SPARTA

The Body Politic

Edited by

Anton Powell

and

Stephen Hodkinson

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The Classical Press of Wales, an independent venture, was founded in 1993, initially to support the work of classicists and ancient historians in Wales and their collaborators from further afield. More recently it has published work initiated by scholars internationally. While retaining a special loyalty to Wales and the Celtic countries, the Press welcomes scholarly contributions from all parts of the world.

The symbol of the Press is the Red Kite. This bird, once widespread in Britain, was reduced by 1905 to some five individuals confined to a small area known as 'The Desert of Wales' – the upper Tywi valley. Geneticists report that the stock was saved from terminal inbreeding by the arrival of one stray female bird from Germany. After much careful protection, the Red Kite now thrives – in Wales and beyond.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This is the seventh volume of collected papers from the International Sparta Seminar, which was founded in 1987 and now meets biennially – often under the aegis of the Celtic Conference in Classics. The present volume arises from the Celtic Conference of 2006, held at the University of Wales Lampeter.

The papers range widely, with a recurrent focus on the structure of Spartan – indeed Lakonian – politics. NICOLAS RICHER treats the Spartan focus on animals in personal names and in vase painting, with its implications both for elite attitudes in the horse-owning class and for proximity to animals in daily life. ANTON POWELL argues for a Sparta more divided than is commonly thought, with the position of its often-beleaguered kings effectively preserved – as well as attacked – by the use of divination. EPHRAIM DAVID considers the uses of nudity as a political instrument, to express various currents within the Spartan system: aristocratic and levelling, glorifying and humiliating, militaristic and sexual. ANDREW SCOTT re-examines Lakonian black-figure vases from the sixth century, with their frequent portrayal of a luxury notoriously difficult to square with the image of Spartan austerity. JEAN DUCAT investigates with exactitude the relation between the proximate terms 'Sparta' and 'Lakedaimon': to what state, or states, did the perioikoi belong? PAUL CHRISTESEN examines Ephorus' view of Sparta, rebutting the modern opinion that Ephorus was an atypical Greek historian and unworthy of the influence he evidently had in Antiquity. Christesen identifies Ephorus as contributing importantly to the idealised stereotype of Sparta found in later authors such as Plutarch. THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA treats the ancient idea that Spartan women were dominant over men. He finds, both in sober prose writers of the Classical period and in more exuberant or idealising Greek texts, evidence of a real difference between Sparta and other poleis: Spartan women did indeed monitor the men of the community in unusual ways. STEPHEN HODKINSON analyses one of the most influential elements in modern reception of Sparta: the view propounded by historians and other intellectuals in 20th-century Britain that Sparta's political and social system resembles Nazi Germany. Such an assimilation might enhance both fascination with, and negativity towards, the Spartans, and might intensify an (over-) emphasis on military elements in Spartan life.

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We record our appreciation of colleagues who gave to the conference at Lampeter papers which will appear elsewhere: Yoann Le Tallec and Nino Luraghi.

This is also the place to acknowledge, with humility, the work of Ernest Buckley, the founding typesetter, designer and general sustainer of the Classical Press of Wales over 17 years, who has now retired at the age of 83. Part of his activity consisted of producing some sixty volumes for the Press, including the first eight of those on Spartan subjects. We salute Mr Buckley for his remarkable work, technical, diplomatic and above all moral.

We thank also Ms Louise Jones of Gomer Press, who has succeeded with efficiency and grace to the role of typesetter to the Press. This is her second Spartan volume for us. We are fortunate to know her.

Anton Powell

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1

ELEMENTS OF THE SPARTAN BESTIARY IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

Nicolas Richer

Οἶδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμως
παντῶν
'I know the songs of every bird' (Alcman)[1]

Introduction

The author conventionally known as Apollodoros, claiming to record the lottery by which the Heraklids divided the Peloponnese, writes as follows:[2]

> First was drawn the lot of Temenos, second that of the sons of Aristodemos, while Kresphontes obtained Messene.[3] They discovered that ominous signs (σημεῖα) appeared on the altars where they had sacrificed. A toad (φρῦνον) appeared for those who had drawn Argos, a snake (δράκοντα) for those who had drawn Lakedaimon and a fox (ἀλώπεκα) for those who had obtained Messene. The soothsayers interpreted this as follows: those who had found the toad should stay in their city, since this is a creature with no strength when it leaves its home. Those who had found the snake would be formidable in attack, and those who had the fox would be cunning.

In a passage of this kind, we see clearly the link between human communities and particular animals,[4] reflecting the supposed character of each animal. From the Archaic period onwards, the Homeric poems,[5] Hesiod's moral tales of *ca.* 700,[6] and later the stories ascribed to Aesop,[7] show how the Greeks could assimilate the behaviour of humans to that of certain animals. Such comparisons were inspired by the way animals acted and moved;[8] the frequency of animal imagery is explicable by the fact that in Greek communities, 'as in any pastoral society, contact with animals was widespread and intimate'.[9]

Familiarity with the behaviour of animals, domestic and wild, explains why animals 'were assigned their own particular meanings'.[10] Significantly, Pollux reports the existence in Lakonia of a dance known as the *morphasmos*,[11] said to have involved imitating the behaviour of every kind of animal. Evidently the Spartans could relate human to animal behaviour,

