

ΤΕΡΨΙΣ

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
IN HONOUR OF NOTA KOUROU

Edited by

Vicky Vlachou and Anastasia Gadolou

ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 10



ΤΕΡΨΙΣ

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
IN HONOUR OF NOTA KOUROU

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Detail of sphinx panel: Krater from Mavriki. Aigion Museum no 801

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Cover

Attic Late Geometric II skyphos (Athens NAM 784), from the Dipylon Grave 7. Workshop of Athens 894. Reproduced after permission of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund. Drawing by Vicky Vlachou.

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2017



Nota Kourou and Thanasis Kouros at Aghia Moni (Paphos), in front of the Cypro-Syllabic script of the 4th century BC mentioning the Paphian king Neoklis.
Photo by Maria Iacovou.

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Athena Tsingarida
Olga Tzachou-Alexandri
Didier Viviers
Evangelos Vivliodetis
Eleni Zimi

FORWARD

Athena Tsingarida

It is a great pleasure to welcome this volume in honour of Nota Kourou in the archaeological series of the Centre of Archaeological Research and Culture Heritage (CReA-Patrimoine) of the Université libre de Bruxelles. The publication in the collection of the CReA-Patrimoine reflects the warm and fruitful relationship built up between the Centre, Nota and several of her former students since several years.

I first met Nota when she came at ULB as an invited Professor at the International Chair of Greek Archaeology Eleni Hatzivassiliou. During her lively stay in Brussels, she inspired with her enthusiasm and deep knowledge of Early Iron Age Aegean and the Mediterranean a large audience of students and scholars. On a personal level, I discovered, beyond the well acknowledged expert in Greek archaeology, a person of great kindness, deep sensitivity and generosity.

The preparation of this volume was undertaken by Anastasia Gadolou and Vicky Vlachou, helped by many colleagues. Both Anastasia and Vicky are known in Brussels. While still a curator at the National Museum of Athens, Anastasia delivered a lecture at ULB in the frame of our International seminars on Pottery studies in a session organized with the collaboration of our colleagues from the Museum, specialists in the field of ancient ceramics. Vicky joined the CReA-Patrimoine in 2012 in the frame of a postdoctoral project (European

Social Fund) undertaken in collaboration with the University of Athens and Nota Kourou. She is now a post-doctoral research fellow of the Belgian National Research Fund (FNRS) at ULB and shares with us her sound knowledge of Early Iron Age pottery and her lively energy.

I would like to thank both Anastasia and Vicky along with all contributors for achieving their task within a tight schedule. The essays reflect the wide-ranging fields of expertise of Nota extending from Aegean Greece to the Mediterranean World. The editors brought into light a significant scholarly publication that goes far beyond a simple tribute. The important number of papers written by former students, now colleagues, further illustrates the strong ties built by a talented professor who combined human and teaching qualities. The result is a moving token of respect, gratitude and friendship dedicated to Nota.

On façonne les plantes par la culture, et les hommes par l'éducation. ... Nous naissons faibles, nous avons besoin de force ; nous naissons dépourvus de tout, nous avons besoin d'assistance, nous naissons stupides, nous avons besoin de jugement. Tout ce que nous n'avons pas à notre naissance, et dont nous avons besoin étant grands, nous est donné par l'éducation.

Jean Jacques Rousseau
Émile ou de l'Éducation, extrait

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS

AAA – Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών

ΑΔ Α/Β – Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Α = Μελέτες, Β = Χρονικά)

ΑΕ – Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς

ΑΕΘΣΕ – Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας

ΑΕΜΘ – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη

ΑνθρΑρχΧρον – Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά

ΑρχΕυβΜελ – Αρχεῖον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών

Εγνατία – Εγνατία. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας

ΕΕΦΣΠΙΘ – Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης

ΕλλΚερ – Πρακτικά Επιστημονικών Συναντήσεων για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική

ΕπετΚυκλΜελ – Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών

Έργον Το Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

ΚυπΣπουδ – Κυπριακά Σπουδαί

Μακεδονικά – Μακεδονικά. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν της Εταιρείας Μακεδονικών Σπουδών

ΠΑΑ – Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών

ΠΑΕ – Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

AAIA Bulletin – The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin

ActaArch – Acta Archaeologica (Copenhagen)

ActaAth – Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae) (formerly SkrAth)

ActaHyp – Acta Hyperborea. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology

Aegaeum – Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège

AIONArch – Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica

AntW – Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte

AJA – American Journal of Archaeology

AJP – American Journal of Philology

AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

AnnArchStAnt – Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica

AntCl – L'Antiquité classique

AntK – Antike Kunst

Antiquity – Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology

AnzWien – Anzeiger: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse

AR – Archaeological Reports

Archaeology – Archaeology Magazine

ArchDelt – Archaiologikon Deltion

ArchEph – Archaiologike Ephemeris

ArchEspArq – Archivo Español de Arqueología

ASAtene – Annuario de la Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente

AttiMGrecia – Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia

BAAL – Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises

BABesch – Bulletin antieke beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology

BANEA – British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology

BAR IS – British Archaeological Reports, International Series

BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BdA – Bollettino d'Arte

BÉFAR – Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

BICS – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BMMA – Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BMusHongr – Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts

- BSA – *The Annual of the British School at Athens*
- CahByrsa – *Cahiers de Byrsa*
- CAJ – *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
- CCEC – *Centre d'Études Chypriotes - Cahier*
- CCJB – *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard*
- ClAnt – *Classical Antiquity*
- ClBull – *The Classical Bulletin*
- CQ – *Classical Quarterly*
- CR – *Classical Review*
- CRAI – *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)*
- CretChron – *Kretika chronika: Keimena kai meletai tes kretikes istorias*
- Eirene – *Eirene: Studia graeca et latina*
- Enalia – *Ενάλια*
- Glotta – *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*
- Gnomon – *Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*
- GRBS – *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- HASB – *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars Bern*
- Hesperia – *Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
- Horos – *Ώρος. Ένα Αρχαιογνωστικό Περιοδικό*
- IJNA – *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*
- IstMitt – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Istanbul Mitteilungen*
- JaarbAkAmst – *Jaarboek van de Akademie te Amsterdam*
- JanthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
- JAOS – *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*
- JdI – *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JHS – *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JIAN – *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
- JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
- JRA – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRAI – *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
- KADMOS – *Zeitschrift für vor-und frühgriechische Epigraphik*
- Kernos – *Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique*
- MarbWPr – *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
- MarM – *The Mariner's Mirror*
- MB – *Madriider Beiträge*
- MededRom – *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Historisch Instituut te Rome*
- MeditArch – *Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World*
- MÉFRA – *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
- Minos – *Minos. Revista di filologia egea*
- MM – *Madriider Mitteilungen*
- MMJ – *Metropolitan Museum Journal*
- Mnemosyne – *Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies*
- MonAnt – *Monumenti antichi*
- MonPiot – *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation E. Piot*
- NSc – *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
- OAI – *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut*
- OlForsch – *Olympische Forschungen*
- OMRO – *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- OpArch – *Opuscula archaeologica*
- OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*
- OpAthRom – *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*
- OpRom – *Opuscula Romana*
- PACT – *Pact. Revue du groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie*
- Pallas – *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques*
- Pharos – *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens*
- Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikis Etaireias*
- ProcAmPhilSoc – *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
- PP – *La parola del passato*
- RA – *Revue archéologique*
- RB – *Revue Biblique*
- RBPhH – *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
- RdA – *Rivista di Archeologia*
- RDAC – *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
- REA – *Revue des Études Anciennes*

REG – *Revue des Études Grecques*

REJ – *Revue d'Études Juives*

RendLinc – *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*

RM – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*

RStFen – *Rivista di Studi fenici*

SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

SIMA-PB – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature: Pocketbook*

SMEA – *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*

StEtr – *Studi Etruschi*

StTroica – *Studia Troica*

Talanta – *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society*

TelAviv – *Tel Aviv: Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology*

TMO – *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*

Topoi – *Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

WS – *Wiener Studien*

ZÄS – *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Zephyrus – *Zephyrus. Revista de prehistoria y arqueología*

ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ABBREVIATIONS OF EXCAVATION SERIES AND REFERENCE WORKS

Agora – *The Athenian Agora*

Alt-Paphos – *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Zypern*

ArchHom – F. Matz and H.G. Buchholz (eds), *Archaeologia Homerica* (Göttingen 1967–)

CEG – P. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n.*, Berlin and New York, 1983.

