the Stoa of the Naxians, and the monumental lions **(L01-L09)** along the terrace set in the side of the Letoon and leading to Skardana, an anchorage possibly used as Delos' second harbor. All these splendid offerings were made on Delos at a time when Naxos was ruled by an oligarchy, who remained in power until the tyrant Lygdamis, who used to be amongst the members of that oligarchy, took control of the island in 545 BC, with the help of Peisistratos.[53] Two inscriptions on the base of the colossal Apollo statue, still in situ within the *temenos* of Apollo on Delos, help understand the offerings – on the east side of the block, the original inscription is still visible and translates to: "I am of the same stone, the man and the plinth", while a newer inscription, dated around the 4th century BC, translates to: "The Naxians to Apollo". It was not uncommon for inscriptions to be recurved when weathered (the same happens on the base of the Corcyrean bull at Delphi **(Bb1)**, and reflects the fact that it was still known in the 4th century that the Apollo, a landmark by then, had been an offering from the Naxians to Apollo. These offerings, in the name of a whole island, were certainly executed by the most renowned Naxian artists of the time, helped by many assistants and slaves, and paid by the oligarchs in power. The artists, however greatly talented, likely didn't have earlier sculptural representations of lions to use as models, and needed to improvise based on vase paintings – they went for quite a different representation than the one of the laying lion on Kea **(L16)**, carved in the same half century. The straight neck and open maws of the Delian lions somewhat echo the royal lion represented on Lydian coins, which were circulating around the Mediterranean basin in the 7th century BC. The coins, however, only show the head of the lion and its neck, suggesting strong shoulders. The artists might not have been aware of the natural appearance of lions' manes and based their idea of a mane on the coin, on which the head appeared mane-less, and a stylized mane was developed around the neck: on the Delian lions, the manes almost completely eroded but traces indicate that they used to be along the neck rather than closely set around the face. As for the rest of the body and hind-legs, they seem to be inspired by the body of male hounds, common animals on Naxos as anywhere else in Greece.

[53] Grant, 2001, p. 185

The choice of marble greatly varied depending on the level of financial investment placed in the offering: fine sculptures made by renowned (and expensive) sculptors justified the purchase of expensive marble, while offerings made by lesser artists also entailed cheaper marble. This is well illustrated in Knidos where two of the four pregnant sows **(P2-P3)** are clearly made by better artists than the two others **(P4-P5)**, and even though all four statues are made of regional marble, the sculptures made by more talented artists are also using a material of higher quality while the marble used for the **P4** and **P5** was full of veins and more friable. The proximity between quarries and a sanctuary also justified the use of a higher quality marble for cheaper offerings and smaller statues, like the dove **(A03)** to Aphrodite. Besides, smaller objects, such as life-size doves, sculptors could use leftovers from blocks used for larger sculptures.

The best quality displayed in surviving statues was found in animals that seemed to have had a strategic place in the sanctuary, and were not interchangeable with other offerings. For instance, the dog **(D1)** of Parian marble from the Athenian Brauroneion and the life-size Delian lions **(L10-L11)**, likely placed at the gates of the Artemision, and the lioness **(L12)**, possibly placed at the gate of the Letoon are among the finest surviving animal statues. These guardians were more important than any other type of offerings as they completed the architecture of the sanctuaries: it was therefore primordial to use the finest materials and employ the most qualified artists for their production.

Part 4: Data analysis
Statistics and interpretations

I. Two catalogues: archaeology and literary sources

1. General presentation and *caveat*

The first striking evidence when building a catalogue for this project was the low number of free-standing statues of animals that were found in sanctuaries. Many animal statues come from cemeteries, and animals are often represented in sculptural groups within sanctuaries, or on smaller offerings. For this reason, it is useful to include a few Roman offerings to the catalogue when they are particularly important to better understand the offerings from previous periods: our study remains, however, focused on the offerings dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods and the Roman offerings have been taken into consideration for comparative purposes, but not entered in the statistics unless otherwise mentioned.

The archaeological catalogue includes all the surviving free-standing statues of at least a third of life-size for large animals, such as horses or cattle and life-size for small animals, such as doves. It also includes the bases of statues that used to support free-standing offerings: the reasons why they were included in the work are detailed in the chapter dedicated to the corresponding category of animal, namely “Cattle”, because these were the only bases for which there was sufficient evidence that they held free-standing animal statues. The inscriptions found with the statues are referenced within the catalogue entries.

Apart from the five statue bases that appear as main catalogue entries (and count as one statue each in the statistics), several other bases have been identified and attached to offerings that appear in the literary catalogue: these are also given catalogue numbers but instead as being entered as catalogue entries, they were entered as supplementary information concerning the corresponding statues. These bases are, however, treated individually and extensively within the chapters dedicated to the corresponding category of animals.

To the usual catalogue of archaeological data, I added a catalogue of free-standing animal offerings as found in ancient literary sources: and it doubled the amount of data, which was extremely useful considering the small number of surviving offerings. This second catalogue was also particularly useful

because it enabled me to list the reasons for the offerings, the dedicators and the sculptors: these were often mentioned, while the surviving statues have often lost their dedication. For instance, no artist name is surely known in the archeological catalogue, while literary sources mention several. I have also carefully crosschecked electronic sources for other mentions of animals in the Ancient Greek corpus, but the richest source of information remains Pausanias' descriptions – other authors, Polemon in Athenaeus, Herodotus and Plutarch also sporadically mentioned animal offerings, which appear in the catalogue.

2. Catalogue of archaeological finds: statues and bases

There are 41 entries in my catalogue that correspond to 43 preserved statues found at sanctuaries (because fragments of a symmetrical statue of the same pair were found for the dog **(D1)** and the lion **(L15)** from the Athenian Acropolis, these two will be entered in statistics as double entries; the Delian lions **(L01-L09)** are recorded in one line but count at 9 entries). 6 statues belonging to the Roman period (the 5 eagles from Dion **(A08-A12)** and Regilla's bull **(B4)** at Olympia) were included in the entries for comparative purposes and discussed in the corresponding chapters but do not belong to our focal period: they will be excluded from the statistics unless otherwise stated. Therefore, the 37 entries corresponding to 39 preserved statues gathered in our catalogue that are dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period will be considered as the core of the archaeological data. Of these, two will be excluded from the statistics: the ram leg **(C1)** and the half-horse **(H1)**, which don't fully qualify as free-standing animal offerings: the leg because it is too fragmentary to know if it was from a single animal or from a group, and the half-horse because it is not an entire animal, and it might have belonged to an architectural ornament or a sculptural group.

	Lions	Birds	Pigs	Cattle	Bears	Dogs	Total
Acropolis of Athens	2	1			1	2	6
Delos	14	2					16
Delphi				1			1
Didyma	2						2
Eleusinian Sacred Way		4					4
Eleusis			1				1
Kea	1						1
Knidos			4	2			6
Total	**19**	**7**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**37**

Tab. 1 – Surviving Archaic to Hellenistic statues (sanctuary/category)

We will therefore base our statistics of surviving statues from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period on 37 statues **(Tab. 1)** in 35 entries, corresponding to 22

instances of offerings if we regroup within the same instance the dedication of pairs or groups of identical or symmetrical animals offered at the same time and at the same place.

To these can be added five entries corresponding to cattle bases **(Bb1-Bb5)** corresponding to 5 statues **(Tab. 2)**: the arguments in favor of considering them as bases for free-standing statues of animals are pertinent. Horse bases, previously treated[1], will not be included, because they probably served as a support to equestrian statues (with a rider), and the two bases of "Wooden horse" from Delphi and from Athens, **(Hb1-Hb2)**, are included in the entries concerning the statues they held, that are in the literature catalogue, as is the goat base from Delphi **(Cb1)**.

	Cattle	Total
Delphi	1	1
Hermione	4	4
Total	**5**	**5**

Tab. 2 – Surviving Archaic to Hellenistic statue bases only (sanctuary/category)

Therefore, when considering both statues and bases, we will be looking at evidence for 42 statues dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, which correspond to 28 instances of offerings at the same time and place. When including Roman offerings for comparative purposes, we will take into consideration 48 statues, corresponding to 34 instances of offerings.

3. Catalogue of free-standing animal offerings in ancient literary sources

There are 30 entries in the literature catalogue. 19 of them can be dated, at least approximately, thanks to their associations with historical events, characters or Panhellenic games; only one dedication, Hadrian's peacock **(Aa1)** is datable as Roman, and the rest of the offerings, which are difficult to chronologically place with precision, are all likely anterior to the Roman period. The 19 datable entries really correspond to 44 statues: the entry on an offering of cows to Athena Itonia in Thessaly **(Ba09)** mentions 12 cows and Kyniska's dedication at Olympia was made of "horses" **(Ha3)** in the plural with no mention of number: we will prudently count them as a pair. Croesus' offering of golden cows **(B11)** is almost certainly made of statuettes rather than statues, because Herodotus says they are "many" and associates them with columns: they are included in the catalogue because of their value but should be treated with caution in the statistics because they were most likely smaller offerings. Myron's cow **(Ba10)** celebrity gave her a guest place in the catalogue, but she will be excluded from the statistics as she was set on the Agora, and the

[1] See Chapter on "Horses and other equids"

	Cattle	Horses	Lions	Goats	Wolves	Donkeys	Tortoises	Total
Acropolis of Athens	1	1	1					3
Delphi	3	2	2	1	1	1		10
Helicon	1							1
Itonos	12							12
Megalopolis							1	1
Olympia	2	3						5
Source of Alpheios			2					2
Phlius - Agora				1				1
Sparta	1							1
Thebes			1					1
Total	**20**	**6**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**37**

Tab. 3 – Archaic to Hellenistic statues in literary sources (sanctuary/category)

epigrams do not make it very clear if the statue was indeed an offering. The bronze he-goat **(Ca3)** offered to Hermes and mentioned in an epigram by Leonidas must also be excluded from the statistics because its location is unknown and the statue could have been offered in Italy, outside of our geographical limits because the epigrammatist was from Tarentum. The two pairs of eagles of Zeus Lykaios (**Aa1** and **Aa2**), treated in the chapter on Birds, are not included in the statistics as they are not datable and might have been Roman offerings. We will therefore have a total of 37 statues **(Tab. 3)** to take into consideration in the statistics (excluding Myron's cow, Hermes' he-goat, Zeus Lykaios' eagles and the Roman offerings), equating to 24 instances of offerings made at the same time and place from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods. We also need to keep in mind that only about 24 offerings are surely statues animals close to life-size: the 12 cows offered in Thessaly might have been bronze statuettes and should only be included in the statistics with caution.

4. Combining data from both catalogues

Both catalogues together amount to 76 entries in total, for a total of at least 99 statues, including the Roman offerings, the ram leg and the half horse – in these numbers, we consider that Kyniska's offering **(Ha3)** amounts to two horses only, that 12 cows **(Ba09)** were offered to Athena Itonia and that Croesus' "many" cows **(Ba11)** were only four.

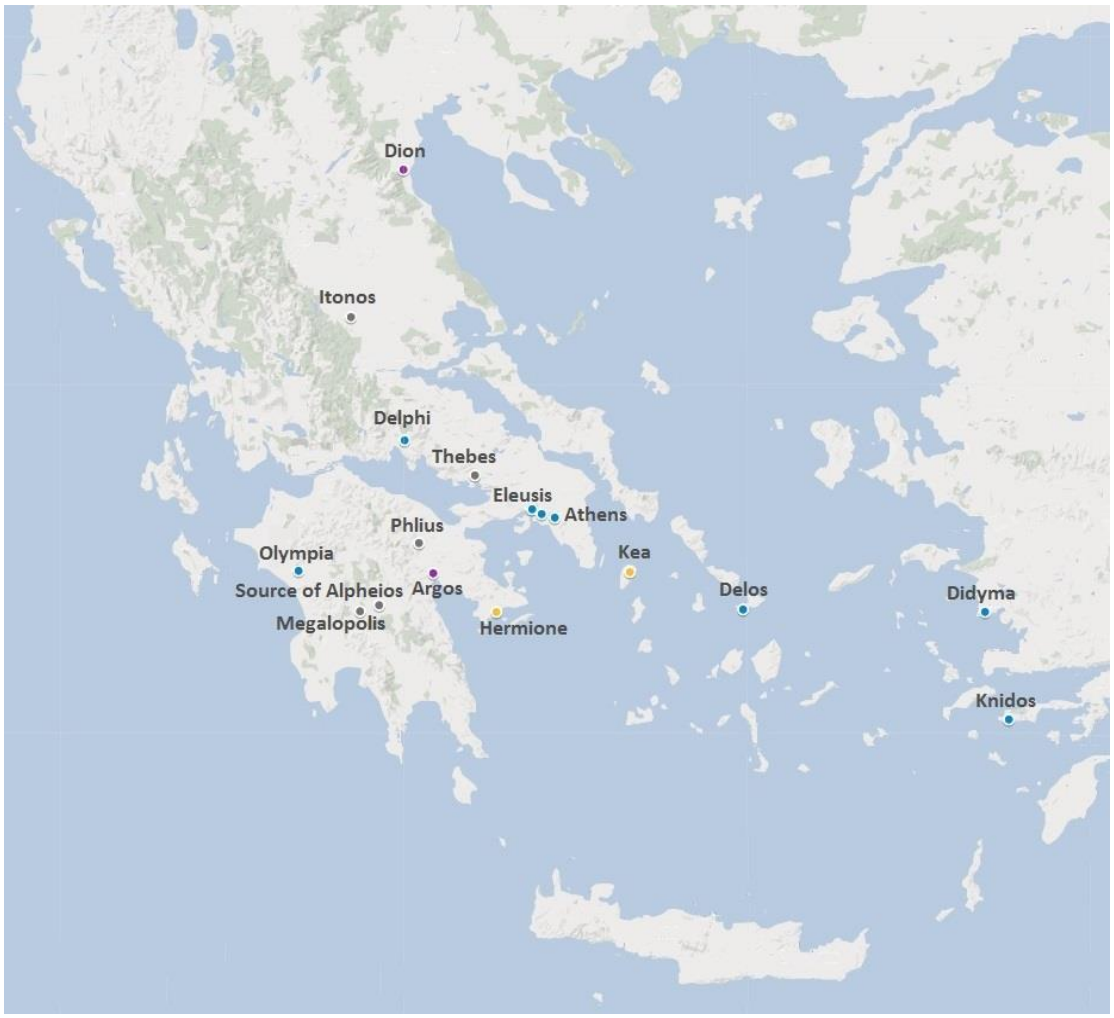
Once we exclude from these numbers the goat leg **(C1)** and the half-horse **(H1)**, Myron's cow **(Ba10)**, and the bronze he-goat of unknown location **(Ca3)** and Croesus' cows **(Ba11)** which were most likely statuettes, we have 91 statues left including all the Roman offerings and Zeus Lykaios' eagles of uncertain chronology **(Aa1-Aa2)** (used for comparative purposes). These 91 statues

correspond to 61 single instances of offerings if we group pairs and series.

In core of our study and the data collection used for our statistical analysis and interpretations, unless mentioned otherwise, are the 79 statues of free-standing animals dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, presented in the tables **(Tab. 1, Tab. 2, Tab. 3)** and offered in 52 singular instances.

II. Sanctuaries and deities

1. Distribution of the sanctuaries



Map 1 – Whole area map of sanctuaries with free-standing animal statues

Legend:
- At least two free-standing animal statues attested and at least one surviving
- One free-standing animal statue or bases only
- Only free-standing animal statues attested in literature
- Only Roman free-standing animal statues attested in archaeology or literature

Map 1 shows the distribution of all the sanctuaries with free-standing animal statue offerings. The blue points indicate the main sanctuaries where

animal statues were dedicated: the ones where at least one surviving statue was found, and where two or more are attested if we combine the surviving statues and the ancient literary sources. The yellow points indicate the location of sanctuaries where only one animal statue was found, or only bases, namely, Kea, where a colossal lion **(L18)** was carved in the bedrock in an unidentified primitive sanctuary, and Hermione, where 4 bases for cow statues were found **(Bb4-Bb7)**. The green spots indicate the sanctuaries where animal statue offerings are only attested in literature: they include the problematic offering of twelve bronze cows to Athena Itonia **(B09)**, which will be treated with care in this chapter as it is impossible to know if these were statues or statuettes: they were most likely dedicated at the sanctuary of an ancient city named Itonos, corresponding to the location of the modern village of Philia, marked on the map as Itonos. Megalopolis, where Pausanias sees a stone turtle **(Ta1)** at a sanctuary of Hermes Akakesios, in ruins by his time; Phlius, where the bronze goat **(Ca2)** was offered on the agora, near a temple of Demeter; the source of the Alpheios, near Asea, where Pausanias sees two stone lions **(La5)** at the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Thebes, where Pausanias sees a lion **(La1)** supposedly offered by Herakles, are also in that category. The two sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios, at Megalopolis and on Mount Lykaion, each had a pair of eagles (**Aa1** and **Aa2**), which are impossible to date, and might be Roman offerings; they are however marked in gray.

Dion and Argos, marked in purple, only received Roman animal offerings:

	Lions	Cattle	Birds	Horses	Pigs	Dogs	Goats	Bears	Wolves	Donkeys	Tortoises	Total
Delos	14		2									16
Itonos		12										12
Delphi	2	5		2			1		1	1		12
Acropolis of Athens	3	1	1	1		2		1				9
Knidos		2			4							6
Olympia		2		3								5
Eleusinian Sacred Way			4									4
Hermione		4										4
Source of Alpheios	2											2
Didyma	2											2
Sparta		1										1
Megalopolis											1	1
Thebes	1											1
Eleusis					1							1
Phlius - Agora							1					1
Helicon		1										1
Kea	1											1
Total	**25**	**28**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**79**

Tab. 4 – Number of statues per sanctuary and per animal category

the five eagles found at Dion **(A08-A12)** and the peacock **(Aa1)** offered by Hadrian at the Argian Heraion and mentioned by Pausanias have been treated in the chapter on "Birds", which is why these sanctuaries figure on the general map, but Argos and Dion will not be included in the statistics. Ephesus is not marked on the map because Croesus' cows **(B11)** were statuettes.

Tab. 4 gives an overview of the distribution of the animal statues per sanctuaries: categories of animals with no surviving whole free-standing statue but attested in literature and/or statue bases are indicated in orange.

	Lions	Cattle	Birds	Horses	Pigs	Dogs	Goats	Bears	Wolves	Donkeys	Tortoises	Total
Delos	14		2									16
Delphi	2	5		2			1		1	1		12
Acropolis of Athens	3	1	1	1		2		1				9
Knidos		2			4							6
Olympia		2		3								5
Eleusinian Sacred Way			4									4
Hermione		4										4
Didyma	2											2
Source of Alpheios	2											2
Phlius - Agora							1					1
Eleusis					1							1
Sparta		1										1
Thebes	1											1
Kea	1											1
Megalopolis											1	1
Helicon		1										1
Total	**25**	**16**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**67**

Tab. 5 – Number of statues per sanctuary and per animal category excluding Itonos

Tab. 5 gives the same statistics but excludes the offering of 12 cows to Athena Itonia **(B09)**, as their size is un-attested and they might have been either statues or statuettes. On both tables, the categories of animals are sorted from left to right in decreasing amount of representation on free-standing statues from sanctuaries, and the sanctuaries from top to bottom depending on their total number of statues, in decreasing order. The differences between these two tables show that statistics must be treated with care and caution, especially because our samples are limited: only the one offering of twelve bronze cows at Itonos would bring that sanctuary up to second position (from not being in the catalogue at all), the "Cattle" category from second to first most common statue offering, and Athena as the primary receiving deity. It is prudent to set aside the case of Itonos when describing our results.