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since man could try to imitate beast.[12] Similar is the Spartan custom of ascribing animal names to young people, who were likened to cattle, foals, wolves and foxes.[13] In explaining such nomenclature, we note that the Homeric poems seem to have been known in Lakonia by around 700,[14] and that, summarising her own research, A. Schnapp-Gourbeillon states:[15] 'The *Iliad* alone contains at least a hundred comparisons with animals: [the animal world] mirrors – through a complicated play of reflections – the highest ideals of the heroic world'.[16] The accurately-observed animal imagery of Homer's poems will certainly have influenced readers or hearers of his work, at Sparta as elsewhere, during the Archaic and Classical periods.[17]

References to animals which are specifically Spartan, and from the 7th century, are found in Alkman.[18] A fragment of his work states:[19]

> Asleep are the mountain peaks, and the precipices, headlands and ravines; asleep are the forest and the animals which the dark earth bears, the bees and the fish in the depths of the wine-dark sea; asleep are all the birds with their swift wings.[20]

In contrast, the other great Lakonian poet of the Archaic period, Tyrtaios, has just a single reference to an animal – a lion.[21] Later, in the Classical period, Xenophon shows several ways in which animals were used by Spartans, notably in his *Lakedaimonion Politeia*[22] dated approximately to the period 395–69.[23]

In addition, literary works which characterise animals no doubt help to explain why some personal names contain animal references. Fictional characters with such names are found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,[24] while the personal names of some historical figures bear on the way that Spartans viewed animals. Important here is the volume of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* which deals with the Peloponnese,[25] while for practical purposes the student of Archaic and Classical Sparta will find especially convenient Poralla's handbook.[26] In assessing the personal names referring to animals which are contained in these works, we should reckon that, as J.-P. Darmon puts it, 'to particular animals are assigned particular meanings'. Associated with these meanings may be 'the widely-recognised use of certain species as attributes of particular divinities',[27] which is indeed 'the clearest symbolism that animals have'. Thus the eagle is associated with Zeus, the dove with Aphrodite, the doe with Artemis. But in addition to this series of links with divinity, animals also have their own meanings in particular in literary or iconographic contexts.

Darmon also wrote (in 1981) that 'only occasionally has much light been shed on this neglected subject'.[28] Since he wrote, there have been fruitful studies in the field.[29] Arnaud Zucker, for example,[30] in examining the Greek

classification of animals, has shown that Greek literary texts from the Classical period onwards distinguish between wild and domestic animals, between those of different habitats (land, air, water), according to whether they possessed blood, to how they reproduced, to their diet, to their morphology (as in the matter of their covering, by skin, fur, feather and so on), their shape of foot, their dentition, the arrangement of their wings. Such distinctions may seem banal, but they must be clearly established before they can become generally understood. Representations of animals in iconography have the effect of revealing that these distinctions were known to artists, and not merely to biological specialists.

In studying Lakonian iconography we find that *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*,[31] with its coverage of the whole of Greek and Roman Antiquity, is particularly valuable for establishing external terms of comparison. But for the particular field of Lakonia, of chief value is the meticulous work of C. M. Stibbe,[32] and that of M. Pipili concerning the 6th century.[33] Our concern here is not with art-history. We assume rather that imagery on vases has a meaning. This approach seems inevitable when, for example, we see a vase-fragment[34] showing warriors accompanied by the legend 'koroi' – the Lakonian term for the *hippeis*, the 'knights' who fought as infantry and formed the royal bodyguard.[35] In such cases we are bound to reflect on the society and culture which produced the pottery in question, and to interpret it accordingly. In what follows, we shall set out a series of images produced by a small group of different painters, working at the same period and for the same public.[36] And we shall assume that whatever their political or social condition may have been (Spartiates [we cannot exclude this possibility], Lakedaimonian perioikoi or Lakonian Helots), the way they viewed animals was coherent with the way Spartiates saw the surrounding world and strove to shape it according to their conceptions.

In fact, plentiful evidence exists for an enquiry into the role of animals in Spartan thought, and into how images of animals were used symbolically: the Lakedaimonian bestiary is quite rich. But, from a methodological point of view, as far as texts do exist, we must consider them first, in order to try to make out which animals were deemed important. Those texts consist mainly of personal names referring to animals, and they come from the Classical period, but they give us so much information that we cannot avoid considering them in comparison with another set of data, provided by Lakonian vases of the end of the Archaic period illustrated with animals. It is because of their richness of detail and of context that we here privilege the study of these vase-paintings over that of stone sculptures, bronzes or lead figurines, and we shall assume that, whatever increasing austerity may

have existed in Sparta during Archaic and Classical times, the way animals were considered did not fundamentally change.[37]

So, we shall first consider how and why Spartans used personal names with animal reference. We shall then proceed to examine the contexts in which 6th-century Lakonian vases use animal images, how animals served at Sparta to mediate between men and gods, and finally how animal figures can reveal the thinking of Lakonian artists and cast light on the meaning of certain scenes on our vases.