CIG – A. Boeckh et al., *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, Berlin 1828-1877.

CIL – *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin 1893-

CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

CMS – *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*

COS – W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger Jr. (eds), *The Context of Scripture*, 3 vols, Leiden - New York - Köln 1997-2002.

ClRh – *Clara Rhodos*

CVA – *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Paris 1923-

DarSag – Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, Paris 1873-1919.

Délos – *Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École française d'Athènes*

EAA – *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale I–VII* (1958-1966)

EG – M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca I* (1967), *II* (1969), *III* (1974), *IV* (1978), Roma.

Eretria – *Eretria. Fouilles et recherches*

FGrHist – F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-

ICS – O. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris, 1961, réédition avec compléments, 1983.

IG – *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin 1895-

Isthmia – *Isthmia. Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*

Kerameikos – *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*

LGPN – P. M. Fraser και E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987-

LGPN IV – P. M. Fraser και E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names IV (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea)*, Oxford 2005.

LSAG2 – L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, (revised edition by A. W. Johnston), Oxford 1990.

LSCG – F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969 [*École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires* 18].

OlForsch – *Olympische Forschungen*

PBF – *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*

RE – A. Pauly και G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893-1978.

RES – *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique*, Paris 1900-1905.

SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, Leiden 1923-

SwCyprusExp – *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*

Tarsus – *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*

ThesCRA – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*

INTRODUCTION

Vicky Vlachou and Anastasia Gadolou

*Μνημοσύνης δ' ἑξαῦτις ἐράσσατο καλλικόμοιο,
ἐξ ἧς οἱ Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες ἐξεγένοντο
ἐννέα, τῇσιν ἄδον θαλῖαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς.
Hesiod, *Theogony* 915-7*

The present collective volume is offered in honour of Nota Kourou, in celebration of her distinguished academic contribution to the archaeology of the Early Iron Age Aegean and the Mediterranean. Nota Kourou received her BA in Art History and Classical Archaeology at the University of Athens and then her MA and DPhil in Classical Archaeology at Oxford University, Somerville College. She served at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Athens for more than thirty-five years until her retirement in 2012. As a visiting professor, she has lectured at the Université de Lausanne, University of Bern, University of Geneva, Université de Fribourg, Sorbonne, Paris I and the École Pratiques des Hautes Études, Università degli Studi di Milano, Università Orientale di Napoli, Università di Firenze, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, University of Cyprus and the American University of Beirut. As an Onassis Scholar in 2005, she lectured in a number of Universities in the U.S.A. (New York, Columbia University; Austin, University of Texas; Tampa, South Florida University; Columbia, University of Missouri). As the 2005 AAIA Visiting Professor, she lectured in Universities in Australia (Sydney, University of Sydney and Macquarie University, Brisbane, The University of Queensland, Armidale, The University of New England, Newcastle, the University of Newcastle).

Throughout her academic carrier, she has been engaged in a variety of scholarly subjects, tackling crucial problems of the Early Iron Age and attempting to get answers to issues related to the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean area. She started with **iconography** under the wise guidance of N. M. Kontoleon and later of Sir John Boardman. Even then, the focus of her research was always on the social background and the relations between

the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, as implied by iconography. Following her doctoral dissertation on Sphinxes and the relevant *LIMC* articles, she produced a number of studies highlighting issues of Early Orientalizing Greek art and its possible Cypriot and Near Eastern sources of inspiration.

As a confessed admirer of J. N. Coldstream's work, she frequently focused on **pottery**, producing a number of studies on crucial ceramic issues of several classes of Geometric pottery. With her publication of the Aigion crater in 1979, she succeeded in defining a new Orientalizing phase in the evolution of the Thapsos class vases still unparalleled and barely known in Greece, but well attested by then in Sicily and Italy. The identification of an Attic workshop of small handmade vases in the tradition of the "Argive Monochrome Ware" in 1987, followed by an investigation of their function and distribution in later articles, remains an important addition to the study of handmade wares. Her monograph on the Southern cemetery of Naxos and its pottery in 1999 constitutes a major contribution to Cycladic studies: it provides a stable base for the study of Naxian ceramic workshops of the Middle Geometric period. The identification of a local Naxian workshop closely following the Cesnola Painter in an earlier study had given new directions not only in the study of that workshop, but also to matters of contacts between islands or painters. Her CVA for the Attic Geometric amphorae in the Athens, National Museum in 2002 offers a complete account of the shape's typology and evolution in the Early Iron Age. A number of smaller studies on particular classes of Attic Geometric amphorae made earlier or later have identified several Athenian Geometric workshops and have concentrated on their distribution, and

consequently on Athenian contacts, all over the Aegean and beyond.

In several of these studies, she turned to science to investigate the provenance of ceramic wares at a time when not everyone thought it a useful or sound approach. She retains to the present her confidence in the validity of **scientific investigation**, as is demonstrated in two large joint projects with Vassos Karageorghis and others, one on limestone figurines published in 2002, and another on clay figurines that appeared in 2009. Through a number of other studies, she has contributed considerably to the study of clay figurines, their typology, iconography or their function and symbolism. She started in 1994 with a joint study of Cretan clay figurines from Patsos and continued with various classes of Cypriot and Aegean figurines, putting an emphasis on the question of continuity-discontinuity with the Bronze Age past and the interplay between the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

This approach has led her to **issues of contact between the Aegean and the Eastern or Western Mediterranean**. Here she has deliberated at length on the importance of Cypriot trade during the transitional years of the so-called “Dark Ages” and the resulting close contacts with the Aegean. Phoenician presence in the Aegean had its place too in her studies: a number of joint investigations have identified Phoenician *cippi* in Crete and elsewhere, with special weight being given to a Cypro-Phoenician presence in Crete, Rhodes and elsewhere in the Aegean.

Her field work on Tenos has contributed greatly to our knowledge of early Tenian and Cycladic society with the identification and discussion of the Cyclopean wall at Xobourgo and the small sacred pyre in front of it, named the “Pro-cyclopean sanctuary”. A re-study of the building identified as the Thesmophorion and its comparison with the Pro-cyclopean sanctuary constitutes a principal contribution to our understanding of the evolution of open-air shrines of the early Cyclades. The large numbers of undergraduate and postgraduate students that have participated in her excavations brings us back full-circle to her University career, which is closely linked to the creation of the pottery collection and mainly the Cypriot Collection at the University Museum in Athens. Nota has been an enthusiastic teacher and to use a favorite expression

of hers she has been *happy to have a large number of excellent students now serving in the Archaeological Service or teaching at various Universities all over the globe*.

In preparing this volume – as a surprise to Nota – we had to confine our invitation to a much smaller number of contributors than we – and no doubt she – would have liked to. As it would have been impracticable from the point of view of publication to produce a volume even heavier than this one, we would like here to apologize to anyone who feels unjustly left out. Over forty former doctoral students – many of them now leading academics in their own right, colleagues and friends have contributed papers on topics that relate to the diverse fields of interests Nota has pursued. The invited authors were not asked to address specific research questions, but rather to contribute research topics they wanted to present in honour of Nota. These are organized in five parts, embracing pottery studies and topography, interconnections in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, archaeological approaches to cult and rituals and epigraphy. Each section focuses on more than one concern in the study of early societies, presenting and discussing fresh interpretations and new ideas based on old and new material alike. From Early Cycladic Naxos, through the Early Iron Age Mediterranean and Archaic Aegean to Roman Euboea, the key theme running through the different approaches of every contributor is the understanding of ancient societies, highlighting the dynamics in studying aspects of the archaeology of the wider Mediterranean region.