Basing our reflection on the more reliable data **(Tab. 5)**, two sanctuaries come clearly ahead of the others: Delos and Delphi. They are followed by the Acropolis of Athens. Knidos, Olympia, the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred

Way and Hermione have similar numbers; they are followed by the sanctuary of Didyma. The other locations seem incidental, with only one statue each: of the seven other sanctuaries, only Eleusis and Kea have a preserved statue, and only at Eleusis can it be linked with a well-defined sanctuary.

These remarks bring us to the realization that, out of a total 17 sanctuaries where animal statues were offered, only 9 can clearly be archaeologically identified and associated with the offerings they received.

2. Sanctuary selection: links and divergences

a. Size and attendance levels of the receiving sanctuaries

The sanctuaries receiving the highest concentration of animal statue offerings are, unsurprisingly, large Panhellenic centers, which also receive the highest numbers of other types of sculptural offerings (cf. **Tab. 1**). Delos, Delphi, the Acropolis of Athens and Olympia figure in the six leading sanctuaries when it comes to animal statues. Other large sanctuaries, however, such as Corinth, Isthmia and Dodona, are missing from the list, and bring us to wonder what the links are between the preferred sanctuaries for this type of offerings.

Delos and Delphi, which both have Apollo as main deity, are the most popular receiving sanctuaries for animal statues. Olympia arrives far behind these two along with the Acropolis of Athens. The animal statue offerings from the Acropolis of Athens mostly seem to come from the Brauroneion, and therefore be dedicated to Artemis rather than to Athena, which brings the offerings from that location closer to the Delian and Delphic groups.

Didyma was also located in a very frequented area. Indeed, Miletus, which had been a Mycenaean stronghold from the 15th century BC and Ionian Greek city from at least the 10th century, was an important port of connection between Caria and the rest of the Aegean. Miletus was an important cult center for Apollo, and it was functioning under the leadership of the oracle of Apollo Didymaios, located in Didyma, linked to Miletus by a Sacred Way of ca. 18km, a distance similar to the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis (ca. 4 hours walking, 1 hour by horse-drawn chariot or 30 minutes on horseback). The lions from Didyma (**L16-L17**) were set close to the Didymaion, on that very frequented Sacred Way, where they would be seen by the many visitors of the oracle.

The sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, where several life-size marble doves were offered, was also located in an axis of significant traffic, but was not a final destination by itself, merely a stop on

the way, and the sanctuary was modest in size. It is, however, imaginable that sacred prostitutes would receive travelers who stopped at the sanctuary. The rarity in Attica of the name "Falakrion", who dedicated one of the doves (**A03**) doesn't contradict the hypothesis that the offering might have been made by a passing traveler; the marble birds might have been premade, and inscribed in the name of those who stopped at Aphrodite's rock sanctuary on their way between Athens and Eleusis.

Offerings placed in the sanctuaries of Thebes, Sparta and Knidos were set at places of importance regionally: they wouldn't have comparable frequentation to Athens, Delos, Delphi, Eleusis or even Didyma, but they were influential cities locally: Thebes was the most important city in Boeotia, Sparta in Laconia and Knidos was one of the two most important Dorian cities in Asia Minor, with Halikarnassos: the others being Kos, and three Rhodian cities. The Mouseion of the Mount Helikon was gathering an important quantity of offerings, according to Pausanias; it was not set right off a main way, but was easily accessible from one of the two roads leading to Delphi from Thespiai. It was, therefore, a station where the pilgrim going to Delphi from the south or the east and who were not dealing with urgent matters could visit easily enough. Hermione was a mid-size town where Dorians from Argos had settled. It was a ship-building and porphyry-producing port, located ca. 50 km to the south of the well-visited Epidauros and on the shore facing the small island of Hydra. Pausanias describes several temples of Hermione, where the cult of Aphrodite was important; but gives a special emphasis to the temple of Demeter for its peculiar sacrifice of four cows. Plutarch confirmed the popularity of the particular festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione: it was likely these celebrations that attracted the most visitors to Hermione. The sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly was likely a mid-size sanctuary of regional importance, but no special visibility on a Panhellenic scale. Phlius, Megalopolis and Kea were the least visited of the places where animal statues were dedicated.

The distribution of offerings, mainly in larger sanctuaries, but also at mid-range and smaller shrines, as well as the lack of free-standing animal *anathemata* in other large religious centers indicate that the size and frequentation of sanctuaries was an important factor for their selection as receivers of expensive animal statues but that other factors were of equal or more important consequence.

b. Choice of animals linked with regional specialties and specific cults

In Caria, lions were strong symbols of the sun and power, and were linked with Apollo, the master of Miletos and Didyma. Their association with the god in Asia Minor might have been a transfer from the animal's links with royalty in Mesopotamia and Lydia to Apollo's cult. The lions from Didyma were certainly offered to Apollo in a large part because of the regional importance of the animal: on the same sacred way, lions were also offered on tombs and public landmarks.

In Delos, lions also became a local specialty, but their dedication there took a more clearly religious connotation. Indeed, the heads of the first colossal series of lions on Delos, offered by the Naxians, were clearly inspired by Anatolian representations, but, on the sacred island, lions were also strongly linked with Leto and Artemis, in which an older female deity connected with the lions, both locally in Minoan art and abroad in the form of the Anatolian Kybele or the Syrian goddess Atargatis, was likely remembered. On Delos, the early Archaic lionesses represented in Attica and the Peloponnese on other supports were attributes of the local goddesses. Both local and foreign influences merged on the island, where the specialty of colossal and life-size lion *anathemata* became a local symbol in a purely religious dimension, while, in Asia Minor, lions remain a polyvalent symbol.

The offering of a monumental owl on the Acropolis of Athens also can be considered as a regional specialty: indeed, the owl was the attribute of Athena, but it also had become, by extension, a symbol of the city.

At Hermione, the Chthonia festival had become famous in the Greek world and attracted visitors, as witnessed by Pausanias and Plutarch. Offering bronze cows was therefore a particularly appropriate offering for that sanctuary.

Other reasons, such as the nature of deities and the identity of the dedicators played an important role in the choice of animals represented in free-standing *anathemata*, and these aspects will be treated subsequently in this chapter.

c. Diachronic evolution of the choice of sanctuaries and deities

To consider the evolution of the offerings through time, we must exclude the two stone lions from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Arcadia **(La5)**, the stone tortoise of Hermes Akakesios **(Ta1)**, Cottina's cow at Sparta **(Ba8)** and the two pairs of eagles from sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios **(Aa1-Aa2)**: the pair of lions is not datable and could have been made anytime from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period; the tortoise is probably Classical and the cow

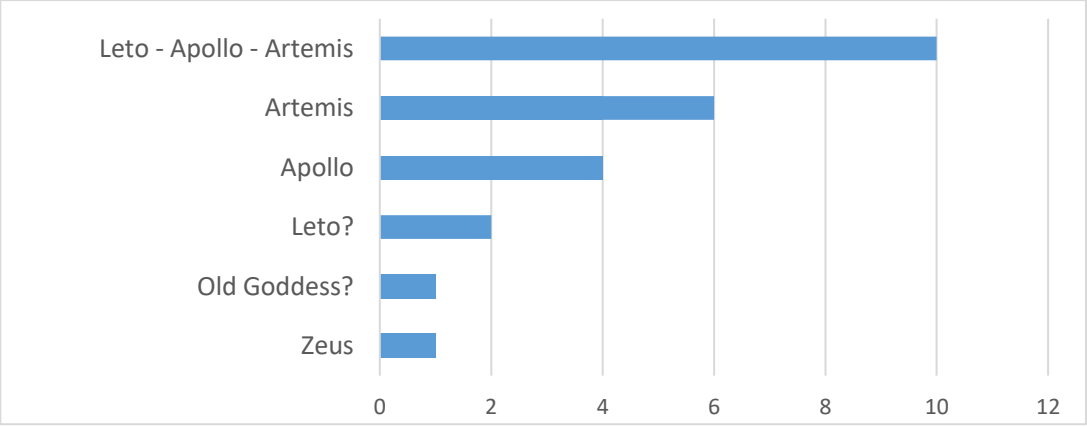
is likely Classical or Hellenistic, but it is impossible to date these two offerings with any sort of precision, as they are not linked to historically recorded events – all we know about these are that the turtle was in a temple already in ruins by the time of Pausanias' visit, and the cow was set in a temple built in the Classical period and commissioned before the 2nd century BC, when the offering was recorded for the first time.

The tables (**Tab. 6, 7, 8**) illustrating the distribution of the offerings through time show some clear changes. The tables illustrating the repartition also indicate that free-standing animal *anathemata* were twice more popular in the Archaic and Classical periods than in the Hellenistic period. The analysis of the data showing the evolution per sanctuary combined with the with tables (**Tab. 7, 9, 11**) illustrating the evolution through time per deity, can help understand the general evolution of Greek freestanding animal *anathemata* through time.

Archaic offerings (Tab. 6-7):

	Lions	Birds	Dogs	Cattle	Horses	Total
Delos	12	2				14
Acropolis of Athens	2		2			4
Delphi	1			1		2
Didyma	2					2
Kea	1					1
Thebes	1					1
Olympia					1	1
Total	**19**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**25**

Tab. 6 – Archaic offerings per sanctuary and category



Tab. 7 – Distribution of the Archaic offerings per deity

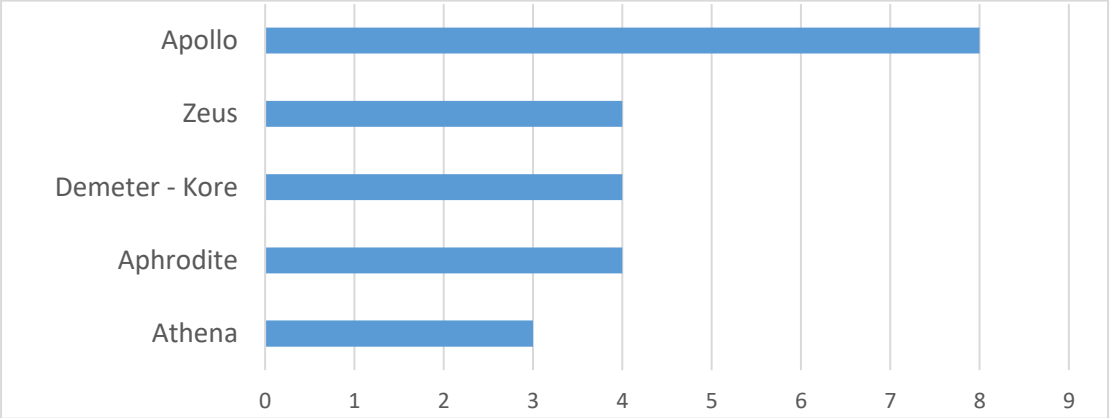
Delos immediately appears as the most important sanctuary for the dedication of animal statues in the Archaic period (and towards the transition with the Classical period), with 56% of all classical statues of animals – and still 30.7 % if we count the number of offerings by instances rather than by statues (regrouping the series of lions offered at Delos and all pairs of statues for the period). The Acropolis of Athens follows with two pairs of animals which both

seem to be dedicated to Artemis Brauronia. Didyma has two lions of the same series for Apollo, while Delphi one lion and a bull for Apollo. The three other represented sanctuaries only receive one statue each. This distribution show that in the Archaic period, Delos and other sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis are the preferred places to dedicate free-standing statues of animals, with lions as a favorite subject.

Classical offerings (Tab. 8-9):

	Cattle	Birds	Horses	Lions	Goats	Wolves	Total
Delphi	4		2		1	1	8
Hermione	4						4
Olympia	2		2				4
Eleusinian Sacred Way		4					4
Acropolis of Athens		1	1	1			3
Total	**10**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**23**

Tab. 8 – Classical offerings per sanctuary and category



Tab. 9 – Distribution of the Classical offerings per deity

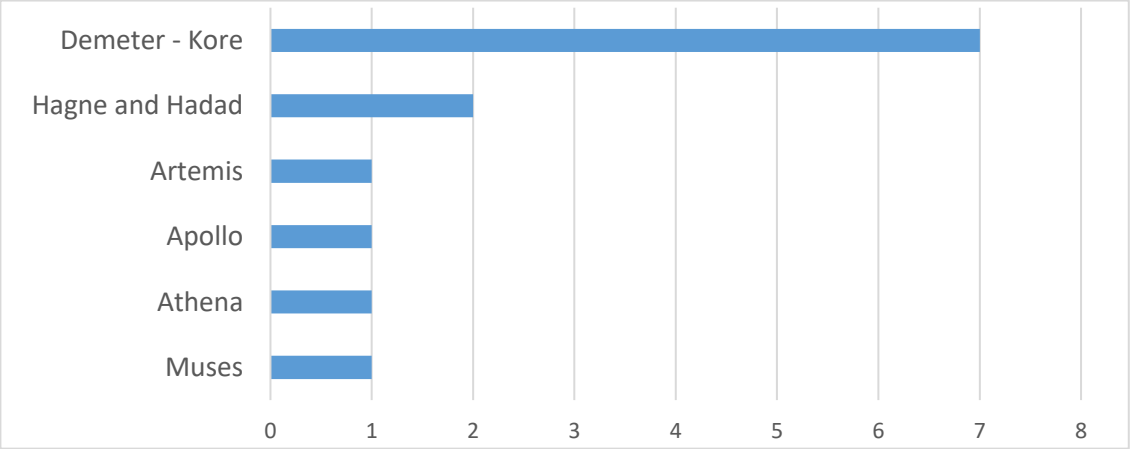
Unlike the tables of distribution of Archaic offerings, the tables presenting the distribution of Classical offerings show a switch from a choice of sanctuaries honoring Apollo and Artemis to a more general distribution, which seems more based on the involvement in specific activities, such as games or specific cults. Delos, which was the major receiving center for animal offerings in the Archaic period, doesn't receive any attested one in the Classical period – although the monumental lions and doves likely still stood in place, and the late Archaic life-size lions probably still looked new. The most important receiving sanctuaries become Panhellenic centers, where many visitors gathered. Delphi is the main recipient, with 34.7 of all offerings, while the other four sanctuaries receive similar numbers of offerings. The sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way, however, doesn't fall in the same category as the others, because it received four life-size doves, along with many under-life-size doves, while all other sanctuaries received much larger and thus more expensive animal statues.

Delphi, Olympia and the Acropolis of Athens all received important dedications, and all of them hosted large Panhellenic games every four years, and were, for that reason, important political centers – especially Delphi, which was not only a powerful political oracle, but also the central bank. At Delphi and Olympia in Classical free-standing animal *anathemata* appear to have been connected to political affairs for some, to games for others. At Athens, however, all three offerings of Classical animal *anathemata* appear to carry a political meaning. Hermione was the exception, as it was not located in any major political route, and the cows offered there appear to have been in direct relation with the local cult of Demeter and were offered by a family of local importance.

Hellenistic offerings (Tab. 10-11):

	Cattle	Pigs	Lions	Bears	Total
Knidos	2	4			6
Delos			2		2
Acropolis of Athens	1			1	2
Helicon	1				1
Eleusis		1			1
Delphi			1		1
Total	**4**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**13**

Tab. 10 – Hellenistic offerings per sanctuary and category



Tab. 11 – Distribution of the Hellenistic offerings per deity

In the Hellenistic period, the dedication of animal statues becomes much rarer, giving space to more human portraits. The most important receiving sanctuary for free-standing animal *anathemata* was the *temenos* of Demeter and Kore at Knidos, where the subject of the statues was specific to the goddess' cult. A marble pig from Eleusis echoed the specificity of early Hellenistic pig statues for Demeter. Apart from Knidos, only Delos and the Acropolis of Athens received two animal statues (and at Delos, they were part of a pair); in the rest of the places, only one animal statue was found or

referenced in literature. Apart from pigs from Demeter, which are the most popular life-size animal anathemata in Hellenistic Greece, cattle are a popular subject and are found at three different sanctuaries for three different gods. The other offerings: three lions and a bear, could indicate a small renaissance of Archaic anathemata, which were mainly lions addressed to Apollo and Artemis: at Delphi, a lion is offered to Apollo, while on Delos, a lion pair is addressed to Hagne and Hadad, and in this particular case, the pair might have been assimilated with Artemis and Apollo; the only Hellenistic animal clearly addressed to Artemis, who had been left aside in the Classical period, is a dedication of the goddess' most emblematic animal for the first time in the history of Greek sculpture.

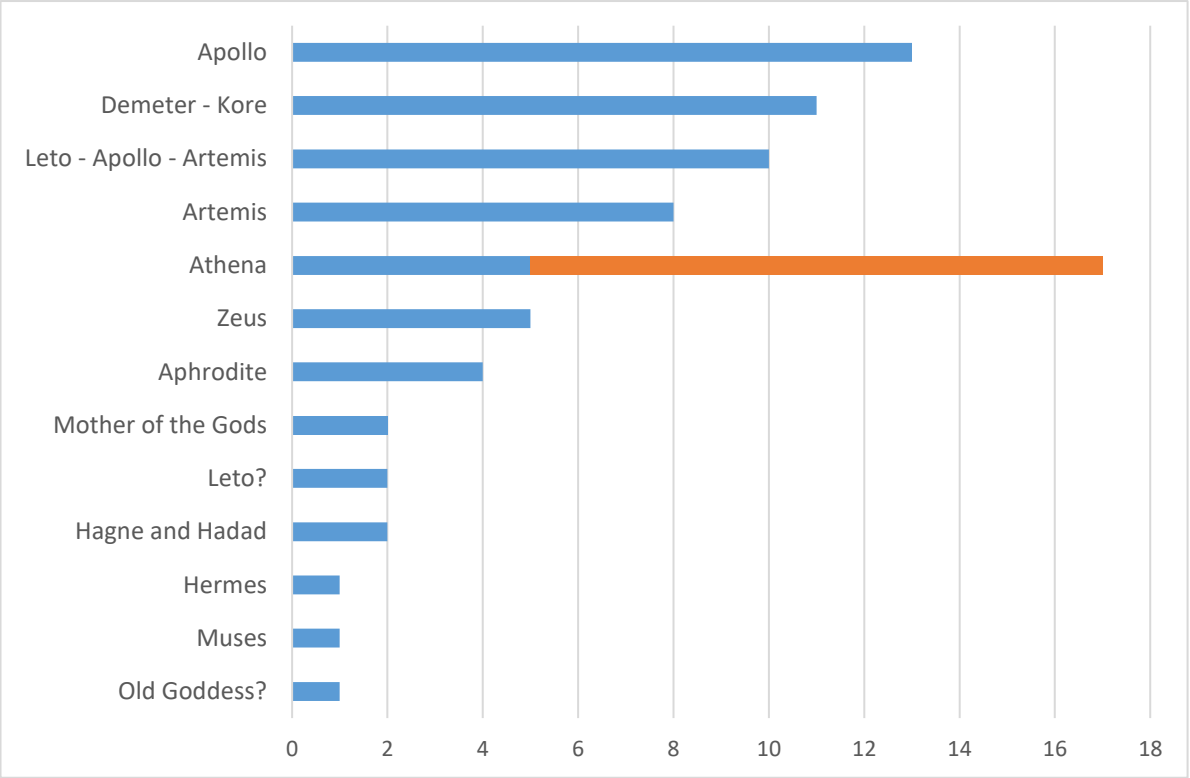
The diachronic analysis of animal dedications reveals, therefore, religious and political changes: while Artemis and Apollo were the deities more commonly honored in the Archaic period with animal statues, especially lions, Classical times favor political offerings of animals as symbols of humans' own achievements in the Classical times. In Hellenistic Greece, at last, sanctuaries of Demeter, who already had received several cows in Classical Hermione, becomes the main animal receiver, with both pigs and cattle. It seems, however, that animal offerings are clearly declining after the end of the Classical period, to leave more space to human portraiture.