I) Personal names referring to animals

There are cases of mythical figures, closely linked to Lakonia, who are named after animals: Castor is named after a rodent, the beaver, while 'Penelope' is the name of a small waterfowl, a duck.[38] But more important for present purposes is the fact that of the *ca.* 800 personal names collected in Poralla-Bradford for the Archaic and Classical periods, a considerable proportion derives from the names of animals. This may in part be due, of course, to the influence of epic, which itself contains names of this kind.[39] As Stephen Lonsdale has observed,[40] 'Animals in Homer are not presented in a purely naturalistic manner but symbolically as well. The emotive system of epithets and formulaic phrases revolves around distinguishing between animals as emblems of cowardice and bravery. [...] An animal simile praises or casts shame on the object of comparison'.[41] Such symbolism would lend itself readily to Spartan ideology. And parents, at the moment of naming, would of course tend to express positive rather than negative values.[42] But surviving zoophoric names are not always – for us – simple. Chantraine wrote,[43] 'Homeric compounds combining verb and noun forms, such as ἀγήνωρ, "leader of men", ...form an ancient morphological type, as do the more numerous family of compounds in which the verb element follows the substantival complement as in ἱπποτρόφος, "feeder of horses".[44] But P. Wathelet has observed[45] that, in a compound noun, 'the meaning of the verb, whether active or passive, depends on the general sense of the compound...; in many cases one hesitates over the meaning of a personal name'.[46] Additionally, and crucially for our purposes, a compound may express 'not who the person is, but what he owns'.[47] In spite of these ambiguities, and of the doubtful meaning of many personal names, we nevertheless observe in them the presence of animal names, such as to reveal the interest which Spartans had in the subject.

Moreover, one may find in Lakonia personal names which one may call 'irrational compounds', i.e., according to O. Masson's definition, 'compound names of which the formation...seems to be entirely arbitrary, because they combine heterogeneous elements. Most often, one may find

therein a first element which is a kind of nickname, and then a second element of normal type, bearing a commendatory value: such combinations, which we find "untranslatable", show that two elements, of frequent use in the onomastics of one family, have been used in order to create a new compound'.[48] The uncertainty in interpreting such names is fully obvious in Sparta,[49] and one may admit that, sometimes, the way personal names are formed aims at creating a kind of atmosphere in which it is intended the name-bearer will live. For instance, the name Euryleon combines the idea of width and the name of the lion, and, in a rather poetical way, it could be interpreted as suggesting the idea of an 'Influential Lion', if one wants to give an explicit meaning to such a name.[50]

One may believe, of course, that as some personal names do obviously bear a deliberate meaning, a systematic method should lead us to seek a meaning for every personal and zoophoric name. But the assumed existence of 'irrational compounds' may free us from such an obligation. Besides, even if some names bear a clear meaning, one may consider that people using them did not think of their etymological meaning permanently: for them, a personal name was much more an appellation of a true person, rather than a matter of semiotics – especially if one thinks that a personal name could be inherited.[51] Nevertheless, it remains the case that the use of animal names as parts of personal names is an indication of human interest in animals.

A) Domestic animals

The largest group of zoophoric personal names involves domesticated animals.[52] Chief among these is:

1 *The horse*

Jacques Dumont, examining the role of animals in the Homeric poems, gives to one chapter of his book the revealing title 'L'*Iliade* ou le cheval-roi'. Lonsdale writes, 'Homeric horses are flesh and blood creatures with a will and a way of their own, individuals honoured by a rich system of epithets and sometimes accorded names and a lineage'.[53] The unique role of the horse is also made clear by Schnapp-Gourbeillon: 'In Homeric comparisons, an animal is never compared with another animal. The point of comparison is generally human – with the sole exception of the horse.'[54] Correspondingly, in Archaic and Classical Sparta the horse appears to have an exceptional position in personal names deriving from animals.[55]

Lakonian names of the 'hippophoric' kind may be divided into two semantic categories: some names refer to the quality of a horse, others indicate a particular attitude towards horses.

With the first category of names, we may reckon either that they compare the people named to horses, or that they characterise people by reference to the special quality of their horses.

The simple name Hippos, 'Horse', is not attested in our Lakonian evidence.[56] The name 'Hippias', belonging to a 4th-century figure mentioned by Arrian,[57] is not for certain Lakonian. On the other hand, 'Antippos', 'Like a horse',[58] is recorded of Lakonia. The timing of birth is perhaps the point of the name 'Herippidas', which may mean 'Descendant of the spring (or morning) horse', or 'Descendant of the owner of a spring (or morning) horse'. General character is referred to in names such as 'Euippos', 'Good horse' (ephor, probably between 401/0 and 395),[59] 'Aristippos', 'Excellent horse'[60] and 'Hippoklees' (which Chantraine explains as a compound of ἵππος and of κλέος)[61], meaning 'Famous horse' or the like. Physical traits are evoked in names such as 'Leukippos', 'White horse' (or, 'Owner of a white horse'). 'Gylippos' may be connected with the adjective. γυλιαύχην 'with a long neck' (γύλιος is a long, narrow sack); and unless one here assumes an 'irrational compound', the name may be interpreted as 'Long, lean horse' – or 'Owner of' such. Alkippos is 'Forceful horse' or 'Owner of' such; 'Hippokrates' is similar. A Eurypontid king of the sixth century was Hippokratidas. He is 'Descendant of the powerful horse', or 'Descendant of the owner' of such. Another Hippokratidas is known to have been active in Asia Minor around 400. Other names with very similar meanings are 'Hipposthenes' and 'Sthenippos'.