Pottery studies lay emphasis on the production of ancient ceramics and thus the work of potters and painters, and equally on the iconography and the relation between image and use in different contexts. The papers of the first section approach issues of pottery workshops from different aspects and try to answer distinct questions. Stylistic analysis offers the appropriate framework in tracing the work of single potters or workshops active in Attica (J. K. Papadopoulos, M. Pipili), in Corinth (K. Neeft), in the Cyclades (Ph. Zapheirou), and equally on Cyprus, as demonstrated by the cases of Salamis (A. Georgiadou) and Palaepaphos (V. Karageorghis). Scientific investigation has proven a powerful tool for approaching and understanding craft production and highlighting factors that leave

little trace in the archaeological record (E. Aloupi and A. Lekka). Shape and decoration strongly depend on the influences exerted by the varied population groups that produced and used them. In this way, stylistic changes and the circulation of specific pottery types eventually lead us to a better understanding of social and cultural transformations (A. Gadolou, G. Bourogiannis, J. Perreault). In the second part of the first section, contextual approaches are extended to pottery studies, dealing with cult and rituals in sanctuaries (S. Huber, L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa), with funerary rituals and mortuary expressions (M. Marthari, V. Vlachou, L. Bournias), and convivial drinking at the symposion (D. Williams and N. Massar). The two papers by E. Simantoni-Bournia and A. Hermary provide the necessary framework for mapping established routes of communication between the Aegean, Crete and the Sicilian coast and identify cultural entanglements one with another.

The second section of this volume brings together six papers that offer a comprehensive synthesis of the evidence from six distinct regions: the Saronic Gulf (N. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa), Hephestia on Lemnos (E. Greco), the Cycladic islands of Kythnos (A. Mazarakis Ainian) and Tenos (M.-F. Billot), Laona at Palaepaphos (M. Iacovou) and Euboea (P. Karvonis). Each paper presents an attempt to recreate the historical background, dating as early as the Post-palatial period, through the Early Iron Age, Archaic and Classical periods and up until the Roman occupation. In the third section, eight contributions deal with issues of mobility and interaction between the Aegean and the Mediterranean, an area where Nota Kourou has contributed significant studies. The discussion of imports and exports of pottery, metal vessels and various artefacts (H. Matthäus, M. D'Acunto, B. d'Agostino, M. Tiverios) constitutes an effective path for tracing patterns of interaction, alongside maritime trade. The resultant transmission of ideas in the local craft productions (X. Charalambidou, M.-C. Lentini) further underlines the operating networks and the dynamics that shaped them. The activity of the Phoenicians in this process cannot be neglected, as it has been argued by N. Kourou and is discussed in this volume by Ch. Ioannou. The contribution of P. Themelis brings us to an issue closely linked with navigating in the Mediterranean, that of the history of the ship emblems (ακρόπρωρα, ακροστόλια).

The past decades have seen the rise of interest in approaches to cult and rituals through archaeological finds. In the fourth section, six papers introduce new approaches in ritual studies from an archaeological perspective. Domestic (O. Pilz), funerary (K. Reber) and cultic (G. Papasavvas, I. S. Lemos) contexts provide the necessary framework for tracing ritual activity. The two papers that conclude this section underline the performative aspect of rituals (M. Mikrakis, A. Leriou) in the artistic expression of both the Aegean and Cyprus. The idea running through the final section of this volume is neatly summarized in the title of C. Morgan's contribution, "Writing for Friends". This section introduces new interpretations of an 8th-century Euboean *graffito* from Oropos (P. Valavanis) and the earliest Achaian *dipinto* in the form of a metrical text placed on an oinochoe (C. Morgan). Preliterate Aegean seals of the 3rd millennium BC (A. Vlachopoulos) were incorporated in this section for their capacity to act as an early form of communication and understanding. In the last contribution of this volume, Ch. Kritzas explores the symbolic value of some archaic graffiti in linking the dangers of wine consumption to erotic desire.

Although different issues and problems are addressed by all the authors in this volume, most of the papers refer to or are inspired by Nota's papers and lectures, all gathered in a volume that we hope will inspire *Terpsis* and stimulate the mind of the readers in different ways. We would like to express our gratitude to all the contributors to this volume for their willingness to accept our invitation, for being discreet in not revealing anything to Nota and for their congenial co-operation during its publication processes. We are grateful to the scientific committee for reviewing all papers included in this volume and for their unfailing and positive response to any difficulties that arose throughout. Many thanks are due to Dr. Helena Vlachogianni and Dr. Don Evelyn for their valuable assistance with the language editing of the Greek and English papers. Equally, to Dr. Maria Chidiroglou, responsible for the photographic archives of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, for providing the photograph of the Attic skyphos (inv. 784), which is illustrated on the cover and for all the photographs of artefacts included in this book that are stored in the National Archaeological Museum. Our thanks are most certainly due to

Nathalie Bloch (CReA-Patrimoine) for so nicely and efficiently producing this heavy tome.

We were fortunate to have the assistance of a colleague and long-time friend of Nota and Thanasis to prepare a detailed and comprehensive list of Nota's own publications, from 1971 to the present. We thank Evangelia Simantoni-Bournia for the eagerness with which she accepted and for producing the list of publications that follows and concludes our introduction. We are extremely grateful to the A. G. Leventis Foundation, the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), the Cultural Foundation of Tinos (ITHI) and the two anonymous financial supporters for so generously undertaking all the costs of this publication. We would like to express our gratitude to the Pro-

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Three generations of pupils and colleagues have been inspired and influenced by Nota's own scholarship, kindness and readiness to help and advise. We consider this volume as a symbol of our great appreciation of her as our teacher, our friend and our colleague. Nota remains intensively active in research, fieldwork and a voracious reader: we hope that *Terpsis* will be enjoyed!

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QUADRUPEDS ON RELIEF POTTERY OF THE AEGEAN*

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In Aegean iconography selected animals play not their designated roles in relation to human action. ... The animals, for all the acute observation which went into their depictions, are there for a purpose: to aid, demonstrate and reflect aspects of human life. The role they play can be singular or multiple. When Morgan wrote these lines¹ she was referring to Aegean prehistory, but exactly the same applies to historical times with which the present paper deals. Scholarly work regarding animal iconography, particularly of the Archaic period, is wide-ranging; it has to do with animal combats² or hunting, especially of wild beasts,³ with rows of animals of the same species⁴ or beasts antithetically posed, even with fantastic creatures and their coexistence with real ones.⁵ In most of the above cases research is not limited to ceramics, but extends to objects in other materials as well.

However, scholarship seldom discusses animal iconography on relief-decorated pottery.⁶ The

restricted number of relief vases, as well as their poor state of preservation, often prevents us from judging whether the quadruped represented on a given relief sherd formed originally part of an animal procession, an animal fight or a hunting scene. Furthermore, among relief sherds or vases with well preserved decoration there are several examples with combinations of different iconographical subjects instead of a single figurative theme.⁷ In view of these limitations the present paper attempts to identify and classify animal types and iconographical subjects with animals on relief ware from the Aegean region, to associate them with corresponding examples from painted pottery, and finally to either confirm their already accepted meaning or redefine, wherever possible, their symbolism in relation to their period of production. Relief pottery from Boeotia is examined jointly with pottery from the Cyclades.⁸ Rhodian relief ware is necessarily excluded from this discussion, since figurative subjects on it, especially those with animals or hybrids, are not common; further they are roulette-impressed, therefore small in size and more often than not debased to the level of linear patterns.⁹

Relief pottery rivals painted ware in the variety of four-legged creatures portrayed. Animals of the same species marching in files predate every other iconographical subject on relief vases, already from the Late Geometric period, exactly as they do on painted ware; they continue uninterrupted in the 7th and remain in use during the 6th century.¹⁰ At this stage animal processions tend to disappear

* Nota Kourou, my life-long colleague and friend, has always been fond of animals, more so of the legendary hybrids painted on Geometric and Early Archaic pottery! A paper on quadrupeds as represented on relief ware might be of some interest to her; I, therefore, offer her the present attempt to deal with animal iconography on relief pottery of the Aegean as a token of our long standing friendship, which will hopefully go on for many years to come...