3. Distribution of the offerings per deity

a. Overview

Overall, on the 16 sanctuaries where animal statues are attested from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, 5 were centers of worship for Apollo/Artemis/Leto (of these, the offerings from three sanctuaries seem to be addressed to Artemis, the offerings from two sanctuaries to Apollo, and the ones of the third to both, and maybe also to Leto), 3 for Demeter/Kore, 3 for Athena. Free-standing animal sculptures are attested in only one sanctuary for each other god or deity figuring on the list of receivers.

Tab. 12 shows the number of animal statues per divinity: all statues are represented by the blue bars except from the twelve bronze cows to Athena Itonia **(Ba09)**, in orange, as they were given in the context of a single dedication, and might have been smaller offerings than the rest of the catalogue.



Tab. 12 – Number of animal statues per deity or group of deities

	Lions	Cattle	Birds	Horses	Pigs	Dogs	Goats	Bears	Wolves	Donkeys	Tortoises	Total
Apollo	4	5		2			1		1	1		14
Demeter - Kore		6			5							11
Leto - Apollo - Artemis	10											10
Artemis	5					2		1				8
Zeus		2		3								5
Athena	1	2	1	1								5
Aphrodite			4									4
Mother of the Gods	2											2
Leto?			2									2
Hagne and Hadad	2											2
Hermes											1	1
Old Goddess?	1											1
Goat Constellation							1					1
Muses		1										1
Total	**25**	**16**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**67**

Tab. 13 – Number of animal statues per deity and category

Tab. 13 shows the distribution of categories of animals per deity, excluding the 12 polemic cows of Athena Itonia **(Ba10)**.

In these statistics, the prevalence of the pair of twins Apollo and Artemis, sometimes possibly in association with their mother Leto, is obvious. The duo Demeter and Kore soon follow. Zeus, Athena and Aphrodite form a lesser category of receivers, followed by the foreign gods Hagne and Hadad and the Mother of the Gods; Hermes and the muses come last.

The combined data presented in **Tab. 12** and in the tables (**Tab. 7, 9, 11**) presenting the evolution of the distribution of animal per deity through a diachronic prism in the previous part, give a good overview of the repartition of the Archaic to Classical offerings among the receiving deities.

b. Observations on the receiving deities

Apollo

Apollo receives the largest amount of animal statues, and gets the widest variety of animal categories. There are several reasons why Apollo, has the first rank amongst receivers of animal statues: he was linked with lions because of the influence of his eastern cult - in Delphi, there was a representation of a god with a lion, comparable to the usual representations of a female goddess flanked with two felines, as early as the 7th century. He might have inherited some characteristics of an earlier lion-god. He was also connected to wolves, in his aspect of Apollo Lykeios, and his love of cattle is illustrated in his mythic wrath at the theft of his herds.

As the center deity of two of the most frequented and visible sanctuaries in Greece, Delphi and Delos, Apollo was also prone to receiving more offerings than many other gods. Delphi was a crossroads where pilgrims from all Hellenic cities and beyond would meet to receive the service of Apollo's oracle and to participate in the Pythian games. Horses were an appropriate symbol of the games. Delos, as the god's and his sister's birthplace, was also a very important Panhellenic pilgrimage site, where the first "purifications" to make the island clean of sepultures date back to Peisistratus, alienating the locals and making the island an all-Greek religious center was a way of emphasizing the influence of whichever city it controlled. This influence was manifested in the magnificent offerings brought to the Delian sanctuary. Making sumptuous offerings at Delos or Delphi was the surest way to advertise one's power to the largest audience.

Leto, Apollo and Artemis

The Naxian lions on Delos **(L01-L09)**, the most magnificent animal dedication in Ancient Greece, have traditionally been attributed to Apollo because he is the receiver of other large contemporaneous Naxian offerings, but their location across from Leto's sanctuary might also have made them an offering to Leto. It is also possible that the colossal lions set along the Sacred Way leading to Skardana by the lake where the palm tree used as a support by Leto to deliver her twins was planted, were an offering to the triad of Delian gods: the twins Apollo and Artemis and their mother Leto, as a commemoration of the divine birth, that made the island sacred. Lions were connected both to the

Potnia Theron and a Great Mother predating the Olympian gods, and to Apollo and for his solar aspect in eastern cults, which would have traveled early on to Naxos and the well-known Cycladic sanctuary of Delos. Both influences appear to have roots in the east – although the links between lions and primitive fertility goddesses can also be found in Minoan and Mycenaean art. Leto and Artemis can be different figures of that same older deity, both a fertility goddess and a mistress of the wild. Leto's role as a mother goddess is obvious. But Artemis also had a link with fertility rites as a midwife who, as soon as she was born, helped Leto deliver her brother. In Greek mythology, the links between Artemis and the wilderness are well established, and Leto, on Delos, could be assimilated to the Mother of the Gods, whose attributes were lions. The lions offered by the Naxians at Delos, whether they were dedicated to Apollo, Leto, Artemis, or to all three gods, are certainly a manifestation of the divine force uniting the three most important gods of Archaic Delos.

Artemis

In her quality of most-direct heiress of the *Potnia Theron* in the newer Greek pantheon, Artemis is tightly linked with wild autochthonous fauna: her mythology and cults links her with a whole range of animals. Her favorites appear to be the deer, the dog, the bears, the wolves and the lions. She might have been, in part, a receiver of the series of lions **(L01-L09)** on Delos and received other lion statues as well: two pairs of lion statues were found, one at her Delian Artemision **(L13-L14)** and one at her Brauroneion **(D1)** on the Acropolis of Athens; Pausanias also saw a single lion statue dedicated to her at Thebes **(La1)**, supposedly by Herakles himself.

The pair of dogs of the Brauroneion (**D1** and its pendant) were logical guardians at the sanctuary of the goddess, as one of her favorite animals, which accompanied her on her hunts.

The most specific offering addressed to Artemis was likely the little bear **(U1)** set in the Brauroneion. Artemis had primitive theramorphic aspects of the bear and little highborn girls offered their maiden years as *arktoi* at Brauron, a site directly related to the Brauroneion on the Acropolis. The little marble bear, the unique bear statue known in ancient Greece, was likely a symbol of the Athenian girls in their animal aspects as the assistants of Artemis.

The "Wooden horse" on the Acropolis of Athens **(Ha4)** was most likely an offering to Athena Polias but was possibly set in the yard of the Brauroneion and would have been one more animal statue set in Artemis' realm.

It is interesting to note, however, that free-standing animal *anathemata* dedicated to Artemis were only found at two of her sanctuaries: Delos and the Brauroneion on the Acropolis of Athens. She likely did receive a stone lion in

Thebes as indicated by Pausanias. Most of her animal dedications date from an early period: all her animal anathemata from Delos are lions and Archaic; her dogs of the Brauroneion were late-Archaic or early Classical, while only her bear was early Hellenistic. It is surprising that no animal statue has been found at her sanctuary in Brauron, where the sculptural offerings of children (several of which were probably *arktoi*) were found in large numbers.

Demeter and Kore

Offerings of animal statues to Demeter and Kore only seem to start in the Classical times, with the four bronze cows at Hermione **(Bb4-Bb7)** and followed with an early Hellenistic female piglet at Eleusis **(P1)** and four pregnant sows **(P2-P5)** as well as a pair of heifer calves **(B2-B3)** in Knidos. It seems that all statues of animals offered to the goddesses were female, and the only inscription which could be successfully attached to one of the statues **(P2)**, indicated that it was dedicated by a married woman. The cows from Hermione can be directly linked to the local ritual of Demeter Chthonia while the pigs have an important symbolism in several major rites of the goddess, such as the Thesmophoria, celebrated in all of Greece, and the Mysteries of Eleusis.

Zeus

Five freestanding animal statues dedicated to Zeus dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods were found at Olympia and represented cattle and horses; two pairs of eagles **(Aa1-Aa2)** were mentioned by Pausanias in sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, but are impossible to date. All the horse dedications were directly linked with victories at the Olympic games, while the two bulls were offered by cities, one **(Ba3)** by the Corcyreans to celebrate a miraculous fishing linked with a bull anecdote; no reason is given for the other bull **(Ba6)**, dedicated by the Eretrians. The animals offered to Zeus at Olympia appear primarily related to the importance of the sanctuary as a center of prime social and political importance rather than with the god himself, even though his connections with both horses and bulls are attested in Greek mythology. The more “personalized” freestanding eagles were set at open-air sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios where it was forbidden to enter – the taboo was feared and respected by Pausanias, who only observed from outside. These offerings appear to be part of the sanctuaries since their construction rather than later dedication: in other sanctuaries of Zeus, eagles are part of the cult statue, or enter in the decoration of the altar or the throne; at sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios, they were standing outside, on votive columns. Eagle statues only become a more common dedication to Zeus in Roman times, as attested in Dion and Crete.

Aphrodite

The only life-size animal statues found at a sanctuary of the goddess were four marble doves **(A03-A06)**, belonging to a larger set containing smaller marble doves. Small dove representations were also often found at other sanctuaries of the goddess. Doves appear as an important attribute of Aphrodite Pandemia. These birds, however, even though they are life-size, are very small and modest offerings, in contrast with life-size statues of larger animals. No large freestanding animal statues were found at sanctuaries of the goddess.

Athena

Together with Apollo and Artemis, Athena is one of the only deities to receive a wide variety of animals, but had an overall small total of offerings: five animal dedications appear to have been addressed to her, four on the Athenian Acropolis, and a set of bronze cows **(Ba9)** at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly. On the Acropolis, the freestanding *anathemata* that can be considered as offerings to Athena are the bronze lioness, portrait of Leaïna **(La3)** set in the Propylaea, the bronze "Wooden horse" **(Ha4)**, possibly set in the yard of the Brauroneion but more likely dedicated to Athena Polias, a colossal marble owl **(A07)**, and a cattle statue **(Ba1)**, possibly set on the Areopagos. The Thessalian cows **(Ba9)** might have been smaller offerings; of the large statues received by Athena, only the marble owl appears as an animal especially chosen for its connection to the goddess: the lioness and the "Wooden horse" were more likely chosen for their important symbolism for the city of Athens rather than for the goddess herself, and the bull offered by the council of the Areopagos is probably addressed to the goddess, but it could also have been a dedication to another god honored on the Acropolis: Pausanias speaks of the animal in the masculine, while a cow would have been more suitable for the goddess. It therefore seems that, even though Athena receives a wider selection of animal than other gods, animals were not evidently a favorite subject for free-standing offerings to the goddess. Her mainly classical animal *anathemata* appear to have chosen for the symbolism of the animals represented in political matters touching the city of Athens, placed under Athena's aegis.

The Mother of the Gods

Two stone lions **(La5)** were all that was described by Pausanias of an old open-air sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, near the source of the Alpheios in Arcadia. Lions are, indeed, her main attributes in her mythology, and this englobing mother goddess is often assimilated to Cybele and Rhea, but her

characteristics can also be found in Leto as a mother of Olympians and in Artemis as mistress of the wilderness: the deliberate designation of "Mother of the Gods" instead of a proper name was a way to preserve the singular multiplicity of this goddess of origins, whose sanctuary set near the mountain spring of an important river symbolized her natural aspect. The large lion from Kea could also have been associated to a cult of an old goddess. Her cult was inspired by Minoan, Mycenean, Anatolian and Syrian traditions.

Foreign gods: Hagne and Hadad

Hagne, who received a pair of Hellenistic lions on Delos together with Hadad, **(L13-14)** was an epithet of Atargatis, mistress of lions, known in Greece as the *Syria Thea* – one of the deities that have inspired the construction of the Greek mother of the gods. She is usually assimilated to Aphrodite in the Greek world, but she could as well have been associated in the ancient mind with Artemis in her quality of mistress of the beasts, or the older generation of goddesses, such as Leto or Cybele, who have very little mythology but were nonetheless present: Cybele is represented on statuettes, seated on a throne with a lion on her lap or two lions on either side of her in many Greek sanctuaries, especially from the classical period onward. Hadad, the lesser consort of Atargatis in Syria and a master of bulls, was associated to Zeus on Delos, where his cult was celebrated in the sanctuary of the Syrian gods, where Hagne and him were the main worshipped deities. In the case of the offering of a pair of lions, however, it is imaginable that they had been assimilated with the pair Artemis and Apollo, who had received similar offerings in Archaic times. The pair could also have been assimilated to Leto and Zeus: the parents of the divine twins, a hypothesis well matching with the image of the *Syria Thea* serving as a model for characteristics of the Greek Mother of the Gods and Hadad's assimilation with Zeus was well attested on Delos. The Laodicean dedicator was perhaps better acquainted with the oriental cults than with Greek ones, and felt that the old stone lions he saw on the Sacred Way from Skardana were sacred to Hagne, whom he regarded as the Mother.

Notable absents

Poseidon does not figure in the list of gods honored with free-standing animal statues, despite the high number of cattle and horse figurines at Isthmia and the god's strong link with these animals. This absence is even more noticeable because of the two bull dedications by the Corcyreans following the same prodigious tuna fishing: when they caught the fish, they sacrificed the bull that led them to the fish to Poseidon, but the statues made from the tithe of their good fortune were offered at Olympia **(Ba3)** and Delphi **(Ba2)**, to Zeus and

Apollo, rather than to Poseidon at Isthmia. Amongst the other important Olympians who show important connections with animals, Hera and Dionysos are also missing.

Asklepios is also notably absent even though he was strongly linked with snakes and dogs, and appreciated cock sacrifices, he received no known free-standing statues of these animals, not even at the large sanctuary of Epidauros. His animal attributes are only present in sculptural groups or cult statues of the god, but not presented to him as freestanding *anathemata*.

From the overview of the distribution of offering amongst the gods, it appears that each category of animal that appears in more than one statue is either offered to both gods and goddesses or to goddesses only. The only animals only offered to a masculine deity are the anecdotal dedications of a wolf and a donkey to Apollo at Delphi, and the uncertain stone tortoise to Hermes Akakesios in Megalopolis. Birds (excluding eagles) and pigs, which both appear on several occasions (5 pigs, all female, and 5 birds other than eagles were dedicated) were only offered to female deities. No other deity Apollo, Artemis, Zeus and Athena, receives statues of more than two categories of animals, and in the cases of Zeus and Athena, it appears that the variety comes more from the importance of their sanctuaries than the nature of their divinity.

III. The offerings: choice of animals, grouping and display options

1. Preferred animals for free-standing statue offerings

While there was a large diversity of animals present in ancient Greek life and landscape, the animals represented as large free-standing sculptural offerings belong to very restricted categories. Indeed, if we look jointly at both the archaeological and the literary catalogues, the only statues of animals to have been offered multiple times are lions, cattle, pigs, birds, and, to a lesser extent, horses (rider-less equine statues, except from the half-horse of the Acropolis **(H1)**, are only attested in literary sources). Other species only appear sporadically: there are only traces of two goats, one pair of dogs, one young bear, one donkey, one turtle and one wolf – of these, only the bear **(U1)**, a dog **(D1)** together with fragments of its symmetrical pendant, and a goat leg **(C1)** and base **(Cb1)** are preserved, while the rest is known from literary sources.

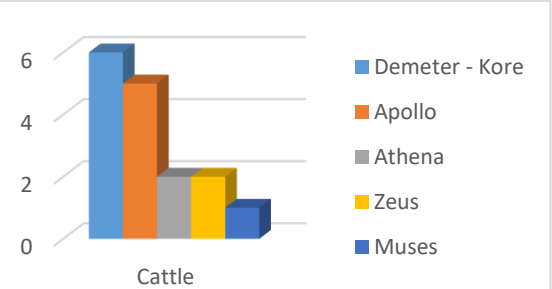
The evidence clearly show that cattle and lions were the most commonly dedicated animal statues: if counting in the Itonian cows, cattle counted for 35.4% and lions 31.6% of all statues, and without these, lions 37.3% and cattle 23.8%. In either case, lions and cattle put together represent 61 to 67% of all

the attested statues from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. Birds, which are the next most offered category of animals, only represent between 7.6% and 8.9% of all statues.

If we look at the number of instances rather than of statues (counting as one instance the dedication of a group or a pair), there are 16 instances of offerings for cattle (30.8% of the instances), 13 for lions (25%), 6 for birds (11.5%), 5 for horses and for pigs (9.6% each), 2 for goats (3.8%), and one for each other existing category: dogs, bears, wolves, donkeys, tortoises (1.9% each). This is to say that, no matter the angle from which we take the statistics into consideration, cattle and lions were offered more often than any other category of animals, even if each group and pair is considered as one instance of offering.

Cattle

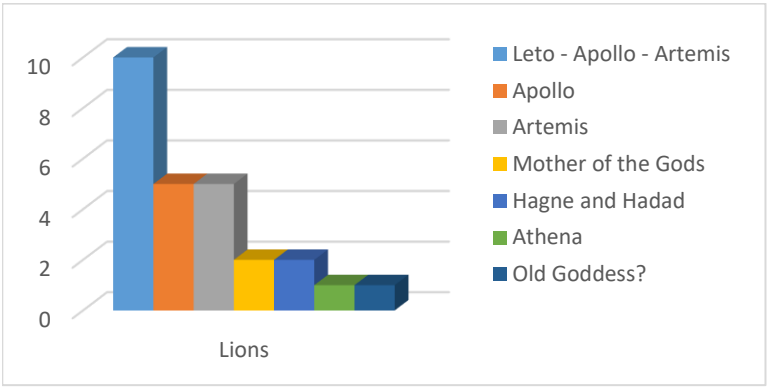
Bulls, oxen and cows were the most valuable and universally appreciated victim among the gods: as seen in the chapter on "Cattle", some gods had special links with these animals: Zeus and Poseidon were mythically close to bulls, Apollo particularly fond of herds, Hera had long-running links with the cow, Demeter was the patroness of oxen and all the other Olympians would have been partial to receiving a hecatomb of cattle of their favorite color and gender. This polyvalence of cattle is reflected in its sculptural dedications: they were found in 8 of the 16 sanctuaries with free-standing animal statues, and to 4 different gods or groups of deities **(Tab. 14)**: Demeter received 4 bronze cows at Hermione and two calves at Knidos; Apollo received four bulls or oxen and one cow feeding her calf in Delphi, Athena received an ox on her Athenian Acropolis, a cow in Sparta, and maybe another 12 cows in Itonos (excluded from **Tab. 14**); Zeus got two bulls at Olympia, and the muses one at their Heliconian sanctuary. Croesus' offering of "many" golden cows **(B11)** on columns at Ephesus cannot be counted the *anathema* of lifesize statues, but does show the suitability of female cattle for Artemis and confirms the link between cattle sculptures and suitable victims for the gods, as well as the wide appreciation of cattle by most deities.