An ambiguous (or irrational?) name is the feminine 'Alexippa', from the 4th century.[62] This is evidently a feminine form of 'Alexippos' recorded from the Peloponnese in the 4th or 3rd century[63] and meaning either 'Horse which repulses' or 'One who repulses a horse'. In military terms the first meaning may make better sense. Alexippidas, ephor in 412/11, is 'Descendant' of such. The name 'Therippidas', born by the person who overthrew Neogenes, tyrant of Histiaia in Euboia, in 377,[64] suggests the prior existence of a 'Therippos' ('Savage horse').[65] But the name may be given in error for that of Herippidas, one of the three harmosts of the Theban Kadmeia in 379.[66] The name of Orsippos, a member of Agesilaos' army in 394, is derived by Chantraine from ὀρνύναι and ἵππος,[67] with the meaning 'Horse which leaps forward' or perhaps 'Owner of an impetuous horse'. 'Arexippos' would mean 'Helpful horse', or 'Owner of' such.

Since in Homer a horse can have a psyche[68] and can experience suffering (ἄλγεα),[69] we may ask whether at Sparta a horse could be thought to have *nous*, a mind.[70] The name of Hipponoidas, an undisciplined polemarch at the battle of Mantineia (418),[71] may derive from 'Hipponous', a name found in the *Iliad* though not at Sparta.[72] Such names may refer to

someone 'With the mind of a horse', but more likely mean, as Kamptz thinks,[73] 'One who understands horses'.

Names of this kind reveal the attention paid to horses, which are often conceived of similarly to human beings. A different series of personal names refers to attitudes adopted towards horses.

'Melesippos' may mean 'He who looks after a horse', and 'Melesippidas' is the descendant of such. Pausippos may mean 'He who calms down a horse', 'Peisippis' may be 'She who persuades the horse'. The name of Mnasippos, *nauarkhos* in 373/2, is explained by Chantraine as formed from μνᾶσθαι, 'to desire',[74] giving 'He who desires a horse'. Philippos, commander at Miletos in 412, has a name ('Friend of the horse') also found in a fragment ascribed to Alkman referring to a person unknown.[75] The name of the perioikos 'Dexippos'[76] may mean, as Chantraine suggests,[77] 'He who receives a horse' and 'Hairesippos', 'He who chooses a horse'. Zeuxippos, eponymous ephor in 424/3, is 'He who yokes a horse',[78] while Lysippos, harmost *ca.* 399, is 'Looser of a horse'. Hippodamos – '[H]ipodamos' or '[H]ipodamas' according to an inscription[79] – would mean 'Tamer of horses'.[80] And, while the name 'Hagesippos' ('He who leads a horse') is only attested from the Roman period,[81] the 'descendant' of one such, Hagesippidas, a Spartan military officer, is mentioned by Thucydides.[82] Kratesippidas, *nauarkhos* in 409/8, may be 'Descendant of one who wins through his horses', in chariot-racing;[83] the prior form 'Kratesippos' is attested later in both Lakonia and Messenia.[84] The name 'Hippasos' may be connected with ἱππασία, 'cavalry manoeuvre', and mean 'Skilful horseman'. Euarchippos, eponymous ephor of 408/7, may mean 'Good commander of a horse'. Hippagretes involves ἀγείρειν[85] and means 'He who assembles the horses'. This term at Sparta applied to the three commanders of the cavalry, the *hippeis*, the 300 men of the royal bodyguard;[86] no doubt the personal name was derived from the official title.

Understandably, Chantraine does not venture an explanation[87] of the name of Pasippidas ('Descendant of Pasippos'), *nauarkhos* of 410/09. The name Pasippos itself is attested later, in the 2nd century, from the Peloponnese;[88] unless it is an irrational compound, it may mean 'Horse for all'. This may involve an analogy with the etymology given by Plutarch for the name of Pasiphae, in connection with the latter's sanctuary at Thalamai, whose oracle was consulted by the ephors:[89] 'Kassandra...had been given the soubriquet "Pasiphae", because she revealed her oracles to all (διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα)'. In a Spartan context, the name 'Horse for all' may derive from the sharing of horses which Xenophon mentions,[90] and may thus reflect a distinctively Lakonian practice.[91]

The element *hippos* occurs 37 times in Spartan personal names (without counting twice either names which recur, or counting those names not recorded but whose existence can be confidently inferred from the fact that analogous names are recorded with the *-idas* suffix). In addition there is an allied term: *pōlos* (foal).[92] The link between this term and *hippos* is made clear indirectly from the time of Alkman:[93] Castor and Pollux are called πώλων ὠκέων] δματῆ[ρε]ς and [ἱ]ππόται σοφοι, i.e. either tamers of swift foals and skilful horsemen. The name 'Polos' was borne by the *nauarkhos* of 400/399; a feminine form 'Eupolia' was, according to Plutarch, the name of both the mother and the daughter of Agesilaos II.[94] We also learn from Plutarch that the elder Eupolia, the mother, was the daughter of one Melesippidas, 'Descendant of a man careful with horses'.