1 Morgan 1995, 171.

2 Hölscher 1972 and review by Cook 1974, 311-312. More recently von Hofsten 2007.

3 Cf. the series *Die Jagd in der Kunst*, Hamburg 1966-1970; also Manakidou 2011, 277-288, with bibliography in note 1.

4 E.g. Isler 1978, 7-28; Isler 1984, 123-144; Stehler 1982, 51-60; Schmölder-Veit 2008, 119-137.

5 Müller 1978, *passim*; Winkler-Horaček 2000, 217-244; Winkler-Horaček 2010.

6 To a certain extent this seemed to be true for painted pottery as well (Isler 1984, 123-125) until recently, when animals on Greek painted pottery offered the subject for the International Symposium Lang-Auinger, Trinkl (eds), 2015.

7 An informative example is offered by the second frieze on the belly of the Tenian Birth-amphora, Kontoleon 1969, pl. 52, where lions devouring herbivores are followed by a "man versus lion" struggle.

8 The author considers them to be part of the same stylistic milieu, cf. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 63.

9 For iconographical subjects on Rhodian relief ware cf. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 56-60 with bibliography; also Berges 2002, 134-153, especially 146-156.

10 Cf. the examples gathered below in the 'Catalogue. I. File of passant animals'.

from Corinthianizing black-figure pottery, particularly from the Athenian workshops.¹¹ Wherever the motif persists it has largely been replaced by carnivores marching in file with herbivores.¹² On Cretan relief ware, apart from files of real animals, a linear arrangement of mythical four-legged creatures, walking, sitting or rampant, emerges from the mid-7th century onwards.¹³ Files of browsing animals of the same species appear late on relief pottery, later than on painted ware, at about the turning to the second quarter of the 7th century BC.¹⁴ It is worth mentioning that bird-friezes, while recurrent on Late Geometric painted pottery, become known on Cycladic and Cretan relief vases a little before and a little after the mid-7th century, respectively.¹⁵ Different species in a file – real or mythical, herbivores or carnivores, birds among them – are rarely met on relief ware,¹⁶ and the same applies to Cycladic painted vases as well. They are strongly influenced by Corinthian models and make their first appearance later than on painted pottery, as late as the third quarter of the 7th century BC; by then they were a common place on Corinthian vases.¹⁷

11 Isler 1984, 126.

12 Boardman 1974, 204; Mackay 2010, 25.

13 E.g. the walking sphinxes on the neck of a Cretan relief amphora in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the rampant sphinxes on the shoulder of a relief amphora at the University Museum, Missouri, Reed-Eals 1971, 26, fig. 1 and 28, fig. 2, or the walking sphinxes on a sherd in the Kanellopoulos Collection, Athens, Brouskari 1975, 394, fig. 7.

14 Cf. the examples gathered below in the 'Catalogue. III. Browsing animals'.

15 Cf. the examples gathered below in the 'Catalogue. IV. Birds'.

16 They are current, though, on Peloponnesian relief pottery of the late 7th and 6th centuries BC, thus proving their close affinity to Corinthian painted ware; cf. a sherd with lion, panther and sphinx to the left, from the Argive Heraeum, Waldstein 1905, 182, pl. 43.5, third quarter of 7th century BC; a sherd with lion, panther and griffin to the left, from Olympia and a similar one from Larissa in Argos, Mallwitz 1964, 163, pl. 62.19, both from the end of 7th/early 6th centuries BC; sherds with bulls to the right, alternating with two rampant heraldic sphinxes, from Mycenae, AR 1988-1989, 29, fig. 28, early 6th century BC.

17 Animal and hybrid friezes on Corinthian painted pottery: Winkler-Horaček 2000. On files of different animal species, cf. Müller 1978, 84-111; especially for Cycladic painted ware, cf. Müller 1978, 108.

With very few exceptions, files of animals on relief pottery do not contain any filling ornament – floral or other – as is also the case with relief representations of humans. Consequently, it is difficult to accept that the potter intended to make allusion to any sort of landscape, as modern scholarship maintains for animal files with floral filling ornaments on vase painting of later periods.¹⁸ The antithetical arrangement of sphinxes, horses or lions, often on either side of a plant-like pattern and in an almost erect posture (heraldic position), is completely lacking from Cycladic relief pottery, although it is routine decoration for the Cretan workshops.¹⁹ It should be noted, however, that painted pottery of Attica and of the Cyclades, in particular of Naxos, is very familiar with the decorative values of antithetical or heraldic compositions, using them systematically as early as the Late Geometric period²⁰ and more so in Early Archaic times.²¹

Animals of one or different species aligned in a frieze, placed antithetically or in heraldic position have inherent ornamental value and often special symbolism: topics on which we do not need to elaborate, since the relevant issues have been discussed time and again in the case of painted pottery²² and whatever applies thereto remains

18 Reichardt 2015; Schnapp 2015.

19 Among a large number of Cretan examples on relief ware, cf. the antithetically walking sphinxes on a sherd of 660-640 BC in the Giamalakis Collection, Herakleion Museum, Dunbabin 1952, 153, pl. 28.3, or the sphinxes on the neck of an amphora in the Collection de Ménil, Houston, Hornbostel 1979, C21, pl. 31, of 640-610 BC; the erect, opposed sphinxes on the neck of a relief amphora in the University Museum of Missouri-Columbia, Reed-Eals 1971, 30, fig. 5; to the above, add the representations cited below in the 'Catalogue II. Heraldic or antithetical animals'.

20 Cf. the antithetical horses and goats in panels on the Late Geometric stand London 37.10-18.2, Coldstream 2008, pl. 39a-b, not to mention the horses tied on either side of a manger or the widespread motif of goats munching on the tree of life, Kourou 1998.

21 The most striking example is the Naxian Heraldic Group *Délos* XVII Ba, of the first quarter of 7th century BC; animals standing on either side of a palmette are very current on the "Melian" vases from Rheneia, Zapheirópoulou 2003, 17 (horses), 20 (lions), 27 (stags) etc.

22 To the bibliography given in footnotes 4-5 add the following: Edlund-Berry 1980, 31-35; Hurwit 2006, 121-136.

true for relief ware as well. However, they are not of genuine iconological interest. One might even consider that the identical and monotonous repetition, oblivious of their original meaning,²³ has degraded them to the level of simple linear patterns.²⁴ We will therefore confine ourselves to highlighting only some peculiarities of the above subjects on relief pottery, as contrasting with the painted ones.

The frequency of *animal friezes* on Cycladic relief ware from the Late Geometric II times up to the mid-6th century BC is impressive (cf. the “catalogue” at the end of the present paper), while a similar arrangement on painted ceramics of the above region is not very current in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period.²⁵ It becomes evident that potters of relief vases from the Aegean Islands and Boeotia draw their inspiration from Attic Late Geometric and Proto-attic vase painting,²⁶ in which such motives thrive, and not from Cycladic workshops of painted ware. On the other hand, while being receptive to Attic prototypes, they manage some very interesting adaptations of individual species in file, which will be examined below.