Tab. 14 – Number of cattle statues per receiving deities

Lions

Lions are the other main category of animal statues but do not share the universality of receivers that characterizes cattle offerings. Indeed, lion



Tab. 15 – Number of lion statues per receiving deities

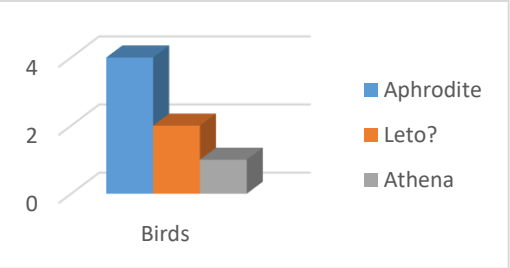
dedications was very clearly dedicated to specific gods, who were closely linked together, the triad Apollo, Artemis and Leto as well as the heiresses of older female deities, including Artemis and Leto, but also the Mother of the Gods, or Cybele. Only one lion offering seems to be for Athena: the portrait of Leaïna **(La3)**, in which the image of the lion is associated with woman represented rather than to the receiving goddess. The other lion dedications are only two more instances: one pair to foreign gods **(L13-L14)** on Delos, and one colossal statue **(L10)** in Kea, from an open-air sanctuary that hasn't fully be identified for lack of material: the Kean goddess could well be a predecessor of the Leto-Artemis figure. The Syrian couple of gods, Hagne and Hadad, who received the Hellenistic pair of Delian lions, were not foreign to lions: indeed, Hagne was an epithet of the goddess Atargatis, usually associated to Aphrodite, and an oriental mistress of lions, while Hadad was Atargatis' paramour, associated to Zeus, and a master of bulls. "Hagne" emphasize the purity of this particular aspect of the goddess, and since she didn't belong to the Greek Pantheon, even if she was often associated to Aphrodite, other associations were possible, and Delos had been an island where strong female deities had received lions as offerings in the past, and where Hagne could maybe be associated to the Mother of the Gods and to Leto or Artemis when it came to her lions.

The two stone lions offered at the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods **(La5)** and seen by Pausanias belong to the same category of offerings and were likely the guardians of the temple – the Mother of the Gods as the mistress of lions is difficultly separable from Rhea and Cybele; she englobes all the mother goddesses of the origins and gathers them within one divine entity.

On Kea, the lion was tightly associated with local mythology: a lion sent by the gods had brought on the draught and chased away the local water-nymphs. Parallelly, osteological evidence for loose lion teeth was found on Kea, possibly imported, but nonetheless emphasizing the importance of the animal on the island where it was the main and gigantic offering **(L18)** at an Archaic open-air sanctuary.

Birds

Apart from eagles, life-size or colossal bird offerings seem to have been reserved to female deities. It seems like while eagles and birds of prey were considered birds matching with male deities, the rest of the birds were better associated with female deities. Bird statues survive at three sanctuaries between the Archaic to the Hellenistic period: the colossal pair of doves from the Delos **(A01-A02)** might have originally been from the Letoon, the large owl offered to Athena on the Athenian Acropolis, and the lifesize doves offered to Aphrodite Pandemeia on her sanctuary on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis **(A03-A06)**.

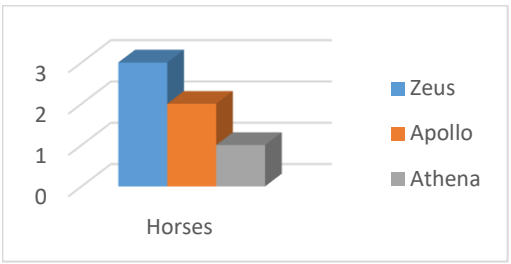


Tab. 16 – Number of bird statues per receiving deities

No eagles of Zeus survive before the Roman period: the marble eagles of Zeus Hypsitos in Dion **(A08-A12)** date from the 2nd century AD, but Pausanias does mention two pairs of eagles **(Aa1-Aa2)**, both from sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios, but these offerings are impossible to date: they could have been set there from Classical to Roman times.

Horses

Horse statues without riders were much less common than it could be expected considering the importance of horses in smaller dedications. Statue bases are of no great help for the identification of offerings, because equestrian statues were much more common than rider-less ones. The closest surviving example to a bare free-standing horse is the half-horse from the Acropolis museum **(H1)**, which can't, however, be counted in the statistics because it only is half of a statue, purposely cut in the middle of the trunk and possibly belonging to a chariot scene on a pediment. Therefore, all the evidence is to be found in ancient written sources, and two surviving bases were associated to offerings from literary mentions. Of the five mentions of horse offerings in ancient sources, all found in Pausanias, two were representations of the "Wooden horse" from Troy on the Athenian Acropolis and at Delphi **(Ha4 and Ha5)** – these are the two with associated bases **(Hb1 and Hb2)**. These offerings were high in symbolism, and weren't the offerings of a horse statue as much as the reminder of the Greek genius, one of them directed to the



Tab. 17 – Number of horse statues per receiving deities

goddess who helped craft the device. The position of these two horses at two of the most frequented sanctuaries in Greece, was also a reminder and a warning for the visitor.

The three other horse dedications, two single horses **(Ha1-Ha2)** offered at Delphi and one group of several **(Ha3)** at Olympia were all directly connected to hippic victories, and the owner's victory was the real subject lying under the theme of the animal as the tool of their success. Overall, however, horse representations remain very limited – of these three offerings, one was Kyniska's, a woman, who couldn't have driven her horses herself, and might therefore have chosen to dedicate a representation of her horses alone, aside from representations of herself alone, and of her chariot and rider, and one of the two single horses, the mare Aura **(Ha1)** had brought victory to her owner after throwing her jockey off: the dedication is therefore connected to an anecdotic episode of the horse winning with no human on its back. The traditional and common way to make dedications including horses was to make the whole chariot, together with the charioteer, who is then the main theme of the sculptural group – as was the case for the well-known bronze charioteer at Delphi, statues of riders, exclusively on the Acropolis of Athens and Delos, and many Classical and Hellenistic sanctuaries.

Pigs

The five swine statues discovered all came from two sanctuaries of Demeter, worshipped together with her daughter Persephone, known as Kore, at Knidos and Eleusis. No such offering is mentioned in literary sources; free-standing pigs are only attested in archaeological data. All five statues appear to be female: the statue from Eleusis **(P1)** is a piglet, not yet fully developed, and the others, all from the temenos of Demeter at Knidos, are pregnant sows. The gender of the animals is carefully represented: on the two finest works **(P2, P3)**, the vulva was clearly represented under the curling tail, and in one instance, ten discrete teats are also clearly represented **(P2)**. The lack of largely developed teats on the two higher quality statues indicate that these two, at least, represent young females in the course of their first pregnancies. The two other sows **(P4, P5)** are more eroded, due to poorer cuts of marbles, and have been treated roughly by the artist. Both show very full and fat animals, presumably in the latest stage of their pregnancy: the state of preservation and the lack of details in the realization forbid further interpretation of these two statues. The only swine statue with a preserved inscription on its plinth **(P5)**, was dedicated to Persephone by Plathainis, wife of Platonos, who had made other dedications at the same sanctuary.

Wolf

The only wolf statue, dedicated at Delphi, was in association with Apollo, which can be justified by the wolf-birth of the god through Leto's metamorphosis, and his cult of Apollo Lykios celebrated close to Delphi.

Tortoise

The only (possible) tortoise dedication was made as a temple of Hermes, and is also not surprising considering that the god had made the lyre out of his encounter with the animal.

2. Grouping of the *anathemata*: series, pairs and single statues

The 77 statues we are studying were offered in 51 singular instances: this means that a third of our catalogue is made of statues offered in groups or pairs. Four out of eleven categories of animals, lions, cattle, dogs and birds are concerned with these groupings.

Let us consider each of these species separately: of the 23 lions dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, 9 belong to a single group, 6 belong to 3 distinct pairs, another one **(L15)** might have also belonged to a pair, and only 7 appear to be single offerings. These 23 lions therefore were offered in 12 singular instances: to sum up, if we consider the instances of lion offerings rather than the number of statues and admit the Delian lioness as part of a pair, 41% of the offerings are group offerings (8.3% for the multiple lions group at Delos, and 33.3% from pairs) while 58.3% are single offerings.

The only dog offering **(D1)** in the catalogue comes from a pair, and, as seen in the corresponding chapter, it is plausible that if there were more dog statues offered and pairs were the most suitable way to display them.

Cattle offerings as cited in literary sources were all single offerings, except for one very large group **(Ba10)**: in the archaeological data, however, two of the three surviving statues form a pair **(B2-B3)**. At Hermione, each of the four cow bases **(Bb4-Bb7)** belonged to a singularly dedicated statue and each were offered at a different time, but might have been offered to complete a group of statues that would have represented the four cows traditionally sacrificed at that sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia. But out of 16 single cattle dedications dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, there are only two certain groupings: the calves from Knidos **(B2-B3)** and the twelves cows of Athena Itonia **(Ba09)**, which might also have been statuettes. One of the statues considered as singular dedication did carry two individuals but is not counted as a grouping because they differ from groups or symmetrical pairs: the cow and calf offered on the Karystians at Delphi on a preserved base **(Bb2)** shows

the calf as an extension of his mother and together, the animals were the emblem of the dedicating city.

It therefore seems that it was appropriate to offer cattle in groups or pairs, but far from common: in 87.5% of cases, free-standing cattle statues were dedicated without a pendant

As for the birds, we only have one documented pair: the two colossal doves **(A01-A02)** from Delos. It wouldn't be unthinkable, however, that the owl to Athena **(A07)**, might have had a pendant. The 4 single offerings of smaller doves to Aphrodite **(A03-A06)**, however, are all offered singularly at a sanctuary where such offerings were common: the four in our catalogue come from a series of 18 (the other ones were smaller to qualify for near-life-size), and all of them were singular offerings, even though they belonged to the same theme.

The Roman eagles **(A08-A12)** were, like Aphrodite's doves, independent offerings rather than pairs, but all similar in style and offered at the same sanctuary.

3. Place and display within the sanctuaries

a. Animal *anathemata* placed along Sacred Ways

The colossal lions offered on Delos by the Naxians **(L01-L09)** were found *in situ* and are therefore the easiest offerings to place physically within a sanctuary. They were standing along a way leading to Skardana bay, Delos' second anchorage, all to the same side of the road – facing Leto's sanctuary. From their standing point, they were watching over Leto's sanctuary but also leading from Skardana towards Apollo and Artemis' archaic temples, while the way from the main port to these two temples don't pass by Leto's area, these lions might also have been strategically placed there to honor simultaneously all three gods of the Delian trinity, as well as guarded the passage connecting the cults of the three main gods of the island.

At Didyma, lions **(L16, L17)** are also placed along the Sacred Way, which connected two major temples of Apollo. These two didn't form a pair and a series, and other lions were placed on other monuments on the same Way – even though the other lion statues were placed on tombs or other buildings and cannot be safely classified as *anathemata*. This type of placement was also reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian fashion of having series of animals or fantastic beasts watching the passage leading to a sanctuary.

Of all offered animals, only lions were found to protect Sacred Ways, especially in sanctuaries connected to Apollo as well as to Artemis and Leto (as in Delos, the Artemision of Didyma was an important one). Lions, which were

also the animals that stood guard on either side of the throne of the Mother incarnating the oldest and deepest aspects of the divine, would therefore be seen as the guardians of ways linking sacred spaces together. They were placed there as the sentinels of the gods.

b. Pairs of apotropaic guardians for holy gates

The animals found in pairs are easier to place spatially: indeed, their position clearly indicate that they were set on either side of gates, guarding the access to the sanctuary, or to a temple or smaller space within it. The lions of the Artemision at Delos **(L10-L11)**, were probably guarding the entrance to Artemis' temple, and the lions from the Acropolis of Athens (**L15** and its pendant), could have guarded one of the entrances at the Athenian Brauroneion while the dogs (**D1** and its pendant) guarded another entrance within the sanctuary. The pair of lions from the Syrian sanctuary on Delos **(L13-L14)**, could also have been placed at the entrance of the sanctuary where they were dedicated, or on either side of a way leading to one of its sections – a part sacred to the Egyptian gods to whom the lions were addressed, for instance. The provenance of the lioness from Delos **(L12)** is unknown, but considering that her position indicates that she might also have been part of a pair, and her dating, even though posterior to the pair of lions of the Artemision, is not very much later, we could imagine that she was, together with a pendant, guarding the entrance of the Letoon as two lions guarded the entrance to the Artemision. This hypothesis, however, is pure speculation and it is impossible to place the lioness anywhere with certainty. What is clear from the pairs of lions for which both pendants have been saved, is that all of them are in a position that makes them ready to pounce to the front and middle of the space separating them, and they had their maw menacingly open: they were represented as ready to attack the unwanted visitor trying to walk through the gate that they were guarding.

The two calves from the temple of Demeter at Knidos **(B2-B3)**, like the lion pairs, stand in a position that suggest their placement on either side of a door. Their heads were slightly turned towards the incoming visitor.

The pair of colossal doves from Delos **(A01-A02)** are both represented in frontal positions, but they are missing their heads, and we can't know if their gaze might have been slightly turned to the side, as for the colossal owl **(A03)**, whose head is slightly tilted to its left atop its frontally positioned body. Even though they were not found *in situ*, they might have been dedicated at the Letoon, in the vicinity of which they were found, and possibly guarded its gates.

The pairs of eagle seen by Pausanias **(Aa1-Aa2)** seem to have been placed on either side of the altar, in a physically elevated position: on *trapezai* for the

pair **Aa1** and on columns for **Aa2**. There pairs might have been the physical guardians of the sanctuaries, especially because of the religious taboo forbidding the entrance to the open-air sacred enclosures of Zeus Lykaios to visitors. The pair **Aa2** was set right in front of the altar which was constituting the highest peak of the mountain would have placed the gilded birds at the highest point of Mount Lykaion (sometimes locally called Olympos or Kritea and considered by the Arcadians as the place where Zeus was raised instead of Crete)[2]: the pairs of eagles might, therefore, have protected not only the *temenos*, but also the passage between the earth and the ether where the god dwelled.

c. Statues placed outdoors, in the *pronaos*, or inside the *naos*

As previously seen, lions appear to usually have been set outdoors, as their position was often along sacred ways: the series of Naxian lions on Delos **(L01-L09)**, and the lions from Didyma **(L16-17)** were colossal statues set outdoors along the way. The lion of Kea **(L18)**, the largest of all the animal sculptures, was also set outside, and was a part of the landscape as it was directly carved in the bedrock. The state of erosion of the lion pair (**L15** and symmetrical) from the Acropolis suggests that it might have been placed outside: at one off the entrances of the yard of the Brauroneion of the Acropolis, for instance, or in the yard, guarding the entrance to one of the buildings sacred to Artemis. The late Archaic lions from Delos, **L10-L11**, could have been placed at the entrance of the Artemision, but they could also have been set inside the temple, flanking a cult statue of the goddess or instance; and **L12** could have had a similar function with a missing pendant in the Letoon. However, the bases for these statues are missing, and it is difficult to make assumptions in the absence of further archaeological evidence. The Hellenistic lions **(L13-L14)** from the temple of the Syrian gods at Delphi can't be placed with certainty but their advanced state of corrosion tends to indicate that they were set outside, maybe in front of the entrance to the sanctuary, on either side of the sacred way leading to it.

The lions described by Pausanias were most of the time in outdoor areas: the stone lion at Thebes **(La1)** was set outside, in front of the naos, the bronze lion dedicated at Delphi **(La4)** appears to have been outside, on the esplanade close to the temple, and the lions of the Mothers of the Gods **(La5)** were set in a sanctuary without a roof. It is unclear if the gold lion **(La2)** of Croesus was inside the temple of Apollo or right outside of it at the time of its dedication, but its dimensions and colossal base would suggest that it was placed outside,

[2] Pausanias, 8, 38, 2

but in a place of honor very near the *naos*, like the bronze wolf **(Wa1)**; by the time of Herodotus, it had been transported to the treasury of the Corinthians, a move made after the temple of Apollo had burnt down – and its installation inside of a treasury was likely intended as a protective measure for the precious metal. The bronze lioness representing Leaïna **(La3)**, at last, was placed in the Propylaea, sheltered from the weather, but, like many lions, at an entrance, where it could protect the sanctuary.

From Pausanias' description, it seems that several of the bronze animals he describes at Delphi were also set outdoors, on the esplanade in front of the temple of Apollo: the Corcyrean bull **(Ba2)**, the ox of the Karysteans **(Ba4)** the horse of Kallias **(Ha2)** and the bronze donkey of the Ambraciots **(Ea1)**. The base of the cow and calf offered by the Karysteans **(Bb2)** was also found at that level, on the south of the terrace, outside of a building. The placement of the Corcyrean bull is debatable: its base **(Bb1)** could have been set high up on the Sacred Way, close to the entrance of the esplanade where the main temple was built, or all the way down the slope, at the beginning of the Sacred Way – but, either way, all agree that the statue was set outside in the open and next to the path. Polemon also reports that Cottina's cow **(Ba7)** is in front of the Chalkioikos at Sparta and not inside.

At Olympia, the exact position of the Eretrian bull **(Ba6)** is known thanks to its base still in situ **(Bb3)**: it was placed outdoors, about 30 m away from the NE corner of the temple of Zeus; Pausanias describes the Corcyrean bull at Olympia **(Ba3)** as standing close to the Eretrian bull: both animals must therefore have stood in the same outdoor area of the sanctuary. The bull from Regilla **(B4)** was set outdoors as it was the center piece of the nymphaion.

Pausanias mentions Kyniska's horses **(Ha3)**, smaller than life-size, and standing in the *pronaos* of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, to the right of the entrance, and not on either side of the entrance, as for the pairs of guarding animals. We don't know that these horses are a pair, and count them as two statues out of prudence, but they could be many more. Their actual size is unknown, too, and they could have been large statuettes rather than statues. In the case of Kyniska's horse, the placing of the offerings in the *pronaos* seems to be a strategic choice for a better visibility of the horses rather than a symbolic choice as it were for the pairs of guarding animals.

The two colossal "Wooden" horses at Athens and Delphi (**Ha1** and **Ha3**) were also set outside, considering their dimensions.

The hounds (**D1** and its pendant) were possibly sheltered by a porch: the remaining dog is very well preserved with some remaining traces of brown paint – it might have been set in a covered entrance, in front of a central door inside the *stoa* for instance.

The pair of colossal doves from Delos **(A01-A02)** could have been set outside, while the small doves of Aphrodite from the Eleusinian Way were likely put in the niches carved in the bedrock.

It therefore appears that most of the animal statues offered in sanctuaries were placed outdoors. The animals which had a symbolic role within the sanctuaries, pairs of guardians, for instance, were set more strategically while the others were set with a less obviously logical order: they might have been placed by type, or dedicators. The offerings of animal statues which did not have a place defined by their functions could also be displaced more readily, depending on their volume and weight.

d. Retired offerings

Aging offerings were usually moved or removed, either to treasuries or to votive pits, depending on their esthetical and financial value. Metal offerings could be melted into other objects, which remained the property of the god – and the name of the original dedicator was remembered in the inscriptions recording the new objects.[3] Precious metals could also be melted into currencies, which would remain the property of the gods but could, under exceptional circumstances, be borrowed by cities or used by priests for sacred matters. Such was the fate, for instance, of a part of the gold lion offered by Croesus **(La2)**. The retirement of old offerings means that most statues were moved, especially the lighter ones, and their context of discovery or the place they were set when ancient *periegetes* visited sanctuaries does not necessarily mean that they had been placed there at the time of their dedication.

For this reason, it is difficult to know where any of the pigs were set, because the context in which the piglet from Eleusis **(P1)** was found is unknown, while all the animal statues from Knidos – the four pregnant sows **(P2-P5)** and both heifer calves **(B2-B3)** were found buried in a votive pit. Indeed, the sanctuary at Knidos was used into the Roman times, and the sows were relatively small Hellenistic offerings, which likely were considered obsolete to the decoration of the sanctuary in the centuries following their dedication.

e. Open-air sanctuaries

We have previously seen that animal statues were most of the times set outdoors. However, the context of a statue set outside of an enclosed *naos*, or within an open sanctuary differs, as in the second case, the outdoor offering is

[3] Patera, 2012, p. 91

at the heart of the sacred space.