In all, of the Spartan names listed by Poralla about 5 per cent have names referring to the horse.[95] This suggests that the horse had a fairly prominent role in Spartan life, at least in showing membership of a social elite. It must however be emphasised that in the sphere where Spartans were most concerned to excel, in warfare, the role of the horse was deliberately devalued. Xenophon suggests that before the battle of Leuktra the Spartan cavalry was ill-reputed.[96] He explains: 'The upkeep of horses was indeed the role of the rich. But as soon as the order was given to mobilise for war, the man appointed to ride the horse presented himself. He took possession of the horse, and of the weapons just as they were, and immediately set off on campaign. There was also the fact that the cavalrymen were those soldiers who were weakest and least brave.'[97] It seems, then, that in the Classical period there was a social distinction involved in owning and using horses, and in having a hippophoric name. But the pursuit of military reputation did not depend on horsemanship.[98]

This should be borne in mind when we interpret the chariot-racing victories mentioned on the inscription of Damonon,[99] which bears the image of a four-horse chariot and is dated by Ducat 'around 395 at the earliest'.[100] Similarly with the victories won by Kyniska at Olympia. According to Xenophon,[101] 'Agesilaos persuaded Kyniska, his sister, to rear horses [and pointed out to her], when she was victorious, that maintaining a stable of racehorses was evidence not of manly courage (*andragathia*) but of wealth.' Kyniska's victories in chariot-racing seemingly belong to 396 and 392.[102]

The use of hippophoric names may, then, have arisen from conscious desire for social distinction. The name of Hippoklees, noted above, may mean not 'Glorious horse' but 'Glorious because of his horse'.[103] This appears all the more likely since, although the cavalry was a despised branch

of the army in the 4th century, access to commands abroad may have been facilitated in the Classical period by 'the prestige of equestrian success', as Hodkinson has noted.[104]

However, the horse is not the only domestic animal to be referred to in personal names. The same is true of the dog.[105]

2 *Dogs*

Unlike the horse, in the *Iliad* 'the dog is indistinct, a member of a pack', in Lonsdale's words.[106] In the *Odyssey*, however, the hero's dog, Argos, is portrayed as an individual, and its name is highly positive, meaning 'Brilliant'. It is shown as the ideal of an animal devoted to its master; it recognises Odysseus and then dies of happiness.[107] There were, then, very different ways of regarding dogs; Schnapp-Gourbeillon has shown how, in the Homeric poems, dogs can be portrayed either negatively, as scavengers, or positively as domestic companions.[108] The positive attitude is likely to be at the root of certain personal names referring to the dog. But the negative charge of the word 'dog' on its own, which is used in the *Iliad* as an insult,[109] no doubt explains why in personal names the reference to dog always occurs in compound form. Thus Kyniska, mentioned above, is 'little bitch'. This name, with its diminutive suffix, is noteworthy in that a masculine form of it had already been used: it was the nickname of a son of the Eurypontid king of the late 6th century: he was called Zeuxidamos and became Kyniska's grandfather.[110] There was also a Kyniskos active in the Chersonese in 400.[111]

At least two other recorded names refer to the dog. 'Philokyon' may mean 'Affectionate dog', or 'Dog-lover'. A Spartan with that name distinguished himself at the battle of Plataiai[112] and was buried with the *hirees*.[113] We hear later of the name Therikyon, borne by two individuals in two inscriptions of the 4th or 3rd centuries, and in Pseudo-Plutarch.[114] This may mean 'Fierce dog' or 'Wild dog', rather than 'Hunting dog'.[115] Whichever was the meaning, a person of that name would evoke thoughts of an animal useful in hunting. This role of the dog at Sparta is well known, thanks to Xenophon.[116] That the name 'Therikyon' occurs at the end of the 4th century is noteworthy. It evokes two different terms for hunting. The word *thēra* meant the old style of hunting; *kynēgesia* referred to the new style, no longer limited by moral and educational considerations, sometimes conducted at night, with traps and projectiles. Since the 4th century was the period when vocabulary connected with this latter term was expanded, we seem to have in the name 'Therikyon' a case of Spartan nomenclature reflecting a change which is known to have occurred all over the Greek world in the 4th century.[117] The names 'Philokyon' and 'Therikyon' refer

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to the two main functions of the dog: guardians of houses and companions in the noble hunt as well as, we may assume, guardians of herds.[118]

Other forms of agricultural livestock also supplied personal names.

3 *Cattle, sheep and goats*

In the Homeric poems farm animals are normally treated collectively, as herds. The only such animals to be mentioned as individuals are the bull, or the ram as leader of its flock.[119]

This pattern is followed in Spartan personal names.

a) *Bovines*

The only Spartan personal name referring to cattle in the plural, so far as we know, presumably alludes to the possession of a herd.[120] Pseudo-Plutarch mentions a certain Euboidas (date unclear), which we may explain as 'Descendant of the man with fine cattle'.[121] The bull, dominator of a herd, is also the source of a man's name: Tauros ('Bull') is the first Spartan named by Thucydides among those who ratified the truce of 423 between Sparta and Athens.[122]

b) *Sheep*

An unusual name, which may be a nickname, is that of Oiolykos, which seems to mean not 'Like [cf. οἶος] a wolf', but 'Lamb [cf. οἷς] of the wolves'.[123] Herodotos, narrating the origins of Cyrene and in particular a preliminary migration from Lakonia to Thera, states,[124] 'The son of Theras refused to embark with him, which caused Theras to say that he would leave him like a ewe surrounded by wolves (ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὄϊν ἐν λύκοισι). As a result, the young man became known thereafter as Oiolykos (Οἰόλυκος). The son of this Oiolykos was Aigeus, after whom are named the Aigeidai, an important tribal unit at Sparta.' This story recalls a passage of the *Iliad*, in which Achilles says to Hektor, 'Hektor, you accursed man, don't come talking to me about agreements. There is no honourable agreement possible between men and lions, any more than wolves and lambs (ἄρνες) can come to terms'.[125] Also, the passage of Herodotos, which describes the descent of a group bearing a goat-name from a man bearing a sheep-name, is an aetiology of the presence at Sparta of the Aigeidai, whom Spartan tradition may have been trying to dissociate from a Theban origin.[126] Given that the word 'Thera' means 'hunt', we may explain the saying attributed to Theras as meaning that his son preferred to take the risk of being hunted, rather than trying to be the hunter.[127]