Whereas the *roe-deer* in Attic Late Geometric and Proto-attic painted friezes are almost always

browsing,²⁷ they walk head turned backwards on the Late Geometric II Naxian relief amphora (Naxos Museum Inv. no 7351)²⁸ and head frontal on the Early Archaic relief amphorae (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Inv. no 5898 and Louvre CA 795) both from Boeotia. The naturalistic rendering of the animals on the above two Boeotian vases corresponds to their dating in the second quarter of 7th century and matches the representation of roe-deer painted on Middle Protoattic vases, as for example on the crater National Archaeological Museum Inv. no 801.²⁹ They have not much in common with Parian painted does, which gallop in file.³⁰

Wild Goats on Cycladic relief ware are not very popular after the end of the Geometric period; they combine the animal's iconographical attributes as painted by the Dipylon Master, i.e. always seated, with head turned backwards,³¹ and by the Hirschfeld painter,³² who paints them seated or walking with frontal head.³³ As a consequence Cycladic relief wild goats are invariably walking, head frontal or turned backwards. Goats munching on the Tree of Life appear only once in Cycladic relief pottery, in the transition between the 8th and 7th centuries BC.³⁴ *She-goats* display all the features of the species (short horns, coarse hair) and appear only once, by the end of the first quarter of the 7th century BC.³⁵ The few wild goats on Cretan relief ware are much later and browsing.³⁶ Equally scarce and very impressive are the two opposed pairs of walking *rams* on the belly of an as yet unpublished

23 Masterly formulated by Isler 1984, 140: *The content of the animal frieze, representing the indestructible element of life, uncontrollable by man, gain a particularly deep and real significance when presented in a sepulchral context.*

24 Cf. Winkler-Horaček 2000, 54: *Gegenüber dem Prothesisbild dagegen sind sie (the animals in file) herabgestuft durch geringere Höhe und umlaufende Anlage, wodurch sie den reinen Ornamentbändern näherstehen.*

25 Among the few Late Geometric examples cf. the file of kneeling goats on the crater *Délos* XV Ac 2 or the stand Paris A 491 by the Rottiers painter, Coldstream 2008, pl. 39d; browsing deer are displayed on the crater from Thera, Walter-Karydi 1972, 404, fig. 28. Files of browsing horses are to be found mainly on vases attributed to the Cesnola painter and workshop, Coldstream 2008, 172-174, pl. 35; however, the workshop's Naxian or Euboean descent is nowadays disputed, cf. Kourou 1998; cf. also the Early Archaic friezes with lion protomes or the bird files on the vases *Délos* XVII Group D, nos 2, 8, 10, 11, Sheedy 1985, 179-188, figs 22a, 23a, 24a-b.

26 On animal friezes introduced in Late Geometric Ia Attic vase-painting by the Dipylon Master, cf. Coldstream 2008, 40 and Stähler 1983. On the continuation of the pattern on Proto-attic vases, cf. Rocco 2008, *passim*.

27 Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 56

28 Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 19, pl. 1, drawings 1-2.

29 Rocco 2008, pl. 24.2; cf. also the does on the plate Inv. no 74 from Kerameikos, mid-7th century BC.

30 Zapheirópoulou 2003, 26-27, last quarter of 7th century BC.

31 E.g. Coldstream 2008, pl. 6; Boardman 1998, 37, fig. 48; for a brief survey of the history of the motif in painted pottery, cf. Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 55 and Zapheirópoulou 2003, 25-26.

32 E.g. Coldstream 2008, pl. 8c, e; Boardman 1998, 40, fig. 56.

33 Goats on Cycladic relief ware were also undoubtedly influenced by the work of the Rottiers painter, Coldstream 2008, 182-184, pl. 39a-d; Boardman 1998, 59, fig. 87.

34 Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 77-78.

35 Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 87-88, pl. 44.110.

36 Hornbostel 1970, C 43, pl. 28b.

relief amphora from Arkhalochori, Central Crete.³⁷ The central pair of rams is charging each other; I am not aware of a similar composition on contemporary painted or relief pottery of any other Greek region.

The scarcity of *stags* on painted pottery³⁸ is to a certain degree counterbalanced by their presence on Boeotian relief ware of the second quarter of the 7th century BC, on which they are depicted browsing.³⁹ This is also the posture of Cretan relief stags making their appearance from the mid-7th century onwards.⁴⁰

The diversification between painted and relief files of *horses* on Cycladic vases is remarkable. The prevailing type on painted pottery is the browsing animal, which proved so successful that it deeply influenced the Attic Late Geometric IIb and Protoattic painted pottery.⁴¹ In contrast, on Cycladic relief ware of both the 8th and 7th centuries BC horses walking in files prevail, be they common animals or winged ones; only in rare occasions are browsing horses encountered.⁴² In Crete relief horses emerge at about the mid-7th century BC.⁴³ Winged beasts destined to draw divine carriages, such as the ones regularly met on 7th century Attic painted and on Cycladic painted, as well as relief pottery, are seldom encountered on Cretan vases decorated either in paint or in relief.⁴⁴ Special mention should be made to the unique

Cretan relief representation of Bellerophon falling from his winged mount.⁴⁵

It is evident that unlike what happens in the Cyclades, animal friezes are slow to appear on Cretan relief vessels. Some very interesting specimens make their appearance as late as the second half of the 7th century BC. Often they are not genuine, continuous friezes, but rather series of recurring “metopes” that display the same real animal or imaginary being.⁴⁶ This composition allows Cretan potters to elaborate on the decoration of the bands framing or separating the panels in question and to make the most of their ornamental value.

A remarkable specialty of Cretan relief ware is the frequent representation of passant or browsing *bulls* in panels, a theme exclusive to the island. The well-known relationship of Crete with the bull, more intense in Prehistoric times, continues unabated in the Historical period under several forms – painted, relief or in the round, and has been exhaustively discussed.⁴⁷

Definitely more interesting iconographically are *combats between animals*, in which a carnivore, usually a lion,⁴⁸ attacks herbivores.⁴⁹ The motif became very popular in Protoattic, Protocorinthian and Cycladic, especially Parian, painted pottery.⁵⁰ In similar subjects there can be easily detected an obvious effort to relate a story, to provide the image with narrative traits full of dramatic tones and symbolisms. An iconographic theme intermediate between the procession and the combat of different animals is the pursuit of herbivores by carnivores,⁵¹

37 Galanaki *et al.* forthcoming.

38 They are introduced in Cycladic painted pottery early in the Orientalizing period, Zapheirou 2003, 27.

39 Second belly zone of the relief amphorae in the Louvre, Ca 795, Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 3.12, and in the National Archaeological Museum Inv. no 5898, Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 3.13.

40 On the neck (?) of a relief vase from Prinias, Herakleion Museum 1194, Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 32, pl. 8.19, 640-610 BC.

41 Coldstream 2008, 174 and note 2; Morris 1984, 38, pl. 2.

42 Cf. the browsing horses on the last zone of the belly of a relief amphora from the “Thesmophorion”, at Xobourgo Tenos, Kontoleon 1952, 536, fig. 7.

43 E.g. the frieze with walking horses on the neck of a relief amphora from Aphrati, Herakleion Museum, Levi 1927-1928, 65, figs 45, 47, or the walking horses alternating with browsing ones in a frieze impressed on the belly of a relief vase in the Herakleion Museum, Lebessi 1971, 499-500, pl. 515γ, 660-640 BC.

44 Cf. the winged horse to the right in the panel, Schäfer 1957, 18, pl. VI.3.

45 Amphora in the Louvre CA 4523, Démargne 1972, 45-46, fig. 9. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 35 pl. 7, fig. 16.

46 E.g. sphinxes or griffins in “metopes”, Brouskari 1975, 385-400 and Reed-Eals 1971, 26-34.

47 On the subject Kourou and Karetsou 1997, esp. 113-115; Prent 2005, chapters 3-4, *passim*.

48 On representations of lions in the round cf. Mertens-Horn 1986 with further bibliography.

49 On the subject Müller 1978, 42-48, 119-123; cf. also Isler 1984, 133-134.

50 To the entries of the catalogue Müller 1978, 239-244 and 250-253, add: Rocco 2008, pls 8.4, 9.3, 16.3-4; Morris 1984, pl. 3, pl. 6, pl. 15 (Protoattic); Zapheirou 2003, 21, 23, 24, pl. 69, pl. 73, nos 88 and 84, pl. 156, no 189 (Parian).