Open-air sanctuaries emphasized and used the natural context in which they were set. At the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, where 19 marble doves were found, 4 of them life-size **(A03-A06)**, the whole cliff constitutes one natural wall of the open-air worship center, and the rock is carved with many niches, where offerings of various sizes could be placed **(Fig. 1)**[4]: apart from the doves, many marble representations female genitalia and wombs, and a few statuettes of women or goddesses were found at that sanctuaries, and all these offerings were placed in the niches in the rock. Small bases of several sizes were found, some with inscriptions, and, as seen in the chapter on "Birds", some could have been used for the dove statues. This type of setting is suited for statuettes more than for statues, however, and the only reason why the doves are included in this study is because the nature of the subject makes this small works life-size.

Fig. 1 – Niches for offerings at Aphrodite's sanctuary on the Sacred Way

The smallest offerings in our catalogue, Aphrodite's doves, were set in an open-air sanctuary, but so was the largest of the animal *anathemata*. The 12m long smiling lion **(L18)** carved in the bedrock of what might have been an agrarian sanctuary, close to modern Ioulis, on the island Kea, also shows the importance of the use of the local natural resources in the installation of the cultic setting. On Kea, the lion was possibly the main feature of an archaic open-air sanctuary.

The animal statues seen by Pausanias at open-air sanctuaries in Arcadia

[4] Photo: Linda Talatas

appear to carry a particular importance in the sacred space: they seem to be more than simple offerings, and become important features of the enclosure. At the source of Alpheios, the two stone lions **(La5)** characterize the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, while pair of eagles are found at two open sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios, at Megalopolis **(Aa1)** and on Mount Lykaion **(Aa2)**.

This emphasis of the animals at unroofed sacred spaces might be due to the simpler and more natural aspect of these sanctuaries, where the divine can be closest to nature and where the animal attributes of the gods can find a de-humanized shelter.

f. Base types and display height

The prefix *ana* in *anathema* indicates a placing of the offering on top of something or in a high position. This idea is reflected in the choice of base for the votive statues: it seems indeed, that at least a majority if not all the recorded animal statues were set so that the eyes of the animal represented were placed at the same level or higher than the eyes of the beholder.

Herodotus describes the high base, made of precious metals, of the large gold lion **(La2)** offered by Croesus at Delphi; the surviving piece of the base for the Argive "Wooden" horse at Delphi **(Hb2)** is 1.26 m high, and the crowning blocks of the base of the Athenian "Wooden" horse **(Hb1)** suggest that it would also have stood on a base of over 1 m high. The base of the Corcyrean bull at Delphi **(Bb1)** was 3 m high. The other listed blocks for cattle bases **(Bb2-Bb7)** are only the top blocks and were likely set on higher bases.

Fig. 2 – Votive column, Naxos

Offering standing on plinths were also placed on elevated bases, as well as on votive columns **(Fig. 2)**[5] and votive tables. The use of *trapezai* for the setting of animal statues is attested by Pausanias in his description of the two eagles at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios at Megalopolis **(Aa1)**. The marble owl of the Athenian Acropolis **(A07)**, could be attributed to an inscribed column, on which bronze attachments sealed in the chapter with lead can still be seen. Other statues might also have been set on votive columns: the bear **(U1)** of

[5] Photo: Linda Talatas. Archaeological museum of Yiroulas, Naxos. 6th century votive column from the temple of Apollo at Yiroulas with room for a rectangular plinth.

Artemis would also have been of proper dimensions to be set on a column. [6] And the two eagles at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios on Mount Lykaion **(Aa2)** were set on votive columns. Sanctuaries with smaller offerings often had niches where offerings could be placed higher even though their size did not justify the expense of a high base of column: both the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Knidos and the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Eleusinian Sacred Way had votive niches where their small and mid-sized offerings could be set: the pigeons of Aphrodite were surely set in these niches, and the pigs at Knidos could also have fit in the Knidian niches.

The attitude of the statues themselves suggests a placement at a height above human eyes: for instance, the pairs of lions from Delos and Athens as well as the Athenian dog were placed symmetrically in a guarding attitude, and a placement at eye-level would have increased their apotropaic effect.

The high placement of *anathemata* was not specific to animal statues; it was likely a way to place the offerings closer to the divine realm. But, in the case of votive animals, it was also a way to increase the impression of grandeur they produced, emphasize the menacing traits of guardians such as dogs and lions, and bring birds closer to the sky: the eagles of Zeus Lykaios **(Aa2)** on his peak sanctuary appear to be at the threshold between earth and sky.

IV. The dedicators: public and private, wealthy and modest

Because dedicators are not only known and are one of the most important aspect to consider in the gesture of offering, all offerings from the catalogue, including those not kept for the statistics, will be considered. To study the dedicators, it is also useful to regroup the *anathemata* by pairs or group to consider the instances of offerings rather than the number of statues: the number of statues contributes to the size and value of instances of multiple statue offerings. The identity of the dedicator could be recorded for 36 out of 79 catalogue entries and we know the dedicators of 32 out of the 52 instances of offerings which can be dated to the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and surely belong to the geographically delimited area of study – that is, in 61.5% of cases for the material used in the core study. However, this high percentage is due to the large proportions of offerings with dedicators mentioned in literary sources, as only 31% of the offerings with known dedicators are confirmed by archaeological data.

[6] Ross, 1841, p. 27

Thanks to the identification of the dedicators, we can separate the offerings with known dedicators into two groups: public and private offerings. The public offerings can help us understand the political interactions between cities through a common religion. The private offerings are a better indicator of the social meaning of the offerings depending on the receiving deities, the number of dedicators and the connections between offerings the importance of the chosen sanctuary, the local or foreign origins of the dedicator as well as their gender.

1. Public offerings

Public offerings **(Tab. 18)** are those made by cities or political groups of people as opposed to private offerings, made by individuals or families. We have a total of 16 public offerings, 14 of which were found in ancient sources, all of them recorded by Pausanias. Two of these are also confirmed by archaeological finds: the Corcyrean bull **(Ba3)** and the Eretrian bull at Olympia **(Ba6)**, as their bases were found, as well as fragments as the bronze statue for **(Ba6)**. Two more public anathemata of freestanding animals are attested in archaeological finds: the series of lions of the Naxians on Delos **(L01-L09)** and a Karystian statue of a cow and calf at Delphi, attested by a base **(Bb2)**. Of the public offerings, 14 were made by cities (Karystos, Eretria, Corcyra, Plataea, Kleonai, Phlius, Argos, Ambracia, Elatea, Delphi, Naxos), 1 by a region (Thessaly), and 1 by a local political group (Athenian Boule). And out of a total of 16 instances of dedications, 9 were done in Delphi.

When it comes to public offerings, the distance between the dedicator and the sanctuary of dedication is an interesting insight into the political reach of the *anathemata*. Out of 15 offerings, three are made locally: the Delphians offer a highly symbolic wolf to their local sanctuary **(Wa1)**, and the Athenian Boule dedicates a bull on the Acropolis of Athens **(Ba1)**, possibly on the Areopagus, an important space for local justice; the third **(Ca1)** barely qualifies as an offering as the bronze goat set by the Phliasians on their own agora was worshipped in itself rather than presented to another deity. The bronze cows to Athena Itonia **(Ba9)** were offered by the Thessalians at a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, a semi-local offering, as the Itonians were possibly included in the "Thessalians" of the epigram. Two public offerings were regional, set within 50 km of their home base: the lions of the Naxians on Delos and the lion of the Elateans at Delphi **(L4)**; both offerings were lions offered to Apollo at his two most important Panhellenic sanctuaries by neighbors affirming their own power to the visitors of the sanctuaries.

Public offerings made locally by the polis itself could convey a warning. The

lioness-portrait of Leaïna **(La3)** was a way for the Athenians to menace any new attempt at bringing a tyranny to the city, and the bronze wolf of the Delphians **(Wa1)** was certainly a symbol of the god, but the anecdote weaved by the locals around it was a warning to anyone who would consider stealing treasures from the sanctuary. The 9 other public dedications of animal anathemata were made by other Greek cities, exclusively to Delphi and Olympia, with a clear preference for Delphi, receiving 7 offerings from other Greek cities while Olympia received two bronze bulls only (**Ba3**, **Ba6**). At Delphi, cattle statues were also predominant in the animal *anathemata* offered by farther Greek cities, with 3 bulls or oxen **(Ba2, Ba4, Ba5)**, and a statue of a cow and calf **(Bb2)**, but also a bronze donkey **(Ea1)**, a bronze goat **(Ca1)**, and a bronze "Wooden horse" **(Ha5)**.

Apart from the Corcyrean bull **(Ba3)**, linked to a fishing tithe and the he-goat of Kleonai **(Ca1)**, all the offerings of animals made at Delphi by other cities appear directly connected with wars, against the Persians or other Greek cities. The statues were made from the war spoils and were offerings on several levels: they were certainly *agalmata*, pleasing images for the gods, and a part of the *dekate* from the spoils, but they also served as *mnema* of the conflict. In their status as a reminder of a victory, the statues were also a warning for the other visitors at Delphi, the most frequented sanctuary of the Greek world, of the power of the dedicator. Offering statues at Delphi also meant earning favors from the oracle, especially when precious materials were used. When the material is known, all of the public offerings made at Delphi by other cities were bronze, which could be re-melted into currency in circumstances of dire need.

Items	Animals	Dedicators	Region	Type of group	Sanctuary	Sanctuary reach	Distance to sanctuary	Value	Motive
L01-L09	9 lions	Naxians	Cyclades	Island-City	Delos	Panhellenic	42 km	Luxurious	Deities' symbol / Display of power
Bb2	Cow and calf	Karystians	Euboia	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	250 km	Expensive	City emblem?
Ba1	Bull	Boule	Attica	ca. 500 men	Athens	Panhellenic	Local	Expensive	Political
Ba2	Bull	Corcyreans	Corcyra	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	400 km	Expensive	Fishing
Ba3	Bull	Corcyreans	Corcyra	City	Olympia	Panhellenic	420 km	Expensive	Fishing
Ba4	Ox	Karystians	Euboia	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	250 km	Expensive	War vs Persians
Ba5	Ox	Plataeans	Boeotia	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	95 km	Expensive	War vs Persians
Ba6	Bull	Eretrians	Euboia	City	Olympia	Panhellenic	400 km	Expensive	?
Ba9	12 cows	Thessalians	Thessaly	Region	Itonos	Medium	Regional	Expensive	War vs Ilyrians
Ca1	He-goat	Kleonai	Peloponnese	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	250 km	Moderate	Sacrifice/Purification
Ca2	He-goat	Phliasians	Peloponnese	City	Phlius	Small	Local	Moderate	Protection
Ha5	"Wooden" horse	Argives	Peloponnese	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	214 km	Luxurious	War vs Spartans
Ea1	Donkey	Ambraciots	Epirus	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	250 km	Expensive	War vs Molossians / Anecdote
La3	Lion	Athenians	Attica	City	Athens	Panhellenic	Local	Expensive	War vs tyrants / Symbolic portrait
La4	Lion	Elateans	Phocis	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	42 km	Expensive	War vs Cassander
Wa1	Wolf	Delphians	Phocis	City	Delphi	Panhellenic	Local	Expensive	God's symbol / Anecdote

Tab. 18 – Public offerings by recorded dedicators

Items	Animals	Name of dedicators	Social indications on dedication	Other social indications	Origin	Local involvement	Value	Sanctuary location	Sanctuary reach
B4	Bull	Regilla	Priestess of Demeter	Wife of Herodes Atticus	Roman	Local priesthood	Expensive	Olympia	Panhellenic
P2	Pregnant sow	Plathaïnis	Wife of Platanos		Greek (Knidos?)	Several dedications	Moderate	Knidos	Medium
A03	Dove	Falakrion			Greek?	Pilgrim?	Modest	Sacred Way	Small
A07	Owl	Timotheos	Anaphlytos deme		Athenian	Local figure	Expensive	Athens	Panhellenic
A08	Eagle				Roman	Foreign power	Moderate	Dion	Large
A10	Eagle			Trebius, son of Leo	Roman	Foreign power	Moderate	Dion	Large
L12-L13	Pair of lions		Laodicean		Greek (Caria)	Pilgrim?	Moderate	Delos	Panhellenic
L16	Lion		Sons of governor Orion	Thales, Pasikles, Hegesandros, Eubios, Anaxileos	Greek	Local figures	Expensive	Didyma	Large
Bb4	Cow (?)	Aristomenes	son of Alexias		Greek (Hermione?)	Local figure?	Expensive	Hermione	Medium
Bb5	Cow (?)	Alexias	son of Lyon		Greek (Hermione?)	Local figure?	Expensive	Hermione	Medium
Bb6	Cow (?)	Klenagoros	son of Lyon		Greek (Hermione?)	Local figure?	Expensive	Hermione	Medium
Bb7	Cow (?)	Euphoros	son of Lyon		Greek (Hermione?)	Local figure?	Expensive	Hermione	Medium
Ba7	Cow	Cottina		Courtesan	Greek	Local courtesan	Expensive	Sparta	Large
Ca3	He-goat	Soson and Simalos		Sheep and goat owners	Greek?	Local shepherds?	Moderate?	?	?
Aa3	Peacock	Hadrian		Roman Emperor	Roman	Foreign ruler	Luxurious	Argos	Large
Ha1	Mare	Pheidolas		Corinthian	Greek (Corinthian)	Victor	Expensive	Olympia	Panhellenic
Ha2	Horse	Kallias		Athenian, son of Lysimaches	Greek (Athenian)		Expensive	Delphi	Panhellenic
Ha3	Horses	Kyniska		Spartan Princess	Greek (Spartan)	Victor	Expensive	Olympia	Panhellenic
Ha4	"Wooden" horse	Chairedemos		Athenian, son of Evaggelos	Greek (Athenian)	Local figure	Luxurious	Athens	Panhellenic
La1	Lion	Herakles		Theban Hero	Greek (Theban)	Local hero	Expensive	Thebes	Medium
La2	Lion	Croesus		Lydian King	Lydian	Foreign ruler	Luxurious	Delphi	Panhellenic

Tab. 19 – Private offerings by recorded dedicators

2. Private offerings

There are 21 private offerings from recorded dedicators in the catalogue, but 5 of these are Roman offerings **(B4, A08, A10, Aa3)**, and **Ca3** is of unsure geographical location: **Tab. 18** presents all 21 instances of offerings but the 5 exceptions are in grey.

Including the exceptions, there are 12 instances of private offerings confirmed in archaeological evidence; 11 of which are made by one single person and 2 by women. The other 9 instances are recorded in ancient written sources: 8 of these were made by one person, and two were women. This means that of the 21 offerings, 19 were made by a single individual (90.5 %) and 4 by women (19 %).

If we exclude the offerings stretching outside the chronological and geographical limits of this study, we are considering a total of 16 offerings. 9 of these are attested by archaeological data (56 %), and out of these 9, one was made by several persons from the same family, and one by a woman. 7 out of the 16 private dedicators were mentioned in ancient literary sources: all of them were a single person, and two are women. Of the 16 offerings dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods made by private dedicators, there was only one made by multiple individual, three by women (18.75 %). Out of the 16 offerings, there were 10 locals, 5 Greeks from other regions, and one foreign monarch.

a. Social status of the dedicators: display of wealth and modest gifts

The private offerings recorded in literary sources were those that caught the eyes of the ancient travelers for their special characteristic, like their astounding value, the talent displayed by the artist, the fame of the dedicator or memorable anecdotes.

It would however be a mistake to consider, based on written sources, that the dedication of animal statues was always a way for the dedicators to display their wealth: the archaeological data reveals a large scale in the value of the animal sculptures. Indeed, the statues greatly varied in size and in the quality of the artistic rendition and of the material used.

The Archaic offering of a pure gold lion **(La2)** offered by Croesus at Delphi shows the very essence of ostentatious display while the life-size dove offered by the otherwise unknown Falakrion **(A02)** is a well-made and beautiful *agalma* of modest value. Wealthy private figures would make the most lavish and noticed gifts, but most the private offerings of animal statues might have been

smaller statues offered by citizens with comfortable yet not immoderate means of the scale of the pig statues **(P1-P5)**.

b. Through the gender prism

While no animal statues offered by women from the Archaic period are recorded, Kyniska, a Spartan princess, offered horses **(Ha3)** at Olympia in the Classical period, towards the end of the 5th century; Cottina, a Spartan courtesan and brothel owner, might have dedicated her bronze cow **(Ba7)** to Athena Chalkioikos on the Spartan Acropolis in the Classical or Hellenistic period, and Plathaïnis, wife of Platonos, dedicated a marble pregnant sow **(P2)** to Demeter and Kore at Knidos in the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The existence of three other pregnant sows at Knidos, where the majority of inscriptions were made by women and two others by Plathaïnis, indicates that the dedicators of the other pregnant sows **(P3-P5)** and the two heifer-calves **(B2-B3)** to the Knidian Demeter and Kore were also made by women. And, because the piglet in Eleusis **(P1)** is apparently a female, it could also have been offered by the women. In Roman times, Regilla's offering of a bull **(B1)** to Zeus within her lavish nymphaion indicates a continuation of a Greek tradition of women offering animals: she makes her offering in her quality of priestess of Demeter Chamyne.

Of the several offerings made by women that he was certainly aware of, Pausanias only mentioned Kyniska's. He did, however, visit the Acropolis of Sparta, describe Olympian offerings at length and he was a native of the coast of Asia Minor, which means that he was likely familiar with the sanctuaries of Knidos; he also knew well Eleusis but abstained from describing it out of religious superstition. His mention of Kyniska's horses has to do with the extraordinary character of a female victory at Olympia as early as the end of the 5th century BC, and he is generally interested in the character of Kyniska. He decides to ignore the nymphaion all together, which was built soon before his time and was not something he could have passed by and not noticed. Likewise, the reason why Polemon notes Cottina's offering is because her brothel was still flourishing at the time of his visit, and the manifest wealth of the courtesan was quasi anecdotical.

Pausanias' choice to not mention Cottina's cow and the female pig statues offered at sanctuaries of Demeter was not based on gender discrimination but rather in a lack of interest towards common private dedications with no anecdotic, grandiose, unusual or obscure character. He certainly passed by many private offerings both my men and women, but the presence of an important amount of female animal *anathemata* to Demeter reveal the special relevance of animal dedications made by women. Indeed, while males had a greater range of offerings available to them and could dedicate statues

together with other men in the context of public offerings, women had a smaller range of options. The most common animal statues offered by women were likely pigs for Demeter and doves for Aphrodite, and ancient observers would pass by without deeming them worthy of notice: no one mentioned Plathaïnis' Knidian dedications.

Common female dedications were loom weights and weaved works; statues of themselves were also offered but might have appeared as vain and self-centered in a culture valuing female modesty: through animal statues, women could illustrate their piety and social status without compromising their modesty.