Whereas in the *Iliad* herds are seen as an undifferentiated mass, in Lakonian nomenclature the general term for sheep seems to be used

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pejoratively, and we find similar attitudes in the *Iliad* and in historical Sparta: in Sparta, some individuals are distinguished by a personal name referring to a domestic animal which is supposed to be dominant in its own natural group. Thus we hear of a Karenos, father of a man who was *nauarkhos* in 480, Euainetos.[128] The name 'Karenos' refers to a word for head, τὸ κάρηνον, and to Spartans no doubt recalled the Karnos celebrated during the Karneia festival.[129] Theopompos mentions a certain Phrixos:[130] a Spartan with this name is said to have brought ten talents to the Boiotarchs to induce them to evacuate Lakonia in 369. The name means 'Bristling', and in mythology is that of the son of Athamas who fled to Kolkhis on a ram.[131] The name thus indicates an individual closely linked to a ram, even if he is not a ram personally.[132]

c) *Goats*

We noted above the case of the Aigeidai, whose name refers to the goat (αἴξ, αἰγός), and who are described by Herodotos[133] as an important tribal group at Sparta.[134] But we know of no individual whose name refers to this animal.[135]

Quite different, and fearsome, are two other species, which inspired more Spartan personal names than any other animal apart from the horse: the lion and the wolf.

B) Carnivores

1 *Lions*

Describing Xerxes' invasion of 480, Herodotos records[136] that the camels in the Persian column were attacked, while passing through Paionia, Krestonia and Mygdonia, by lions which came down from the mountains. The historian notes here[137] that, 'In these districts live many lions, and wild cattle with the very large horns which are imported into Greece. The limits of the area in which lions are found (Οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσί ἐστι…) are the river Nestos, in the territory of Abdera, and the river Acheloos in Acarnania. There are no lions in those parts of Europe which lie to the east of the Nestos or to the west of the Acheloos: they are found only between these two rivers.'[138] Thus in Herodotos' time it seems that there were no lions left in the Peloponnese.[139] However, Spartans may have had the chance to see, and to hunt, lions outside the Peloponnese;[140] likewise, probably, with panthers.[141]

The *Iliad* promoted the lion's reputation for ferocity.[142] As Schnapp-Gourbeillon puts it,[143] 'in the Homeric poems, the lion symbolises in the highest degree the aristocratic qualities of courage, nobility and contempt for death arising from the uncompromising pursuit of honour'. In the

surviving literature of Lakonia, Alkman mentions the milk of a lioness, seemingly when describing a ritual attributed to the gods.[144] And in the fragments of Tyrtaios, the martial poet of 7th-century Lakonia, the lion is apparently the only animal whose name survives. We read: αἴθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν, 'having in his breast the heart of a tawny lion'.[145] This reference to the courage of the lion is clearly in the tradition of the *Iliad*.[146] Similarly, we learn that in Lakonia there was a dance called 'The Lion',[147] and that the animal in question inspired numerous personal names in this community where physical courage was so prized.

The name 'Lion' appears in its simple form:[148] Leon was an Agiad king of the Archaic period.[149] Also, we have many references to one or more men named 'Leon' as living at the end of the fifth century – so many that we hesitate to assume that they all concern the Leon who was eponymous ephor in 419/8.[150]

From 'Leon' was derived the name of Leonidas, 'Descendant of Leon' and Agiad king. Agiads in the late 6th century were much given to using the suffix *-idas* to recall the names of ancestors. We have, successively, Eurykrates, Anexandros, Eurykratidas, Leon, Anaxandridas and Leonidas.[151] Leonidas was the ideal warrior of Thermopylai in 480, he fought and died as 'the best of men' (ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος), according to Herodotos.[152] Moreover, Herodotos also tells us[153] that after the battle a stone lion (λίθινος λέων) was set up at Thermopylai 'in honour of Leonidas' (ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ).[154] Lion by name, he had at the end shown himself lion by nature.[155] His comrades in arms had themselves, in the words of the comic poet Aristophanes, fought like boars. In the *Lysistrata* of 411[156] he has a Spartan speaker describe the martial exploits of 'Athenians who, at Artemision, attacked like wild boars (συείκελοι)[157] with their warships and conquered the Persians; while we [Spartans] were led by Leonidas like boars...sharpening our tusks (ᾥπερ τὼς κάπρως σάγοντας, οἰῶ, τὸν ὀδόντα).'