51 Proto-attic and Cycladic painted pottery display a few fine examples, though the subject is not very current on either painted or relief ware; to the entries of the catalogue Müller 1978, 244-245 add: Morris 1984, pl. 22 (right); Rocco 2008, pl. 14.1; Zapheirou 2003,

some very fine specimens of which are displayed on Cretan relief pottery.⁵²

Much talk went on among scholars – especially in the 1970s – concerning the “daemonic” nature attributed to lions in animal-combat scenes of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods, more specifically the lion’s quality as a demon of death. Since Prehistoric times the creature has been depicted devouring other animals or humans. No matter how rare, the lion was known in the flesh.⁵³ It had become common knowledge that any real encounter with the beast would almost inevitably mean death to its opponent. Furthermore, iconographical subjects with lions are intimately tied with funerary ritual as they usually decorate vases and other paraphernalia (cf. the golden bands⁵⁴) destined for the tomb.⁵⁵ It comes as no surprise that in due course the animal was perceived as a demonic being, presaging death.⁵⁶ In the case of the lion the term *δαίμωνιος* or *δαίμων* should, of course, be understood with the notional content we assign to mortal creations of folk superstition, like for example the Sphinx⁵⁷ or Gorgo,⁵⁸ and not with the Homeric concept of *daimon*, i.e. *divine*.⁵⁹

pl. 35, no 48 *et al.a.*

52 E.g. the impressed friezes on Cretan sherds in the Museum Pigorini in Rome, Borda 1946, pls 39.5, 41.4-9, which are immediately influenced from similar scenes painted on Late Protocorinthian vases.

53 Morgan 1995, 173 note 9; Fittschen 1969, 85.

54 Ohly 1953.

55 We should though keep in mind that the three types of animal fight (according to the classification of Müller 1978, 14), do not decorate exclusively funerary equipment. One has only to recall the widespread use of these subjects in architectural reliefs; cf. Markoe 1989, 86-115.

56 Ohly 1953, 76. Fittschen 1969, 86 considers the animal combat with lion and the lion hunt scenes as depicting the real fact; *contra* Müller 1978, 15-19, who argues in favour of the symbolic meaning of the scene and the *daemonic* nature of the lion; on the super-natural character of early lions in the round cf. also Mertens-Horn 1986, 20 note 108, 24-25.

57 On the figure of the sphinx, cf. Müller 1978, 56-72; s.v. *Sphinx*, in *LIMC* VIII, (1997), 1149-1165 (N. Kourou). On its origins and development in Cretan art, cf. Kourou 2011, 165-177.

58 On Gorgo/Gorgones and the Medusa head cf. s.v. *Gorgo*, *Gorgones*, in *LIMC* IV, (1988), 1285 ff (S. C. Dahlinger); Karagiorga 1970.

59 Müller 1978, 18.

The lion itself was not divine, it could though be guided by, or be the means through which the will of some *daimon* or God became manifest. Modern scholarship, however, tends to believe that the emphasis put on the dominance of carnivores over herbivores is used in these narrative scenes not literally as such, but in order to foreshadow the struggle of man to conquer his environment.⁶⁰ The iconographical theme of hunting in the early phases of the historical period should not be treated as portraying an actual hunt of wild animals.⁶¹ Even when the fate of the beast is predestined – as is the case with mythical hunts, for example the hunt for the boar of Kalydon and in particular for the Nemean lion, the prey still “fascinates” the viewer with its legendary capacities, the connotations evoked by its grandeur, its incomparable strength and unrelenting pugnacity, which denote the beast’s *demonic* nature.

More specifically, in examining the subject of the *Lion hunt*,⁶² we should not overlook the relationship of the iconographical theme “hero subdues lion” with corresponding non-Greek and prehistoric Greek models, a relationship that puts the emphasis on the particular symbolism of the animal as an unworldly, daemonic being.⁶³ The representation decorating the neck panel of a Naxian relief amphora⁶⁴ offers an eloquent case study that elucidates the above assumption: the hero/hunter in it does not simply kill his four-legged opponent. The heraldic posture of the two figures, closely linked to iconographical types already known since the Mycenaean period and related to Near Eastern parallels⁶⁵ that proved crucial to the development of Greek art in the Early Archaic period,⁶⁶ is not the standard posture of a hunter killing his prey; it does not even recall the customary stance of Hercules killing the Nemean lion.⁶⁷ Rather it creates connotations leading

60 Morgan 1995, 172 ff.

61 As does Fittschen 1969, 60-62, 84-88.

62 Fittschen 1969, 76-88; Müller 1978, 37-42, catalogue 232-234, 236-238, 250.

63 Even if the subject’s original meaning and symbolism was probably not fully understood, it had a significant impact on society, especially on artists.

64 Naxos Museum, Inv. nos 1607-1612.

65 Morgan 1995, 172-180.

66 Cf. Burkert 1979, 80-83.

67 Cf. the discussion in Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 60-63 and more recently Sapouna-Sakellari 2009, esp. 74

beyond the content of the image itself, towards the concept of the *φιλάνθρωπος*, caring hero who conveys to the human race the means to subdue wild Nature. It is the image of the hunter who transmits to men the knowledge necessary for taming fearsome beasts hard to control which, furthermore, are in the service of divine, dark patrons.⁶⁸ The symbolic function of similar scenes indicates an attempt to appropriate the might of wild beasts and eventually gain control over natural destructive forces. *That control is achieved by absorbing the destructive forces into oneself, enabling them to be used efficaciously in combats to come.*⁶⁹ The reappearance of a centuries-old type in the Early Archaic period can be explained in terms of its specific symbolism, probably surviving in oral tradition and then revived in art by a tendency towards figures representing unforgotten values and beliefs.⁷⁰

Hybrids are seldom included in scenes of animal combats or in hunting scenes represented on Cycladic relief ware.⁷¹ On the contrary, imaginary beasts monopolize, as already mentioned, the processions in friezes or within “metopes” on Cretan painted, as well as on relief pottery.⁷² The terms “imaginary” or “supernatural” do not characterize these creatures adequately because to the viewer’s mind, especially in the 8th and more so in the 7th centuries BC, they were as real as every other life form; their main purpose was to serve as a vehicle for the expression of specific human “psychological” needs and social concerns.

Searching for the meaning of quadrupeds in file or in action as represented on relief vases, we should not overlook the uses of this class of pottery;⁷³

ff., for the Naxian marble group from Oreoi, near Istiaia in Euboea, of 570-560 BC, which has an arrangement of the figures, similar to that in the neck panel of the Naxian relief amphora in discussion.

68 Burkert 1979, 95; Burkert 1992.

69 Morgan 1995, 172.

70 Kourou 2011, 174.

71 Among the few exceptions, cf. the lion chasing a kneeling centaur to the right on Melian relief sherds in the collection of the BSA, Lamb 1923-1925, 72, no III, pl. 11 A, second half of 6th century BC.

72 E.g. the numerous passant, rampant or sitting sphinxes or griffins in friezes or within consecutive panels that decorate Cretan relief vases, Hornbostel 1970, passim; Reed-Eals 1971, 26-34; Brouscari 1975, 385-400.

73 The sepulchral and dedicatory use of relief

animal iconography of the same period on other media, for example figurines especially clay ones, must also be considered. The distribution of relief vases decorated with quadrupeds does not differ much from the distribution of animal figurines. It is revealing that both categories, in addition to their sepulchral use, have served as offerings to sanctuaries of chthonian divinities, i.e. to forces of the nether world that give or take life away, that regulate the circle of life and the fertility of humans and Nature.⁷⁴ It seems logical to accept that the age-old beliefs associated with the symbolism of animal figurines and dictating their use⁷⁵ underlie animal representation on utensils that, just like figurines, have been used in graves or have been dedicated to sanctuaries. The grave and the sanctuary are *par excellence* the places in which men face the supernatural. Convictions about the afterlife and “apotropaic” beliefs offering protection from evil forces of the visible and the invisible world impart new significance to the representations of animals and hybrids that abound on Aegean and Cretan relief vases.

Catalogue arranged by subject⁷⁶

I. File of passant animals

I.1. Wild goats

Tenos

1. Local Museum, Inv. nos B44, B142 and others, non-inventoried (Fig. 1). Wild goats walking to the right, with their head backwards. Kontoleon 1969, 219, fig. 40a; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 1.80-83. Last third of 8th century BC.
2. Local Museum, not inventoried. Wild goats walking with frontal head. Kontoleon 1969, 225, pl. 40b; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 1, fig. 79. End of 8th century BC.
3. Local Museum, Inv. no B14. She-goats walking with frontal head. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 44, fig. 110. End of first/early second quarter of 7th century BC.

vases has been discussed repeatedly, and so has their function as storage means, often within sanctuaries, Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 16.