Animal statues appear to have been a strong vector of female expression, in which the dedicator could manifest her piety or bring herself forwards in a society that gave her a lesser social and political function at best. Women of all statuses are represented as dedicators of animal offerings: those at the margins of society, like Cottina, but also those within its frame, like Plathaïnis. However, the women who were not willing to comply with their imposed conditions were those who dedicated the most notable animal anathemata. Indeed, as a courtesan, Cottina was not assuming a traditional wife and mother function, and offering a sumptuous animal on a public place would be a way to be remembered and reach immortality through glory to her name. Regilla was married to Herodes Atticus, but she was also a Roman patrician, and her Roman upbringing would have made her motivated to reach glory for herself through priesthood. Her dedication of portraits of her whole family in the nymphaion was a very Roman gesture; the central bull, however, might be a mix of two worlds, and she might have been inspired by offerings of animal statues dedicated by Greek women of previous periods. Cottina's horses **(Ha3)** were likely more of a self-glorifying gesture than a religious one. Only Plathaïnis' sow **(P2)** appears as a pious gift, and the memory of her dedications was not carried on by any author: hers was, however, likely the most common type of animal statues dedicated by women as shown by the presence of the other pregnant sows to Demeter.

Private freestanding animal *anathemata* were therefore common offerings by all types of women, from the priestess to the prostitute and from the horse-breeding princess to the housewife. The nature and expense of the statue, the sanctuary chosen for its dedication, its price and its inscription, however varied depending on the intended purpose of the offering. The least common of these dedications certainly had the greatest impact on the ancient visitors.

c. Geographical interactions

While public offerings were usually made at Panhellenic sanctuaries, where cities could illustrate their wealth to the eyes of other Greeks, private offerings

in Archaic to Hellenistic sanctuaries are primarily made locally: 62.5% of the offerings were made by locals. In the Roman period, the newcomers also offer animal statues, but in places where they are trying to settle and fit in: Regilla offers her bull at Olympia in her quality of local priestess, and the offering of the eagle **(A08)** at Dion is related to agricultural incomes, and therefore made by a person who was established in the area.

Offering animal statues in one's own town was a way to display one's piety and wealth, either by offering a symbol of the deity or the god, as for Athena's owl offered on the Acropolis **(A07)**, lions for Hagne **(L12-L13)**, doves for Aphrodite **(A03)**. It could also commemorate the financing of a sacrifice, as might have been the case for the familial offerings of cows at Hermione **(Bb4-Bb7)**, and therefore mark the dedicator's euergetism.

Between the Archaic and the Hellenistic period, only one foreigner is recorded as a dedicator of an animal *anathema*: Croesus, the 6th century BC king of Lydia, who, thanks to his splendid dedications, he and any wishful Lydians obtained to be naturalized Delphians. His offering was made in his name, but Herodotus does note that he asked of his suite to throw in the pyre their own belonging when he made sacrifices at the time of his dedication of the gold lion. His dedication is therefore at the limit between private and public. As a head of state, he represented all of Lydia.

The other five private dedicators were Greeks from other regions. On Delos and at the sanctuary of Aphrodite, they were likely pilgrims. The offering of a pair of lions **(L12-L13)** to the eastern gods Hagne and Hadad was made by a Laodicean – a Greek from Asia Minor, who might have been in Delos for business combined with a pilgrimage: indeed, the island was a large marketplace as well as a sanctuary. The lions were likely made by an Attic artist and were not very carefully detailed, and the marble used was of an average quality only: this would suggest that the dedicator ordered quickly made sculptures, which would have cost less than works made by a renowned master. The choice of receiving deities also indicate strong ties between the dedicator and his native land; socially, he also might have wanted to affirm his eastern identity to potential eastern clients who would also visit the Syrian sanctuary. Falakrion, who had an unusual name for Attica, might have dedicated his marble dove **(A03)** at the occasion of a stay at Aphrodite's sacred grounds, during which he might have interacted with the priestesses and thanked the goddess for her gifts with the dedication of a pre-made bird while he made his way between Athens and Eleusis.

Two other offerings made by individuals were dedicated at Olympia, both horses **(Ha1, Ha3)**, standing as immortal symbols of their dedicator's victory. At Delphi, a horse **(Ha2)** was dedicated by the Athenian Kallias as a tithe of his

Persian War spoils, likely as a political symbol for the power of the general – the private equivalent of a bull offered by a city.

3. Written sources versus archaeological data on dedicators

Pausanias is the main source of written testimonies regarding the description of sanctuaries and their offerings, but it is important to note the subjective tendencies found in his texts.

Indeed, 13 out of 16 public dedicators are known through Pausanias, and among these, 9 are Classical, 1 Hellenistic and 3 not datable (the bull **(Ba1)** offered by the Boule on the Acropolis which might be Hellenistic, the Ambraciot donkey **(Ea1)** at Delphi and the bronze goat **(Ca2)** at Phlius; all three could be Classical or Hellenistic offerings). A clear preference is therefore shown by the author for Classical works.

As for the private dedicators, only 5 out of 16 are known through Pausanias for Archaic to Hellenistic offerings, and 6 out of 21 if we stretch the data to include Roman offerings and the he-goat **(Ca3)** of unsure geographical origin. In the 7 private offerings of animal statues found in Pausanias, no cattle statues are mentioned: he reports one likely Archaic lion dedicated by a mythological hero **(La1)**, four Classical private equine offerings, one of which was the colossal "Wooden" horse **(Ha4)** on the Athenian Acropolis. The only Roman private offering of an animal he mentions was a lavish peacock **(Aa3)** brought to Hera by none less than the emperor Hadrian. In his choice of descriptions of private offerings, Pausanias shows again a preference for Classical animals, but even more, an interest for extraordinary private offerings, whether it was because of the dedicators' identity (a hero, a princess and an emperor), or for the specificity of the context of dedication. Herakles' offering **(La1)** was connected to a war victory and an important symbol in Thebes. The two equine offerings mentioned at Olympia were associated with anecdotes: Pheidolas' mare **(Ha1)** had won the race after throwing down her rider, while Kyniska offered her horses **(Ha3)** in Zeus' sanctuary after she was the first woman in all of Greece to win the competition. The horse offered at Delphi by the Athenian Kallias **(Ha2)** was given from the spoils of the Persian War, and even though it was a private offering, it had a political reach, which is likely why Pausanias made a mention of it.

While several animal statues mentioned by Pausanias were also found in other ancient authors, only four offerings were found in other written sources and not in Pausanias' descriptions: one Classical public offering, the Thessalian cows for Athena Itonos **(Ba9)**, and two private, the bronze cow **(Ba7)** of Cottina in Sparta, the Hellenistic offering of a bronze he-goat **(Ca3)** and the golden lion

offered by Croesus at Delphi **(La2)**. The two first were found in epigrams, while Croesus' lion was spoken of by Herodotus, who is interested in the splendid character of the king – he also mentions his gold cows dedicated at Ephesus **(Ba11)**. Pausanias does mention the gold offered at Delphi by the Lydian king, but is not interested in the detail of the offerings made out of it. Pausanias is quite laconic in his mention of Athena Chalkioikos on the Spartan Acropolis: "*ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς*"[7]; the sanctuary might have primarily contained private offerings of no interest to him, and he might not have been keen on sharing a brothel-mistress dedication.

The critical imbalance between the numbers of statues mentioned in written sources and the archaeological data denotes a higher interest for public rather than private offerings on the side of the exegete, while the archaeological evidence suggests a higher number of private than of public dedications. Archaeological data also indicates a wider range of value for private offerings: they could be colossal and very expensive like the "Wooden" horse **(Ha4)** set on the Athenian Acropolis by Chairedemos, of a medium size and price range, like the pregnant sow **(P2)** offered by Plathaïnis at Knidos, or very modest, like Falakrion's dove **(A03)** to Aphrodite. All public offerings, on the other hand, appear to have been rather expensive as the offerings had to be proportionate to the wealth of the dedicators, but some public offerings were especially sumptuous by their size, like the Argive "Wooden" horse **(Ha5)**, or their number, like the Naxian lions **(L01-L09)**.

The literary data should be taken carefully, not only because of the filter operated by the authors (Pausanias seems interested in offerings with a political or anecdotical meaning and Herodotus prioritizes the splendid gold objects, for instance), but also by the sources from which ancient authors gather their information. Indeed, Plutarch[8] reports how guides at Delphi sometimes bothered the visitors rather than informed them – and these same guides were probably the sources used by Pausanias. The miraculous fishing of the tunas, for instance, could have been the invention of an imaginative guide[9]. Because literary references are made by authors who, even when they saw the objects, lived several centuries after the dedications, they likely did not have access to inscriptions giving the exact motive for the dedications. In the surviving inscriptions, the reason is never given: the epigraphy usually indicates the name of the dedicator, the name of the receiver, and occasionally the name of the sculptor. When paraphernalia are added, they include the filiation, social function and origins of the dedicator. The ancient travelers were therefore

[7] Pausanias, 3, 26, 5
[8] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 2, 5, 8, 13, 14
[9] Jacquemin, 1999, p. 83

confronted with statues of which they did not necessarily know the meaning even though their opinions are a useful complement to the archaeological data.

4. Distribution of the animal categories per dedicators

It appears that cattle statues were the most universal gift and could be offered by any dedicator to any deity: cities, regions, influent men and wealthy women were all found to have offered cattle statues. The only discrimination concerning freestanding cattle *anathemata* was based on wealth, because of the expense associated with the size of the offering, although the Knidian heifer calves show that there even were less onerous cattle statues which were larger than mere statuettes, but could be afforded by a family of average fortune.

Lions figured both as private and public offerings, but in both cases, they symbolized the wealth and power of the dedicators: the private offerings of lions were given by none less than the richest king of the Ancient world, a mythological hero, and the five sons of a governor.

Horses were only private offerings: the only equine statue amongst public offerings was the reproduction of the Trojan horse dedicated at Delphi – and even the Trojan horse was also suitable for a wealthy individual to dedicate, as the "Wooden" horse of the Athenian Acropolis was a private offering. Horses reflected the glory of individual dedicators.

Pigs seem to have been an exclusively female offering: all the pig statues represented were female, and the dedicators were likely all women. The price of pig statues could greatly vary as Plathaïnis' sow **(P2)** was a very delicate work but was found along other pregnant sows of a much lesser quality **(P4-P5)**.

The known bird dedicators were private men: Timotheos for Athena's colossal owl **(A07)**, Falakrion for the life-size dove to Aphrodite **(A03)** and, in Roman times, Hadrian, who gave a luxurious peacock **(Aa3)** to the Argive Hera, and two private men who gave a life-size eagle each to Zeus Hypsitos in Dion **(A08, A10)**. However, life-size birds might also have been offered by women: most of the inscriptions found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Eleusinian Sacred Way, including bases matching the size of life-size doves were for offerings given by women, and it is possible than other doves from the sanctuary were dedicated by women. The colossal doves of Delos **(A01-A02)** and the eagles seen at the sanctuaries of Zeus Lykaios by Pausanias **(Aa1-Aa2)** could have been public dedications, but the corresponding data is missing.

The available data therefore suggests that there were more animal statues offered by private individuals than by cities even though written sources tend to record more public offerings. Women played an important role in private

dedications, and the choice of animal varied depending on the receiving deity but also based on the number, gender and social status of the dedicators. Offerings had an important social and political reach, mainly locally for private dedicators and at a Panhellenic level for city-dedicators.

Religious piety remained nevertheless an important motivational factor in the offering of animal statues, especially in the case of private dedications of animals directly linked with a deity, but pure feelings of devotion appear to have been often doubled if not superseded by aspirations to self-glorification, as with the horses at Olympia. Public animal offerings made locally could act as a warning, while, when set in Panhellenic centers, they could work as a sign of the city's wealth and power visible to other Greeks, by signaling the ability to make opulent sacrifices, and the favor of the gods who helped the dedicators gain wealth through their undertakings, especially wars. These public statues therefore acted as a warning to the other visitors of Panhellenic sanctuaries: if someone wished to oppose the dedicators, they might get crushed by a strong enemy and the will of the gods.

Conclusion
Significance of free-standing animal *anathemata*

Since the Archaic period, freestanding animal statues were rarer *anathemata* than statues featuring gods and humans; the gap became even more significant with the development of honorific portraits from the 4th century BC onward. The animal statues set at sanctuaries had, however, a significant physical place within the sanctuaries. They were more than mere *agalmata* added to the bulk of numerous offerings dedicated at sanctuaries.

1. Symbolism and functions of freestanding animal *anathemata*

Archaic statues of animals set by series or pairs at strategic positions at the gates of sanctuaries or along sacred ways leading to them as to hold the function of apotropaic guardians. Lions and lionesses were the most common dedicated animals, especially in Archaic times, when they appear to have been considered as the guardians of divine grounds *par excellence*. In Archaic Greece, lions were disappearing in the wild, and while the memory of their existence and a few pelts testified for their local existence to the eyes of the ancient, they were not a common sight for humans until the installation of the beast shows of the 4th century BC. The companions of the Mother of the Gods were therefore likely viewed as an animal in tight relation with the divine. The lion guardians were particularly connected with Apollo, mother goddesses and Artemis, the closest Greek relatives to an older mistress of the wild. Other animals would hold a similar but more restricted role as apotropaic guardians. Dogs, for instance, were not nearly as popular as lions as they were a common animal in daily life and they would have been a more specialized gift for the huntress Artemis. Colossal birds, such as the pair of large doves from Delos, would have had a similar function for sanctuaries of goddesses, and pairs of eagles for sanctuaries of Zeus. As guardians of the sacred, animals acted as messengers or representatives of the gods. This function might have been a reminiscence of old theramorphic beliefs, in which Apollo might have been a wolf or a lion, Artemis and other goddesses could have been birds or lionesses for instance. The animal metamorphoses of Greek mythology could have derived from such beliefs, and the anecdotes heard by Pausanias on the reason for several animal dedications bear traces of these special links between gods and animals - especially in the case of the bronze wolf offered at Delphi and

the bulls dedicated by the Corcyreans at Delphi and Olympia.

A diachronic analysis of the offerings shows a strong change between the Archaic and the Classical periods in the choice of animals: while sacred guardians had been the popular animal *anathemata* of Archaic Greece, Classical times show an impressive soar in the dedication of statues representing cattle and horses. Most of these are bronze and have not survived the passing of time; they are known from written sources, bases and the associated epigraphy. The change is also illustrated in other contexts of sculptures, as lions were the most popular animal grave marker in the Archaic period while more bulls and dogs are set on Classical and Hellenistic sepultures. The offering of cattle in sanctuaries is certainly reminiscent of sacrifices: giving the statue of a bull or a cow was to give to the gods an undying sacrifice. Offering statues combined the perfection required for sacrificial victims to the seemingly selfless gift of a sacrifice in which the dedicator would not receive meat, and set aside the necessity of murdering the victim and punishing the killing knife – it was a pure and eternal gift, suitable for all gods and goddesses, and dedicated by public entities and private figures.

Horses, on the other hand, were symbols for victory, but free-standing horses were rarer than offerings of chariots or riders. They were mostly private offerings: the only known public offering of a horse represented the “Wooden” horse of Troy, which was the figuration of the Greek genius rather than of a horse itself. In all horse statues, it is the luck, craftiness and success of humans that are put forward. More modest dedications are life-size statues of doves to Aphrodite; the bird was occasionally sacrificed to the goddess for purification rituals, but one of her animal attributes, kept alive in her sacred grounds.

In the Hellenistic period, there is a general decrease in freestanding animal *anathemata*, while more emphasis is given to human portraiture of the dedicators themselves or their families. Cattle statues continue to be offered, the lion fashion experiences a small renaissance, but the most characteristic offerings of the times are female pigs, dedicated in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore – especially pregnant sows at Knidos. These swine offerings were directly linked to the sacrificial cults of the receiving sanctuaries, and were maybe a symbol of the animal essence of the goddesses of life and cyclical rebirth through death.

Animal companions of the gods, such as snakes, deer and panthers were recurrent in sculptural groups as attributes of the gods but not represented in freestanding offerings. One noticeable discrepancy in the choice of subjects is in the representation of wild beasts: the only two known representations of wolves and bears were one Classical wolf to Apollo, also known as a wolf-god, and one Hellenistic bear to Artemis, whose early construction involves strong

theramorphic bear elements. This difference of representations between the overrepresented lions and underrepresented wolves and bears found among wild beasts brings the question of taboos. The fact that no wolf or bear representation survives from the Archaic period and are extremely rare in all ancient contexts gives a stronger chance to the hypothesis of a religious superstition making the representation of bears and wolves quasi-forbidden, as mortals who try and behold the true aspect of the gods incur punishment. This taboo could have existed in the Archaic period and become more flexible over time.

2. Social implications: gifts to gods, messages to men.

While we know the identity of the dedicators of most offerings mentioned in literary sources, only about a third of the dedicators of surviving large scale freestanding animal *anathemata* or their bases are known, and the purpose of their dedication is never stated in the discovered inscriptions.

Dedicators, both public and private, offered animal statues in their own *polis*, in regional sanctuaries or in distant Panhellenic worship centers.

The animal represented stood as a *mnema* of the dedication of the statue or of the event it marked, especially when the statue was made from the *dekate* or another share of an income. Indeed, most of the public offerings were made with the bronze acquired through a successful battle or war against the Persians or other Greeks. In these occasion, the statues often represented cattle, likely as a reminder or a replacement of a sacrifice made out of gratitude of the help of the gods in the victory.

The statues also stood as a sign of dedicator's wealth, power, or accomplishment. To do so, the animals offered could be emblematic of the dedicator or of the celebrated event. For instance, the Karystians offered a cow and calf, the symbol of their city, at Delphi, and Croesus offered a golden lion, symbol of his family, also at Delphi. The "Wooden" horse offered by a rich carpenter on the Athenian Acropolis was a symbol of victory for all the Greeks, but also one indicating the talent involved in his profession. The lioness portrait of Leaïna on the Acropolis celebrated the national pride of the Athenians at their victory over tyranny.

In the case of statues representing animals of the same categories as the victims sacrificed locally in specific cults, such as the cows at Hermione, the pregnant sows at Knidos and the piglet at Eleusis, the offerings are always found to be private. The cows at Hermione were likely set as a sign of the euergetism exercised in the city by the family of the dedicators, generation after

generation: the dedicators of the statues likely belonged to the ruling class and would sponsor the sacrifice which made the fame of the city. The sows for Demeter, however, might also have been a sign that the dedicators, mostly or all women, had provided sacrificial victims for the sanctuary, but their offering was likely more religiously oriented and less socially directed, because the statues were of smaller size, not all of them were of made by skilled artists, and they represented a less onerous victim – the same can be observed for Aphrodite's doves.

The lions offered by the Naxians on Delos were all at the same time *agalmata* of an animal especially appreciated by the local gods, a *mnema* of the occasion, but also a real tour-de-force, showing the whole Greek world the resources of Naxos. But it was also a strategic piece of advertisement. Indeed, Delos was one of the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries. At a time when Greek statue was starting to soar and before quarries started operating on Paros, the neighboring island of Naxos let every visitor of Delos know that they could find quality material, efficient transport and talented artists who mastered locally appropriate subjects a mere 42 km away by boat. The religious significance of the lions should not be overlooked and it certainly was a display of collective piety shown, and, in parallel to the public display of their wealth and talent, a way to thank Apollo for it, to honor the Delian trinity and to ask for the continuation of their blessings.

This study has revealed a more diverse and colorful portrait of animal *anathemata* than ancient written sources suggest. Indeed, ancient travelers were focused on splendid public offering with a political and anecdotical meaning often forged centuries after the dedication was made. The archaeological data combined with the written sources has shown that animal statues were offered by a diverse pool of public and private dedicators for religious, political and social reasons – and often several of these at once, with a large scale of intensity for these motivations. One of the most unexpected aspects found in this study was the significant involvement of women in the dedication of freestanding animals. Indeed, women of very various backgrounds found a way of expression themselves through animal statues. The reasons motivating these female dedicators certainly varied at least as much as those of the male dedicators: for women, there was no access to glory in war or in politics. In a culture that valued beyond all immortality through memory, Kynisca found a share of immortality in the portrait the horses who made her victorious, Cottina in the representation of an eternal opulent cow sacrifice, and Plathaïnis in a pregnant sow representing her modest yet constant devotion.