Other 'leontophoric' names include that of Leonymos ('Lion-named') who was one of the Ten Thousand,[158] and of Antileon ('Lion-like'),[159] a Spartiate at Delphi in the period 362–0.[160] The meaning of the Spartan name 'Euryleon' is uncertain: perhaps 'Lion who spreads out' or 'Lion in the distance'.[161] The man in question was a companion of the Agiad Dorieus in Sicily *ca.* 510.[162] If we accept that some compound names were created without a unifying logic, the prefix *Eury-* may be taken to show a link with the royal family of the Eurypontids (whereas the kings Leon and Leonidas were Agiads).[163] The feminine form, 'Euryleonis', was borne by a woman who won a chariot victory at Olympia,[164] which must be later than that of Kyniska and may belong in 368. Earlier, the name 'Argileonis', 'Gleaming lioness', was that of Brasidas' mother, according to Plutarch.[165]

Gorgoleon, 'Gorgon-lion', was a polemarch who fell at Tegyra in 368;[166] his name was compounded of that of a fictional monster[167] and a wild beast.[168]

Of the eight 'leontophoric' names known to us,[169] two were borne by kings – fittingly, given the place of the lion in the contemporary imagination. For another carnivore which lent its name to men, we turn to –

2 *The wolf*

According to Leake, wolves still survived in the mountains of Parnon, east of Sparta, in the first third of the 19th century.[170] The animal was therefore probably common in the Spartan homeland during the Archaic and Classical periods. In the *Iliad* wolves are depicted as opportunist hunters, skilful exploiters of chances that presented themselves.[171] As Mainoldi observes, while 'the lion and the boar exhibit...the whole range of possibilities of force, from *alkē* to *kratos* (power), *bia* (violence), *sthenos* (physical force), *menos* (ardour)', 'the kind of force typical of the wolf is *alkē*, the defensive power to repel an enemy'.[172]

In the Doloneia episode of the *Iliad*, while the valiant Diomedes and Odysseus are compared to a pair of lions,[173] then to a pair of dogs,[174] the wretched Dolon is likened to a doe or a hare.[175] Dolon wears a wolf-skin,[176] in contrast to the lion-skin worn by Diomedes.[177] There is a similar relation between, on the one hand, Diomedes' helmet of bull's hide[178] and Odysseus' helmet of ox-hide covered with boar's tusks,[179] and, on the other hand, the weasel-skin helmet of Dolon.[180] In analysing this, in the course of a study of animal comparisons and disguises, Schnapp-Gourbeillon writes[181] that 'far from being deceptive, the analogy conveys a level of reality uniquely well. Dolon's wolf-skin may refer to the wolf-man of ritual,[182] but he is above all "wolf-like" – in other words, a minor predator.' Faced with lions Dolon 'has not the ghost of a chance'.

As for the headwear, the bull's-skin helmet, like that dressed with boar's tusks (possessed of 'clear initiatory meaning', according to Schnapp-Gourbeillon),[183] signals the sad fate of the man who wears a helmet of weasel-skin. 'The weasel too was of evil reputation,' notes Hainsworth,[184] but its smallness compared to bull or boar also indicates Dolon's approaching failure. It is thus shown in various ways, but especially by his wearing wolf-skin, that Dolon is a person of inferior status. Similarly, the wolf itself is to be understood as a second-rate predator. Wolves, however, form packs and it is this which makes them fearsome in attack.[185] The social discipline[186] and efficiency of the wolf-pack very likely explain why Spartan men might be given wolf-names.

The name 'Lykos', almost certainly meaning 'Wolf',[187] is recorded of a Spartan who died, along with his brothers, on campaign against Messene

ca. 369.[188] The name 'Lykeios'[189] may also reflect a connection with wolves, though alternatively it could refer to Lycia.[190] In the case of other possible wolf-names there is a chance that the reference is rather to a postulated term *λύκη, 'light':[191] so for the name of Lykarios, reportedly eponymous ephor of 415/4.[192] More clearly referring to the wolf are the names of Oiolykos ('Lamb of the wolves', mentioned above)[193], and Lykinos[194] ('Wolfcub'),[195] a breeder of horses who won at Olympia in 448. Some names refer to the physical characteristics of the wolf: 'Ly[k]eidas' means 'Of wolfish appearance',[196] 'Lykopes' ('He who sees like a wolf', or 'Wolf-face'),[197] 'Lykotas' 'Wolf-ears'.[198] The name 'Lykophron', meaning 'Wolfish-mind' (unless it is a compound without a unifying logic), was borne by a Spartan naval adviser during the battle of Naupaktos in 429.[199] Finally, the name of the mythical Spartan lawgiver, Lykourgos,[200] definitely refers to the animal in question: 'Wolfwork'.[201]

We thus have nine Lakonian personal names derived from the word for wolf, as against eight in the case of lion-names. Given that in the *Iliad* the lion is represented as far more fearsome than the wolf, we may invoke the work of Jeanmaire[202] in explaining the prominence of wolf-names at Sparta as the result of local initiation rites in the *chōra* and the *eschatiai*. This would then be a case of Spartan difference. Moreover, the characterization of wolves as opportunist predators may fit with widely attested behaviour of Spartans, as has been shown elsewhere,[203] and, it is well known that in battle Spartans preferred the discipline of the pack to the self-sacrifice of the exceptional warrior, for instance that of Aristodemos at Plataiai.[204]

It appears, then, that leontophoric and lycophoric names were prominent to a similar degree during the period we are studying. Was Spartan society influenced by the *ethos* attributed to wolves at least as much as by that attributed to lions? In any case, a reference to initiation-rites may also explain the use at Sparta of personal names referring to –

3 *The fox*

No attested Spartan of history has a name referring directly to the fox, it seems. However, there existed at Sparta a procedure known as the φούαξιρ, which consisted, as Ducat has observed,[205] of 'playing the fox'. (In Lakonian dialect, φοῦαι meant 'foxes'.) Hesychios defined the process as 'the physical training in the countryside of those who are going to be whipped' (ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σωμασκία τῶν μελλόντων μαστιγοῦσθαι),[206] that is to say, male youths. The lack of record of fox-names for historical citizens of Sparta may reflect the animal's low character, its supposed unfitness as model for the adult citizen.[207] The name of Kinadon, the non-citizen conspirator at the turn of the fourth century known from Xenophon,[208]

may be derived from the neuter term κίναδος, 'fox'. But this term, seemingly of Sicilian origin, seems pejorative,[209] and it may be significant that its bearer is portrayed as motivated by resentment. As for the person Alopekos ('Fox'), from ἀλώπηξ, -εκος, known at Sparta as the discoverer of the wooden statue, the *xoanon*, of Orthia,[210] he belongs to the domain of legend.