74 Guggisberg 1996, 374.

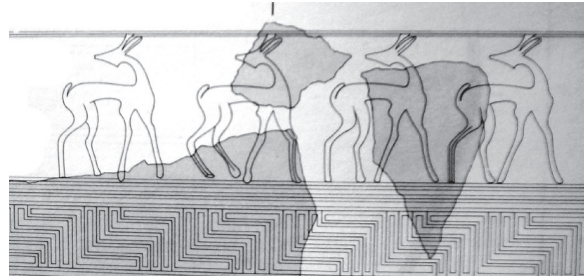
75 Guggisberg 1996, 374-375.

76 Only a selection of the existing examples, especially of the Cretan ones, will be listed because of lack of space; hybrids will necessarily be excluded.

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2



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Fig. 1. Tenos Museum Inv. no B44. Goats to the right head backwards (after Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 1.80-83).

Fig. 2. Naxos Museum Inv. no 7351. Roe-deer to the right, head backwards (after Simantoni-Bournia 1990, drawing 2).

Fig. 3. Herakleion Museum. Belly fragment from Arkades. Lower frieze: walking horses alternating with browsing ones; upper frieze: wild goats alternatively attacked by lion (after Lebessi 1971, 499-500, pl. 515γ).

I.III Horses

Tenos

8. Local Museum, Inv. no B37. Horses walking to the left. Kontoleon 1969, pl. 41b. Early 7th century BC.
9. Local Museum, Inv. no B67. Horses walking to the right on the first zone of the belly of the Birth Amphora. Kontoleon 1969, pl. 41b. End of first quarter of 7th century BC.
10. Local Museum, Inv. no B1. Horses walking to the left on the upper zone of the neck fragment with the Tenos Potnia. Kontoleon 1969, pl. 57. Second quarter of 7th century BC.
11. Local Museum, Inv. no B30. Horses walking to the right on a belly fragment. Unpublished. Second quarter of 7th century BC.
12. Basel, Inv. no BS 617. Horses walking to the left on the first zone of the belly of this Cycladic relief amphora. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 104, pl. 59.144. 650-640 BC.

Siphnos

13. Local Museum. Sherd with mules walking to the right. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 117, pl. 68.63. 6th century BC.

Crete

14. Herakleion Museum from Aphrati (Arkades). Horses walking to the right on the neck of an amphora. Levi 1927-1928, 65, fig. 45, 47. 660-640 BC.
15. Herakleion Museum, from Arkades (Aphrati, Fig. 3). The lower impressed frieze of a belly fragment, with walking horses alternating with browsing ones. Lebessi 1971, 499-500, pl. 515γ. 660-640 BC.

Crete

4. Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Inv. no 1895.173; AE.273. Goat to the right, originally part of a file? Boardman 1961, 58-59, 253, pl. 19. 7th century BC.

I.II. Roe Deer

Naxos

5. Local Museum, Inv. no 7351 (Fig. 2). Does walking to the right, head backwards. Simantoni-Bournia 1990, pl. 1.K1, drawing 2. Last third of 8th century BC.

Boeotia

6. The Louvre, CA 795. Does walking to the right, head frontal. Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 3.14. End of first/early second quarter of 7th century BC.
7. Athens, NAM Inv. no 5898. Does walking to the right, head frontal. Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 4.12-13. End of first/early second quarter of 7th century BC.

I. iv Winged horses

Myrrhinous (modern Merenda)

16. Brauron Museum. Large fragment from the belly of a relief amphora decorated with a frieze of winged horses walking to the left. Simantoni-Bournia 2011, pl. 8. Early second quarter of 7th century BC.

Boeotia

17. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Belly fragment with a frieze of winged horses walking to the left. CVA Bibliothèque Nationale 2, pl. 94. Second quarter of 7th century BC.

Tenos

18. Local Museum, Inv. B21. Sherd from the belly of the second Birth amphora with part of a frieze (?) of winged horses marching to the left. Simantoni-Bournia 2001, pl. 8. 660-650 BC.

Crete

19. Herakleion Museum. Two winged horses on a sherd from Lytos. Levi 1927-1928, 65, fig. 45. Second half of 7th century BC.
20. Herakleion Museum. Two winged horses to the right on a sherd from Aphrati (Arkades). Levi 1927-1928, 65 and 68, figs 45 and 47b; second half of 7th century BC. (640-610 BC).

I. v Bulls

Boeotia

21. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. no 99505. Four bulls walking to the right on the first zone of the belly.⁷⁷ Ervin-Caskey 1976, 29-30, 34-36, pl. 6.23, pl. 8.29, 31, 33. c. 625 BC.

Crete

22. Basel, art market. Bulls with frontal head standing to the right in consecutive panels decorating the neck of an amphora. Hornbostel C16, pl. 36. Second half of 7th century BC.
23. Houston, de Ménil Collection. Bulls with frontal head standing to the right in consecutive panels decorating the neck of an amphora. Hornbostel C17, pl. 37a. Second half of 7th century BC.
24. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 807. Metaxas Collection. Bulls with frontal head standing to the right in panels decorating the belly of an amphora. Alexiou 1965, 550-551, pl. 694a. Second half of 7th century BC.
25. Sherd from Knossos with impressed bull to the right. Part of a series of similar impressions? Boardman 1962, 32-33, pl. 4b. Early 6th century BC.

⁷⁷ They are probably intended as part of the herd of bulls of Aeneas that were stolen by Achilles, a scene represented on the second zone of the belly of the same amphora.

I. vi Winged bull

26. British Museum, Inv. no 1980.12-28.2, from Phaistos. Winged bull standing to the right, head in profile; part of a file of similar animals? Johnston 1984, pl. 2a. 590-570 BC.

II. Heraldic or antithetical animals

Crete

27. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 9175, from Astritsi (Pediás). Horse walking to the left, probably facing another one. *ArchDelt* 15 (1935), Parartema, 60, fig. 18.1. 660-640 BC.
28. Canellopoulos Museum, Inv. no 1109. Fragment of neck with two horses heraldically standing on either side of a double palmette. Brouskari 1975, 399-400, fig. 12. Cf. the sherds in the Benaki Museum, Bratislava 2007, 116, pl. 13. Second half of 7th century BC.
29. Herakleion Museum, Giamalakis Collection, Inv. no 280, from Aphrati. Large part of the neck with two horses heraldically standing on either side of a double palmette. Schäfer 1957, 18, Stufe III.42. Second half of 7th century BC.
30. Tokio. Kojiro Ishiguro Collection. Large part of the neck with two horses heraldically standing on either side of a double palmette. Hornbostel 1970, C15, pl. 26a. Cf. the sherds in Hamburg, and Basel, Hornbostel 1970, C 13-14. Second half of 7th century BC.
31. Geneva, art market. Part of the neck with parts of a lion standing heraldically. Hornbostel 1970, C18, pl. 38d. Second half of 7th century BC.
32. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 1136, from Arkades (Aphrati). Sherd with parts of a lion heraldically standing to the right of a palmette. Levi 1927-1928, 63, figs 44, 42. Second half of 7th century BC.
33. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 2176, from Astritsi (Pediás). Fragment with parts of two lions heraldically standing on either side of a palmette. Schäfer 1957, 16, Stufe III 20, pl. IV.2. Second half of 7th century BC.
34. Herakleion Museum. Sherd with upright confronting lions standing on either side of a palmette. Schäfer 1957, 18, Stufe III 46, pl. IV.3. Second half of 7th century BC.

III. Browsing animals (horses, stags, goats, wild goats, bulls)

Tenos

35. Local Museum (Fig. 4). Browsing horses on the last zone of the belly of a relief amphora from the Thesmophorion at Xobourgo. Kontoleon 1952, 536, fig. 7. Second quarter of 7th century BC.