List of Illustrations

NB1. The sources of the illustrations used in the catalogue of surviving statues are directly referenced in each catalogue entry.
NB2. I am the author of all tables (Tab.) and maps (Map), which therefore are listed without authorial indications.

Part 2 - Contextual study of animals represented as free-standing *anathemata*

Cattle

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Fig. 4 – Seated bear cub scratching his belly with a stone. Photo: © GrizzlyBearBlog.

Wolves

Fig. 1 – Wolf or dog fang pendant, Brauron. Brauron museum inv. 245. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 2 – Dolon. Louvre, CA 1802. Photo: Judy Green.

Tortoises

Fig. 1 – Classical lyre. BM 1816,0610.501. Photo: © British Museum.

Fig. 2 – Marble tortoise, Galaxidi. BM 1882,1009.8. Photo: © British Museum.

Fig. 3 – Hemidrachm from Aegina. SNGCop 504, 510-490 BC with a sea turtle. Photo: wildwinds.com.

Fig. 4 – a-b - Aphrodite Ourania stepping on a tortoise. a – whole statue; b – detail of the tortoise. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 1459. Photos: © Sedefscorner.

Fig. 5 – Hermes and the tortoise, Roman copy. Saint-Petersburg, The New Hermitage Museum ГР-4162, formerly in the collection of Campana in Rome. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum.

Other animals

Fig. 1 – "Snake of Asklepios", *Zamenis longissimus*. Photo: © Jeroen Speybroeck.

Fig. 2 – *Drakon*, Archaic pediment of the Athenian Acropolis. Acropolis museum, pediment from an unidentified building dating from before the Persian sack. Photo: © Shumata.

Fig. 3 – Epidaurian Asklepios. Athens, National Museum, NM 263. Pentelic marble. Roman copy, ca. 160 AD of a 4th century BC statue of Asklepios. From Epidaurus. Photo: © Giovanni Dall'Orto.

Fig. 4 – Votive inscribed bronze snake, Pergamon. Pergamon museum, no. M 58/359. Photo: © David John.

Fig. 5 – Artemis Elaphebolos, Delos. Delos museum, no. 449. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 6 – Artemis and her stag welcome worshippers, Brauron. Marble votive relief ca. 350 BC. Brauron museum, no. 1153. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 7 – Symposium pediment from Corcyra. Found at the Kerameikos at Figareto, ca. 500 BC. Archaeological museum of Corfou. Photo: © Monophtalmos.

Fig. 8 – Panther from Cyrene. BM 1861,1127.156. 1st century AD. Photo: © British Museum.

Fig. 9 – Funerary female panther, Attica. Glyptotek, Munich inv. 495. Photo: © Glyptotek, Munich.

Fig. 10 – Aphrodite and Eros riding a dolphin, Thasos. 3rd century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture. Thasos Museum.

Part 3 - Sculpture: animal statues as *anathemata*

Fig. 1 – Bronze head with patina (L) / original (R), Exhibition Bunte Götter, Munich Glyptotek. Photo: Matthias Kabel, CC BY-SA 3.0.

Fig. 2 – Shipping accident: unfinished and broken *kouros* at Melanes, Naxos. Unfinished and broken 6th century *kouros* at Melanes, where the marble for the Naxian lions on Delos was likely extracted. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 3 – Funerary lion from Naxos. Chora museum, Naxos, MN 1591. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 4 – Funerary lion from Andros. Paleopolis museum, Andros, no. 208, ca. 320 BC. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 5 – Maximum grain size and Manganese in Mediterranean Greek marbles. Illustration freely modified based on Kane et al., 1995, fig. 2, p. 320, which showed the concentration of Mn2+ and grain size of the marble of sculptures from the nymphaion at Olympia; the graph has been changed to illustrate only marble grain and Mn2+ for marbles from different origins.

Part 4 – Data analysis: statistics and interpretations

Fig. 1 – Niches for offerings at Aphrodite's sanctuary on the Sacred Way. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Fig. 2 – Votive column, Naxos. 6th century. With room for a rectangular plinth. Archaeological museum of Yiroulas, from the temple of Apollo at Yiroulas. Photo: Linda Talatas.

Map. 1 – Whole area map of sanctuaries with free-standing animal statues

Tab. 1 – Surviving Archaic to Hellenistic statues (sanctuary/category)

Tab. 2 – Surviving Archaic to Hellenistic statue bases only (sanctuary/category)

Tab. 3 – Archaic to Hellenistic statues in literary sources (sanctuary/category)

Tab. 4 – Number of statues per sanctuary and per animal category

Tab. 5 – Number of statues per sanctuary and per animal category excluding Itonos

Tab. 6 – Archaic offerings per sanctuary and category

Tab. 7 – Distribution of the Archaic offerings per deity

Tab. 8 – Classical offerings per sanctuary and category

Tab. 9 – Distribution of the Classical offerings per deity

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Tab. 11 – Distribution of the Hellenistic offerings per deity

Tab. 12 – Number of animal statues per deity or group of deities

Tab. 13 – Number of animal statues per deity and category

Tab. 14 – Number of cattle statues per receiving deities

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Tab. 18 – Public offerings by recorded dedicators

Tab. 19 – Private offerings by recorded dedicators

List of catalogue entries: archaeological data

Surviving statues:

Item	Number	Category	Period	Sanctuary	Deity
A01 Dove	**1**	Birds	Archaic	Delos	Leto?
A02 Dove	**1**	Birds	Archaic	Delos	Leto?
A03 Dove	**1**	Birds	Classical	Eleusinian Sacred Way	Aphrodite
A04 Dove	**1**	Birds	Classical	Eleusinian Sacred Way	Aphrodite
A05 Dove	**1**	Birds	Classical	Eleusinian Sacred Way	Aphrodite
A06 Dove	**1**	Birds	Classical	Eleusinian Sacred Way	Aphrodite
A07 Owl	**1**	Birds	Classical	Acropolis of Athens	Athena
A08 Eagle	**1**	Birds	Roman	Dion	Zeus
A09 Eagle	**1**	Birds	Roman	Dion	Zeus
A10 Eagle	**1**	Birds	Roman	Dion	Zeus
A11 Eagle	**1**	Birds	Roman	Dion	Zeus
A12 Eagle	**1**	Birds	Roman	Dion	Zeus
B1 Bull	**1**	Cattle	Archaic	Delphi	Apollo
B2 Calf	**1**	Cattle	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
B3 Calf	**1**	Cattle	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
B4 Bull	**1**	Cattle	Roman	Olympia	Zeus
D1 Dog	**2**	Dogs	Archaic	Acropolis of Athens	Artemis
L01-L09 Lions	**9**	Lions	Archaic	Delos	Leto - Apollo - Artemis
L10 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Delos	Artemis
L11 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Delos	Artemis
L12 Lioness	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Delos	Leto - Apollo - Artemis
L13 Lion	**1**	Lions	Hellenistic	Delos	Hagne and Hadad
L14 Lion	**1**	Lions	Hellenistic	Delos	Hagne and Hadad
L15 Lion	**2**	Lions	Archaic	Acropolis of Athens	Artemis
L16 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Didyma	Apollo
L17 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Didyma	Apollo
L18 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Kea	Old Goddess?
P1 Piglet	**1**	Pigs	Hellenistic	Eleusis	Demeter - Kore
P2 Pregnant Sow	**1**	Pigs	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
P3 Pregnant Sow	**1**	Pigs	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
P4 Pregnant Sow	**1**	Pigs	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
P5 Pregnant Sow	**1**	Pigs	Hellenistic	Knidos	Demeter - Kore
U1 Bear	**1**	Bears	Hellenistic	Acropolis of Athens	Artemis

Statue bases only:

Item	Number	Category	Period	Sanctuary	Deity
Bb2 Cow + calf	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Delphi	Apollo
Bb4 Cow Base?	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Hermione	Demeter - Kore
Bb5 Cow Base?	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Hermione	Demeter - Kore
Bb6 Cow Base?	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Hermione	Demeter - Kore
Bb7 Cow Base?	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Hermione	Demeter - Kore

Inscription	Dedicator	Statue material	Artist
No		Island marble	
No		Island marble	
Yes - side	Falakrion	Pentelic marble	
No		Pentelic marble	
No		Pentelic marble	
No		Pentelic marble	
Yes - column	Timotheos of Anaphlytos	Island marble	
Yes - base		Local marble	
No		Local marble	
Yes - side		Local marble	
No		Local marble	
No		Brown-grey local marble	
No		Silver, Copper, Gold, Wood	
No		Carian marble	
No		Carian marble	
Yes - side	Regilla priest. Of Demeter	Pentelic marble	
No		Parian marble	
No	Naxians	Naxian marble	
No		Naxian marble	
No		Naxian marble	
No		Parian Marble	
Yes - plinth	Laodicean	Island marble	
No	Laodicean	Island marble	
No		Island Marble	
Yes - side	5 sons of gov. Orion	Carian marble	
No		Carian marble	
No		Natural Rock	
No		Pentelic marble	
No		Carian marble	
No		Carian marble	
No		Carian marble	
Yes - plinth	Plathaïnis wife of Platonos	Carian marble	
No		Carian marble	

Inscription	Dedicator	Statue material	Artist
Yes	Karystians	Bronze	
Yes	Aristomenes son of Alexias	Bronze	Dorotheos of Argos
Yes	Alexias son of Lyon	Bronze	Kresilas of Kydonia
Yes	Klenagoros son of Lyon	Bronze	Polykles and Androkydes of Argos
Yes	Euphoros son of Lyon	Bronze	

List of catalogue entries: philological data

Item	#	Category	Period	Sanctuary	Deity	Base	Fragments
Ba1 Bull	**1**	Cattle	Hellenistic?	Acropolis of Athens	Athena		
Ba2 Bull	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Delphi	Apollo	**Bb1**	
Ba3 Bull	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Olympia	Zeus		
Ba4 Ox	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Delphi	Apollo	**Bb2?**	
Ba5 Ox	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Delphi	Apollo		
Ba6 Ox	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Olympia	Zeus	**Bb3**	**Bc1, Bc2**
Ba7 Cow	**1**	Cattle	Class./Hell.	Sparta	Athena		
Ba8 Ox	**1**	Cattle	Hellenistic	Helicon	Muses		
Ba9 Twelve Cows	**12**	Cattle	Classical	Itonos	Athena		
Ba10 Cow	**1**	Cattle	Classical	Acropolis of Athens	Athena		
Ba11 Cows	**?**	Cattle	Archaic	Ephesus	Artemis		
Ca1 He-goat	**1**	Goats	Classical	Delphi	Apollo	**Cb1?**	
Ca2 She-goat	**1**	Goats	N/A	Phlius - Agora	Goat Con.		
Ca3 He-goat	**1**	Goats	Hellenistic?	?	Hermes		
Aa1 Eagles	**2**	Birds	N/A	Megalopolis	Zeus		
Aa2 Eagles	**2**	Birds	N/A	Mount Lykaion	Zeus		
Aa3 Peacock	**1**	Birds	Roman	Argos	Hera		
Ha1 Mare "Aura"	**1**	Horses	Archaic	Olympia	Zeus		
Ha2 Horse	**1**	Horses	Classical	Delphi	Apollo		
Ha3 Horses	**2**	Horses	Classical	Olympia	Zeus		
Ha4 "Wooden"	**1**	Horses	Classical	Acropolis of Athens	Athena?		
Ha5 "Wooden"	**1**	Horses	Classical	Delphi	Apollo	**Hb1?**	
Ea1 Donkey	**1**	Donkeys	N/A	Delphi	Apollo		
La1 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic?	Thebes	Artemis		
La2 Lion	**1**	Lions	Archaic	Delphi	Apollo		
La3 Lioness	**1**	Lions	Classical	Acropolis of Athens	Athena		
La4 Lion	**1**	Lions	Hellenistic	Delphi	Apollo		
La5 Stone lions	**2**	Lions	Archaic/Hellenistic	Source of Alpheios	Mother of Gods		
Ta1 Tortoise	**1**	Tortoises	Archaic/Hellenistic	Megalopolis	Hermes		
Wa1 Wolf	**1**	Wolves	Classical	Delphi	Apollo		

Material	Dedicator	Artist	Reason	Source
Marble?	Boule			Pausanias
Bronze	Corcyreans	Theopropos of Aegina	Miraculous fishing tithe	Pausanias
Bronze	Corcyreans	Philesios of Eretria?	Miraculous fishing tithe	Pausanias
Bronze	Karystians		Persian War spoils	Pausanias
Marble?	Plateans		Successful land defense	Pausanias
	Eretrians	Philesios of Eretria	Victory against Athenians	Pausanias
Bronze	Cottina			Pol. In Ath.
				Pausanias
Bronze		Phradmon of Argos	Spoils of victory vs Ilyrians	Theod./ Col.
Bronze		Myron of Eleutherai		Epigrams
Gold	Croesus			Herodotus
Bronze	Kleonai		Purification / Sacrifice	Pausanias
Bronze, Gold	Phliasians (?)		Protection of vines	Pausanias
Bronze	Soson & Simalos		Gratitude for cheese/milk	Leonidas
?			Symbols of the gods	Pausanias
Gold plated			Symbols of the gods	Pausanias
Gold, Gems	Hadrian		Bird sacred to Hera	Pausanias
	Pheidolas		Rider-less victory	Pausanias
?	Kallias		Personal Persian War spoils	Pausanias
Bronze	Kyniska		Olympic victory	Pausanias
Bronze	Chairedemos	Strongylion		Pausanias
Bronze	Argives	Antiphanes of Argos	War victory against Spartans	Pausanias
Bronze	Ambraciots		Anecdotic victory vs Molossians	Pausanias
Stone	Herakles			Pausanias
Gold	Croesus		Bribe the oracle	Herodotus
Bronze	Athenians	Amphikrates	Portrait of courtesan Leaïna	Paus. et al.
Bronze	Elateians		Defensive victory vs Cassander	Pausanias
Stone			Mother of the Gods	Pausanias
Stone				Pausanias
	Delphians		Anecdotic stolen gold recovery	Paus. / Plut.

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Annexes
Timelines of Olympiads and Pythiads

The Olympic Games and the Pythian Games both occurred every fourth year and were extremely important elements of cohesion in the Greek world. They often served as date markers in the Hellenic world: the lists of victors, found on epigraphical documents, have helped the historians establish an accurate chronology thanks to known coincidences. Correspondences between Olympiads, Pythiads and Gregorian years are now clearly established even if, of course, when dealing with events that occurred centuries before their time, the dates given by ancient authors are to be considered with caution.

However, while modern scholars readily quote single dates of interest and convert them into our contemporary calendar, I haven't found a proper list of dates. It is the reason why I have designed these user-friendly timelines: they make discussions on dates easier to follow, both in the context of my thesis and for others reads.

Olympiads and Pythiads were periods of four years, and ancient authors, such as Pausanias, refer separately to each of the four years of each of these time periods.

Each Olympiad year starts in the summer. For the sake simplicity, I only indicate the starting Gregorian year in this table. For instance, the year 1 of Olympiad 15th starts in the summer 720 and finishes in summer 719 BC: here, we note 720 as the start of that year but it could also be written 720/19.

The Pythian Games would take place every third calendar year of an Olympiad (they occurred two years after the Olympic Games: a year after the Nemean Games and a year before the Isthmian Games) and are counted from the 48th Olympiad (586 BC), when the Amphyctionic council takes control of the Games over the Delphians. The Olympic Games started being only sporadically documented throughout the 3rd century AD, before being outlawed in 394 AD by the Roman emperor Theodosius I, while the Pythian Games continued to be celebrated at least until the 5th century AD despite of the rising Christianism. The timelines I elaborated are extended to the 2nd century AD, in order to cover our frame of interest, from Archaic to Hellenistic, and continue into the beginning of the Roman period.

Annex 1: Timeline of Olympiads

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
1st	1	776	**10th**	1	740	**19th**	1	704	**28th**	1	668
	2	775		2	739		2	703		2	667
	3	774		3	738		3	702		3	666
	4	773		4	737		4	701		4	665
2nd	1	772	**11th**	1	736	**20th**	1	700	**29th**	1	664
	2	771		2	735		2	699		2	663
	3	770		3	734		3	698		3	662
	4	769		4	733		4	697		4	661
3rd	1	768	**12th**	1	732	**21st**	1	696	**30th**	1	660
	2	767		2	731		2	695		2	659
	3	766		3	730		3	694		3	658
	4	765		4	729		4	693		4	657
4th	1	764	**13th**	1	728	**22nd**	1	692	**31st**	1	656
	2	763		2	727		2	691		2	655
	3	762		3	726		3	690		3	654
	4	761		4	725		4	689		4	653
5th	1	760	**14th**	1	724	**23rd**	1	688	**32nd**	1	652
	2	759		2	723		2	687		2	651
	3	758		3	722		3	686		3	650
	4	757		4	721		4	685		4	649
6th	1	756	**15th**	1	720	**24th**	1	684	**33rd**	1	648
	2	755		2	719		2	683		2	647
	3	754		3	718		3	682		3	646
	4	753		4	717		4	681		4	645
7th	1	752	**16th**	1	716	**25th**	1	680	**34th**	1	644
	2	751		2	715		2	679		2	643
	3	750		3	714		3	678		3	642
	4	749		4	713		4	677		4	641
8th	1	748	**17th**	1	712	**26th**	1	676	**35th**	1	640
	2	747		2	711		2	675		2	639
	3	746		3	710		3	674		3	638
	4	745		4	709		4	673		4	637
9th	1	744	**18th**	1	708	**27th**	1	672	**36th**	1	636
	2	743		2	707		2	671		2	635
	3	742		3	706		3	670		3	634
	4	741		4	705		4	669		4	633

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
37th	1	632	**47th**	1	592	**57th**	1	552	**67th**	1	512
	2	631		2	591		2	551		2	511
	3	630		3	590		3	550		3	510
	4	629		4	589		4	549		4	509
38th	1	628	**48th**	1	588	**58th**	1	548	**68th**	1	508
	2	627		2	587		2	547		2	507
	3	626		3	586		3	546		3	506
	4	625		4	585		4	545		4	505
39th	1	624	**49th**	1	584	**59th**	1	544	**69th**	1	504
	2	623		2	583		2	543		2	503
	3	622		3	582		3	542		3	502
	4	621		4	581		4	541		4	501
40th	1	620	**50th**	1	580	**60th**	1	540	**70th**	1	500
	2	619		2	579		2	539		2	499
	3	618		3	578		3	538		3	498
	4	617		4	577		4	537		4	497
41st	1	616	**51st**	1	576	**61st**	1	536	**71st**	1	496
	2	615		2	575		2	535		2	495
	3	614		3	574		3	534		3	494
	4	613		4	573		4	533		4	493
42nd	1	612	**52nd**	1	572	**62nd**	1	532	**72nd**	1	492
	2	611		2	571		2	531		2	491
	3	610		3	570		3	530		3	490
	4	609		4	569		4	529		4	489
43rd	1	608	**53rd**	1	568	**63rd**	1	528	**73rd**	1	488
	2	607		2	567		2	527		2	487
	3	606		3	566		3	526		3	486
	4	605		4	565		4	525		4	485
44th	1	604	**54th**	1	564	**64th**	1	524	**74th**	1	484
	2	603		2	563		2	523		2	483
	3	602		3	562		3	522		3	482
	4	601		4	561		4	521		4	481
45th	1	600	**55th**	1	560	**65th**	1	520	**75th**	1	480
	2	599		2	559		2	519		2	479
	3	598		3	558		3	518		3	478
	4	597		4	557		4	517		4	477
46th	1	596	**56th**	1	556	**66th**	1	516	**76th**	1	476
	2	595		2	555		2	515		2	475
	3	594		3	554		3	514		3	474
	4	593		4	553		4	513		4	473