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Fig. 4. Tenos Museum. Browsing horses on the last zone of the belly of a half of a relief amphora from Thesmophorion, Xobourgo (after Kontoleon 1952, 536, fig. 7).

5



Fig. 5. Herakleion Museum Inv. no 1194. Browsing stags (after Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 8.19).

36. Antiken Museum Basel. Browsing stags on the upper register of the neck panel of an unpublished relief amphora (the slaying of the Minotaur is represented on the lower register). 680-670 BC

Boeotia

37. The Louvre, Inv. no Ca 795. Browsing stags to the left on the second zone of the belly. Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 3.12. End of first/second quarter of 7th century BC.
38. Athens, NAM Inv. no 5898. Browsing stags to the left on the second zone of the belly. Ervin-Caskey 1976, 28, pl. 3.13. End of first/second quarter of 7th century BC.

Crete

39. Several sherds with browsing bulls in the Benaki Museum. Brisart 2007, 114, pls 3-6. Second half of 7th century BC.
40. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 1194, from Prinias (Fig. 5). Browsing stags on the neck (?) of a relief amphora. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 32, pl. 8.19. Second half of 7th century BC.
41. Frankfurt, art market, from the outskirts of Knossos. Browsing wild goats on the neck of a relief amphora. Hornbostel 1970, no C43, pl. 28b. Early 6th century BC.
42. Ashmolean Mus. Oxford. Browsing bulls in consecutive panels on the shoulder of a relief amphora. Reed-Eals 1971, 26, fig. 1; second half of 7th century BC.
43. Herakleion Museum. Several sherds with browsing bulls within panels. Mostly second half of 7th century BC.

IV. Birds

Tenos

44. Aquatic Birds (or ostriches?) on the fragment DAI Athen, negative no 83/525. Second quarter of 7th century BC.

Boeotia

45. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. no 99505. File of badly preserved birds (cocks, ducks ?) in the upper register of the neck. Ervin-Caskey 1976, 29-30, 34-36, pl. 6.23, pl. 8.29, 31, 33. c. 625 BC.

Crete

46. Geneva, art market. Several sherds with aquatic birds to the left and to the right. Hornbostel 1970, C2-3, pls 34a, 35b. Mid-7th century BC.
47. Houston, de Ménil Collection (Fig. 6). Part of the shoulder of a relief amphora with a frieze of two opposite groups of swans. Hornbostel 1970, C21, pl. 30. Mid-7th century BC.
48. Herakleion Museum, from Prinias. Sherd with eagles flying to the right in separate panels. Halbherr 1901, pl. 14.13. Second half of 7th century BC.

V. Procession or pursuit of herbivores and carnivores

Tenos

49. Local Museum, Inv. no B28 (Fig. 7). Doe walking to the right head frontal, followed by a boar, of which only the head is preserved. Kontoleon 1950, 267, fig. 5.2; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 110, pl. 64.155. Mid-7th century BC.

Melos

50. Collection of the British School at Athens. Sherd with lions and sphinxes to the left. Lamb 1923-1925, 76-77, pl. 11.c, no X. First half of 6th century BC.

6



7



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Fig. 6. Houston, de Ménéil Collection. Frieze of two opposite groups of swans (after Hornbostel 1970, pl. 30).

Fig. 7. Tenos Museum Inv. no B28. Doe to the right followed by boar (after Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 64.155).

Fig. 8. Paros Museum. Chimaera to the left, lion and bird to the right (after Bakalakis 1987, pl. 106.4).

Paros

51. Local Museum (Fig. 8). Sherd with Chimaera to the left, lion and bird to the right. Bakalakis 1987, pl. 106.4. Second half of 6th century BC.

Crete

52. Herakleion Museum, Inv. no 1188. Sherd from Prinias bearing a band impressed with a wild goat running to avoid dog. Schäfer 1957, 16, group III 17, 38 note 146; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 38. 640-610 BC.
53. Museum Pigorini, Rome. Sherd from Prinias bearing a band impressed with a wild goat running to avoid dogs. Borda 1946, pl. 41.2; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 38. 640-610 BC.

VI. Hunt and animal combat scenes

Amorgos

54. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesmuseum B 2673. Sherds from the belly (?) of a relief vase, with man fighting against lion. Müller 1978, 233, no 21; Marangou 1983, 191-195, pl. 40.1-2. Last quarter of 8th century BC.

Tenos

55. Local Museum, Inv. no B35. Sherd from the belly of a relief amphora. Potnia on the upper zone; struggle of animals in the lower zone. Kontoleon 1969, pl. 42b; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 81, pl. 34.89. First quarter of 7th century BC.
56. Local Museum, Inv. no B67 (Fig. 9). Second zone of the belly of the "Birth amphora" with panther to the left devouring man, panther and lion attacking a kneeling horse, panther attacking bull. Kontoleon 1969, 228-230, pl. 52-55; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 85, pl. 41.102. End of first quarter of 7th century BC.
57. Local Museum, Inv. no B31 (Fig. 10). Sherd from the belly of a relief amphora with a panther attacking a boar. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 86, pl. 43.105. End of first quarter of 7th century BC.
58. Local Museum, Inv. no B156. Sherd from the belly

of a relief amphora. The hind part of a boar to the left (originally part of a struggle or a procession of animals?). Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 87, pl. 43.106. End of first quarter of 7th century BC.

Naxos

59. Local Museum, Inv. no 1607-1612. Sherds from the neck of a relief amphora. Man attacking with sword an erect lion. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 56.137. End of second quarter of 7th century BC.

Melos

60. Collection of the British School at Athens. Large fragment from the rim of a lekane that sealed the mouth of a relief sepulchral pithos.⁷⁸ On the outer side of the rim a lion to the right, mouth wide open and turned upside down, touches the tail of a kneeling centaur with his raised front paw. Lamb 1923-1925, 72, pl. 11A, no III. Second half of 6th century BC.

Crete

61. Herakleion Museum, from Aphrati (Arkades). Three joining fragments from the shoulder of a relief amphora decorated with two impressed bands. On the upper band goats to the right alternatively attacked by lion. Lebesse 1971, Chron., 499-500, pl. 515γ; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 28, pl. 2.7. 660 640 BC.
62. Herakleion Museum. Large fragment from the neck and lip of a relief amphora with the head and neck of a lion in profile to the left, its mane pierced by an arrow. Kontoleon 1973, 152, pl. 35.6; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 33, pl. 5.13. 640 610 BC.

78 Cf. the pithos and lekane from Adamas, Melos, in *ArchDelt* 25 (1970), Chron., 423, pl. 361α.



Fig. 9. Tenos Museum Inv. no B67. "Birth amphora", second zone of the belly; panther to the left devouring man (after Kontoleon 1969, pls 52-55).



Fig. 10. Tenos Museum Inv. no B31. Panther attacking boar (after Simantoni-Bournia 2004, pl. 43.105).

63. Hamburg, Archäologische Seminar der Universität and Geneva, art market. Four large non-joining fragments, probably from the same relief amphora, preserving scraps from a struggle between herbivores and carnivores (a. front paw with hoof of a herbivore to the right, front paw with the claws of a carnivore to the left. b. front paw with the claws of a lion to the right. c. the hind legs and the tail of a dog running to the right. d. breast and head of a lion to the right, mouth wide open with naked teeth and a lolling tongue). Hornbostel 1970, 81-82, C25a-d, pl. 34b; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 33. 640-610 BC.
64. Geneva, art market. Two large non-joining fragments from the neck of a relief amphora: the first features a bare-footed hunter to the left, the second a stag equally to the left. It has been interpreted as Heracles hunting the deer of mount Keryne by Hornbostel (1970, 90-91, C38, pl. 39a-c), while Palermo (1992, 49) considers it a hunting scene in which the boar (cf. next entry, Herakleion Museum), Metaxas Collection, should also be included. Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 45. 590-550 BC.
65. Herakleion Museum, Metaxas Collection, from Arkades. Part of the neck of a relief amphora with a standing boar to the left. Alexiou 1966, 406, pl. 434b; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 45, note 208. 590-550 BC.

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