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
77th	1	472	**87th**	1	432	**97th**	1	392	**107th**	1	352
	2	471		2	431		2	391		2	351
	3	470		3	430		3	390		3	350
	4	469		4	429		4	389		4	349
78th	1	468	**88th**	1	428	**98th**	1	388	**108th**	1	348
	2	467		2	427		2	387		2	347
	3	466		3	426		3	386		3	346
	4	465		4	425		4	385		4	345
79th	1	464	**89th**	1	424	**99th**	1	384	**109th**	1	344
	2	463		2	423		2	383		2	343
	3	462		3	422		3	382		3	342
	4	461		4	421		4	381		4	341
80th	1	460	**90th**	1	420	**100th**	1	380	**110th**	1	340
	2	459		2	419		2	379		2	339
	3	458		3	418		3	378		3	338
	4	457		4	417		4	377		4	337
81st	1	456	**91st**	1	416	**101st**	1	376	**111st**	1	336
	2	455		2	415		2	375		2	335
	3	454		3	414		3	374		3	334
	4	453		4	413		4	373		4	333
82nd	1	452	**92nd**	1	412	**102nd**	1	372	**112th**	1	332
	2	451		2	411		2	371		2	331
	3	450		3	410		3	370		3	330
	4	449		4	409		4	369		4	329
83rd	1	448	**93rd**	1	408	**103rd**	1	368	**113th**	1	328
	2	447		2	407		2	367		2	327
	3	446		3	406		3	366		3	326
	4	445		4	405		4	365		4	325
84th	1	444	**94th**	1	404	**104th**	1	364	**114th**	1	324
	2	443		2	403		2	363		2	323
	3	442		3	402		3	362		3	322
	4	441		4	401		4	361		4	321
85th	1	440	**95th**	1	400	**105th**	1	360	**115th**	1	320
	2	439		2	399		2	359		2	319
	3	438		3	398		3	358		3	318
	4	437		4	397		4	357		4	317
86th	1	436	**96th**	1	396	**106th**	1	356	**116th**	1	316
	2	435		2	395		2	355		2	315
	3	434		3	394		3	354		3	314
	4	433		4	393		4	353		4	313

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
117th	1	312	**127th**	1	272	**137th**	1	232	**147th**	1	192
	2	311		2	271		2	231		2	191
	3	310		3	270		3	230		3	190
	4	309		4	269		4	229		4	189
118th	1	308	**128th**	1	268	**138th**	1	228	**148th**	1	188
	2	307		2	267		2	227		2	187
	3	306		3	266		3	226		3	186
	4	305		4	265		4	225		4	185
119th	1	304	**129th**	1	264	**139th**	1	224	**149th**	1	184
	2	303		2	263		2	223		2	183
	3	302		3	262		3	222		3	182
	4	301		4	261		4	221		4	181
120th	1	300	**130th**	1	260	**140th**	1	220	**150th**	1	180
	2	299		2	259		2	219		2	179
	3	298		3	258		3	218		3	178
	4	297		4	257		4	217		4	177
121st	1	296	**131st**	1	256	**141st**	1	216	**151st**	1	176
	2	295		2	255		2	215		2	175
	3	294		3	254		3	214		3	174
	4	293		4	253		4	213		4	173
122nd	1	292	**132nd**	1	252	**142nd**	1	212	**152nd**	1	172
	2	291		2	251		2	211		2	171
	3	290		3	250		3	210		3	170
	4	289		4	249		4	209		4	169
123rd	1	288	**133rd**	1	248	**143rd**	1	208	**153rd**	1	168
	2	287		2	247		2	207		2	167
	3	286		3	246		3	206		3	166
	4	285		4	245		4	205		4	165
124th	1	284	**134th**	1	244	**144th**	1	204	**154th**	1	164
	2	283		2	243		2	203		2	163
	3	282		3	242		3	202		3	162
	4	281		4	241		4	201		4	161
125th	1	280	**135th**	1	240	**145th**	1	200	**155th**	1	160
	2	279		2	239		2	199		2	159
	3	278		3	238		3	198		3	158
	4	277		4	237		4	197		4	157
126th	1	276	**136th**	1	236	**146th**	1	196	**156th**	1	156
	2	275		2	235		2	195		2	155
	3	274		3	234		3	194		3	154
	4	273		4	233		4	193		4	153

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Y.(BC/AD)
157th	1	152	**167th**	1	112	**177th**	1	72	**187th**	1	32
	2	151		2	111		2	71		2	31
	3	150		3	110		3	70		3	30
	4	149		4	109		4	69		4	29
158th	1	148	**168th**	1	108	**178th**	1	68	**188th**	1	28
	2	147		2	107		2	67		2	27
	3	146		3	106		3	66		3	26
	4	145		4	105		4	65		4	25
159th	1	144	**169th**	1	104	**179th**	1	64	**189th**	1	24
	2	143		2	103		2	63		2	23
	3	142		3	102		3	62		3	22
	4	141		4	101		4	61		4	21
160th	1	140	**170th**	1	100	**180th**	1	60	**190th**	1	20
	2	139		2	99		2	59		2	19
	3	138		3	98		3	58		3	18
	4	137		4	97		4	57		4	17
161st	1	136	**171st**	1	96	**181st**	1	56	**191st**	1	16
	2	135		2	95		2	55		2	15
	3	134		3	94		3	54		3	14
	4	133		4	93		4	53		4	13
162nd	1	132	**172nd**	1	92	**182nd**	1	52	**192nd**	1	12
	2	131		2	91		2	51		2	11
	3	130		3	90		3	50		3	10
	4	129		4	89		4	49		4	9
163rd	1	128	**173rd**	1	88	**183rd**	1	48	**193rd**	1	8
	2	127		2	87		2	47		2	7
	3	126		3	86		3	46		3	6
	4	125		4	85		4	45		4	5
164th	1	124	**174th**	1	84	**184th**	1	44	**194th**	1	4
	2	123		2	83		2	43		2	3
	3	122		3	82		3	42		3	2
	4	121		4	81		4	41		4	1 BC
165th	1	120	**175th**	1	80	**185th**	1	40	**195th**	1	1 AD
	2	119		2	79		2	39		2	2
	3	118		3	78		3	38		3	3
	4	117		4	77		4	37		4	4
166th	1	116	**176th**	1	76	**186th**	1	36	**196th**	1	5
	2	115		2	75		2	35		2	6
	3	114		3	74		3	34		3	7
	4	113		4	73		4	33		4	8

Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Olympiad number	Olympiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)
197th	1	9	**207th**	1	49	**217th**	1	89	**227th**	1	129
	2	10		2	50		2	90		2	130
	3	11		3	51		3	91		3	131
	4	12		4	52		4	92		4	132
198th	1	13	**208th**	1	53	**218th**	1	93	**228th**	1	133
	2	14		2	54		2	94		2	134
	3	15		3	55		3	95		3	135
	4	16		4	56		4	96		4	136
199th	1	17	**209th**	1	57	**219th**	1	97	**229th**	1	137
	2	18		2	58		2	98		2	138
	3	19		3	59		3	99		3	139
	4	20		4	60		4	100		4	140
200th	1	21	**210th**	1	61	**220th**	1	101	**230th**	1	141
	2	22		2	62		2	102		2	142
	3	23		3	63		3	103		3	143
	4	24		4	64		4	104		4	144
201st	1	25	**211st**	1	65	**221st**	1	105	**231st**	1	145
	2	26		2	66		2	106		2	146
	3	27		3	67		3	107		3	147
	4	28		4	68		4	108		4	148
202nd	1	29	**212nd**	1	69	**222nd**	1	109	**232nd**	1	149
	2	30		2	70		2	110		2	150
	3	31		3	71		3	111		3	151
	4	32		4	72		4	112		4	152
203rd	1	33	**21 3rd**	1	73	**223rd**	1	113	**233rd**	1	153
	2	34		2	74		2	114		2	154
	3	35		3	75		3	115		3	155
	4	36		4	76		4	116		4	156
204th	1	37	**214th**	1	77	**224th**	1	117	**234th**	1	157
	2	38		2	78		2	118		2	158
	3	39		3	79		3	119		3	159
	4	40		4	80		4	120		4	160
205th	1	41	**215th**	1	81	**225th**	1	121	**235th**	1	161
	2	42		2	82		2	122		2	162
	3	43		3	83		3	123		3	163
	4	44		4	84		4	124		4	164
206th	1	45	**216th**	1	85	**226th**	1	125	**236th**	1	165
	2	46		2	86		2	126		2	166
	3	47		3	87		3	127		3	167
	4	48		4	88		4	128		4	168

Annex 2: Timeline of Pythiads

Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.		Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
1st	1	586	**10th**	1	550	**19th**	1		514	**28th**	1	478
	2	585		2	549		2		513		2	477
	3	584		3	548		3		512		3	476
	4	583		4	547		4		511		4	475
2nd	1	582	**11th**	1	546	**20th**	1		510	**29th**	1	474
	2	581		2	545		2		509		2	473
	3	580		3	544		3		508		3	472
	4	579		4	543		4		507		4	471
3rd	1	578	**12th**	1	542	**21st**	1		506	**30th**	1	470
	2	577		2	541		2		505		2	469
	3	576		3	540		3		504		3	468
	4	575		4	539		4		503		4	467
4th	1	574	**13th**	1	538	**22nd**	1		502	**31st**	1	466
	2	573		2	537		2		501		2	465
	3	572		3	536		3		500		3	464
	4	571		4	535		4		499		4	463
5th	1	570	**14th**	1	534	**23rd**	1		498	**32nd**	1	462
	2	569		2	533		2		497		2	461
	3	568		3	532		3		496		3	460
	4	567		4	531		4		495		4	459
6th	1	566	**15th**	1	530	**24th**	1		494	**33rd**	1	458
	2	565		2	529		2		493		2	457
	3	564		3	528		3		492		3	456
	4	563		4	527		4		491		4	455
7th	1	562	**16th**	1	526	**25th**	1		490	**34th**	1	454
	2	561		2	525		2		489		2	453
	3	560		3	524		3		488		3	452
	4	559		4	523		4		487		4	451
8th	1	558	**17th**	1	522	**26th**	1		486	**35th**	1	450
	2	557		2	521		2		485		2	449
	3	556		3	520		3		484		3	448
	4	555		4	519		4		483		4	447
9th	1	554	**18th**	1	518	**27th**	1		482	**36th**	1	446
	2	553		2	517		2		481		2	445
	3	552		3	516		3		480		3	444
	4	551		4	515		4		479		4	443

Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
37th	1	442	**47th**	1	402	**57th**	1	362	**67th**	1	322
	2	441		2	401		2	361		2	321
	3	440		3	400		3	360		3	320
	4	439		4	399		4	359		4	319
38th	1	438	**48th**	1	398	**58th**	1	358	**68th**	1	318
	2	437		2	397		2	357		2	317
	3	436		3	396		3	356		3	316
	4	435		4	395		4	355		4	315
39th	1	434	**49th**	1	394	**59th**	1	354	**69th**	1	314
	2	433		2	393		2	353		2	313
	3	432		3	392		3	352		3	312
	4	431		4	391		4	351		4	311
40th	1	430	**50th**	1	390	**60th**	1	350	**70th**	1	310
	2	429		2	389		2	349		2	309
	3	428		3	388		3	348		3	308
	4	427		4	387		4	347		4	307
41st	1	426	**51st**	1	386	**61st**	1	346	**71st**	1	306
	2	425		2	385		2	345		2	305
	3	424		3	384		3	344		3	304
	4	423		4	383		4	343		4	303
42nd	1	422	**52nd**	1	382	**62nd**	1	342	**72nd**	1	302
	2	421		2	381		2	341		2	301
	3	420		3	380		3	340		3	300
	4	419		4	379		4	339		4	299
43rd	1	418	**53rd**	1	378	**63rd**	1	338	**73rd**	1	298
	2	417		2	377		2	337		2	297
	3	416		3	376		3	336		3	296
	4	415		4	375		4	335		4	295
44th	1	414	**54th**	1	374	**64th**	1	334	**74th**	1	294
	2	413		2	373		2	333		2	293
	3	412		3	372		3	332		3	292
	4	411		4	371		4	331		4	291
45th	1	410	**55th**	1	370	**65th**	1	330	**75th**	1	290
	2	409		2	369		2	329		2	289
	3	408		3	368		3	328		3	288
	4	407		4	367		4	327		4	287
46th	1	406	**56th**	1	366	**66th**	1	326	**76th**	1	286
	2	405		2	365		2	325		2	285
	3	404		3	364		3	324		3	284
	4	403		4	363		4	323		4	283

Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)
77th	1	282	**87th**	1	242	**97th**	1	202	**107th**	1	162
	2	281		2	241		2	201		2	161
	3	280		3	240		3	200		3	160
	4	279		4	239		4	199		4	159
78th	1	278	**88th**	1	238	**98th**	1	198	**108th**	1	158
	2	277		2	237		2	197		2	157
	3	276		3	236		3	196		3	156
	4	275		4	235		4	195		4	155
79th	1	274	**89th**	1	234	**99th**	1	194	**109th**	1	154
	2	273		2	233		2	193		2	153
	3	272		3	232		3	192		3	152
	4	271		4	231		4	191		4	151
80th	1	270	**90th**	1	230	**100th**	1	190	**110th**	1	150
	2	269		2	229		2	189		2	149
	3	268		3	228		3	188		3	148
	4	267		4	227		4	187		4	147
81st	1	266	**91st**	1	226	**101st**	1	186	**111st**	1	146
	2	265		2	225		2	185		2	145
	3	264		3	224		3	184		3	144
	4	263		4	223		4	183		4	143
82nd	1	262	**92nd**	1	222	**102nd**	1	182	**112th**	1	142
	2	261		2	221		2	181		2	141
	3	260		3	220		3	180		3	140
	4	259		4	219		4	179		4	139
83rd	1	258	**93rd**	1	218	**103rd**	1	178	**113th**	1	138
	2	257		2	217		2	177		2	137
	3	256		3	216		3	176		3	136
	4	255		4	215		4	175		4	135
84th	1	254	**94th**	1	214	**104th**	1	174	**114th**	1	134
	2	253		2	213		2	173		2	133
	3	252		3	212		3	172		3	132
	4	251		4	211		4	171		4	131
85th	1	250	**95th**	1	210	**105th**	1	170	**115th**	1	130
	2	249		2	209		2	169		2	129
	3	248		3	208		3	168		3	128
	4	247		4	207		4	167		4	127
86th	1	246	**96th**	1	206	**106th**	1	166	**116th**	1	126
	2	245		2	205		2	165		2	125
	3	244		3	204		3	164		3	124
	4	243		4	203		4	163		4	123

Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (BC)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Y.(BC/AD)
117th	1	122	**127th**	1	82	**137th**	1	42	**147th**	1	2
	2	121		2	81		2	41		2	1 BC
	3	120		3	80		3	40		3	1 AD
	4	119		4	79		4	39		4	2
118th	1	118	**128th**	1	78	**138th**	1	38	**148th**	1	3
	2	117		2	77		2	37		2	4
	3	116		3	76		3	36		3	5
	4	115		4	75		4	35		4	6
119th	1	114	**129th**	1	74	**139th**	1	34	**149th**	1	7
	2	113		2	73		2	33		2	8
	3	112		3	72		3	32		3	9
	4	111		4	71		4	31		4	10
120th	1	110	**130th**	1	70	**140th**	1	30	**150th**	1	11
	2	109		2	69		2	29		2	12
	3	108		3	68		3	28		3	13
	4	107		4	67		4	27		4	14
121st	1	106	**131st**	1	66	**141st**	1	26	**151st**	1	15
	2	105		2	65		2	25		2	16
	3	104		3	64		3	24		3	17
	4	103		4	63		4	23		4	18
122nd	1	102	**132nd**	1	62	**142nd**	1	22	**152nd**	1	19
	2	101		2	61		2	21		2	20
	3	100		3	60		3	20		3	21
	4	99		4	59		4	19		4	22
123rd	1	98	**133rd**	1	58	**143rd**	1	18	**153rd**	1	23
	2	97		2	57		2	17		2	24
	3	96		3	56		3	16		3	25
	4	95		4	55		4	15		4	26
124th	1	94	**134th**	1	54	**144th**	1	14	**154th**	1	27
	2	93		2	53		2	13		2	28
	3	92		3	52		3	12		3	29
	4	91		4	51		4	11		4	30
125th	1	90	**135th**	1	50	**145th**	1	10	**155th**	1	31
	2	89		2	49		2	9		2	32
	3	88		3	48		3	8		3	33
	4	87		4	47		4	7		4	34
126th	1	86	**136th**	1	46	**146th**	1	6	**156th**	1	35
	2	85		2	45		2	5		2	36
	3	84		3	44		3	4		3	37
	4	83		4	43		4	3		4	38

Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)	Pythiad number	Pythiad Year no.	Gregorian Year (AD)
157th	1	39	**167th**	1	79	**177th**	1	119	**187th**	1	159
	2	40		2	80		2	120		2	160
	3	41		3	81		3	121		3	161
	4	42		4	82		4	122		4	162
158th	1	43	**168th**	1	83	**178th**	1	123	**188th**	1	163
	2	44		2	84		2	124		2	164
	3	45		3	85		3	125		3	165
	4	46		4	86		4	126		4	166
159th	1	47	**169th**	1	87	**179th**	1	127	**189th**	1	167
	2	48		2	88		2	128		2	168
	3	49		3	89		3	129		3	169
	4	50		4	90		4	130		4	170
160th	1	51	**170th**	1	91	**180th**	1	131	**190th**	1	171
	2	52		2	92		2	132		2	172
	3	53		3	93		3	133		3	172
	4	54		4	94		4	134		4	174
161st	1	55	**171st**	1	95	**181st**	1	135	**191st**	1	175
	2	56		2	96		2	136		2	176
	3	57		3	97		3	137		3	177
	4	58		4	98		4	138		4	178
162nd	1	59	**172nd**	1	99	**182nd**	1	139	**192nd**	1	179
	2	60		2	100		2	140		2	180
	3	61		3	101		3	141		3	18
	4	62		4	102		4	142		4	182
163rd	1	63	**173rd**	1	103	**183rd**	1	143	**193rd**	1	183
	2	64		2	104		2	144		2	184
	3	65		3	105		3	145		3	185
	4	66		4	106		4	146		4	186
164th	1	67	**174th**	1	107	**184th**	1	147	**194th**	1	187
	2	68		2	108		2	148		2	188
	3	69		3	109		3	149		3	189
	4	70		4	110		4	150		4	190
165th	1	71	**175th**	1	111	**185th**	1	151	**195th**	1	191
	2	72		2	112		2	152		2	192
	3	73		3	113		3	153		3	193
	4	74		4	114		4	154		4	194
166th	1	75	**176th**	1	115	**186th**	1	155	**196th**	1	195
	2	76		2	116		2	156		2	196
	3	77		3	117		3	157		3	197
	4	78		4	118		4	158		4	198