Some Lakonian names were inspired by other living creatures, those living in the air or the water.

C) Birds

The importance attached by Spartans to birds emerges clearly from a poem of Alkman. Within a few verses[211] he employs two similes and one metaphorical image in mentioning two doves, a little owl and a swan. Bird species are clearly distinguished, and named, at Sparta. Thus in Alkman we meet the nightingale,[212] the bustard,[213] the swan,[214] the sea-gull.[215] The interest may be concentrated on birds because of their ability to fly, as when Alkman mentions a *kērylos*[216] and halcyons, both 'birds from the realm of myth', in the words of Calame.[217]Alkman also refers to the menacing flight of the sparrowhawk, writing 'in vain did the young girls break off [their dance?], like birds when the sparrowhawk flies over (ὥτ' / ὄρνις ἰάρακος ὑπερπταμένω)'.[218] Birds are also classified by their voices; Alkman in the 7th century claims to know them all[219] and he makes the feminine member of the *choros* to declare: 'But I am just a youngster, a little owl perched on a beam and crying its heart out'.[220] Alkman probably has song in mind when he refers to the nightingale,[221] while saying of his own song that it owes more to that of the partridge.[222] A similar interest in bird-song is recorded of a later age: Plutarch writes, 'A Spartiate was urged to listen to a man who could imitate the nightingale. But he replied, "I have heard the nightingale itself."'[223] The behaviour of other species was also noted: in addition to Alkman's remark about the overflying sparrowhawk, we hear from Plutarch of a Lakonian who observed that a goose was able to support itself by standing on just one foot.[224] Alkman additionally knows how much damage was done to vines by the bird – if it was a bird – known as the *ix*.[225] Of personal names only two refer to birds. Geranor, polemarch of 369,[226] is named after the crane (*geranos*, with final rhotacism).[227] There is also Hierax, *nauarchos* of 389/8, whose name meant 'Sparrowhawk',[228] the threatening quality of which bird we saw in Alkman.[229]

D) Flying insects

Another person has the name of an insect: Myia, 'Fly', was a reciter of hymns according to the Souda.[230] The name may seem unflattering if, for

example, we think of the role of the hero Myiagros ('Fly-hunter'), whose presence at Alipheira is noted by Pausanias.[231] In the *Iliad*, however, the insect is viewed rather differently: when Athena is breathing energy and courage into Menelaos. 'She implants...in his breast the daring of the fly (μυίης θάρσος); however hard a man tries to get rid of it, it manages to attach itself to his skin, to bite it, and very tasty it finds his blood.'[232] In Lakonia too the martial qualities of the fly were recognised. Pseudo-Plutarch tells of a Spartan who bore on his shield the image of a fly;[233] pointedly, the image was no larger than life.[234]

E) Snake

From the snake was drawn the name of the Spartan Drakontios ('Little serpent').[235] Also suggestive of the snake (ἑρπετόν) is the name of Herpylidas, known from a funerary epigram.[236]

F) Dolphin

Plutarch mentions a Delphos, said to have led an expedition of non-Dorian Lakedaemonians to colonise Crete.[237] Admittedly, we cannot be sure that the name referred to the dolphin (ὁ δελφίς) rather than to Delphi (οἱ Δελφοί). But the name of the shrine was itself explained by reference to that of the dolphin.[238] In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*[239] the dolphin appears as a sort of animal-guide, which may account for the name given to Delphos the coloniser.

Thus among wild creatures which inspired personal names the lion and the wolf predominate, with eight and nine instances respectively. In total, 72 individuals[240] out of some 800 appear to have names drawn from the animal world. This amounts to almost 9%.[241] While far from overwhelming, this proportion is significant.[242] It is possible that naming after animals was subject to fashion; that animal-names formed a larger proportion at some times than at others. Here we are hindered by lack of evidence, especially in the poorly-documented period before the Peloponnesian War. But clearly patterns of naming reflect activities in which Spartans had intense interest, as witness the names which refer to hunting.

G) Mentions of hunting for its own sake

In the *Iliad* several hunting scenes are mentioned,[243] notably one, in connection with the Kalydonian boar.[244] Of the *Iliad* in general, J. Dumont has written, 'the world of hunting is infused with the values of war. A double scale of values results: the strong as against the weak; and praise or insult directed at different species of animals. Xenophon in the 4th

century emphasised that hunting could be regarded as a training for war,[245] and that this idea was fully accepted at Sparta. He writes, 'Other Greeks excuse from the obligation to keep fit those who have passed the age of youth and are old enough to qualify for the highest official posts; and yet they still oblige them to serve in the army. Lykourgos, on the other hand, decreed that for men of that age the noblest pastime was hunting, unless some public duty prevented them. For hunting made them just as capable as the young of withstanding the rigours of war.'[246]

We hear of a contest for the young called the καθθηρατόριον,[247] or the 'little hunter' contest in the words of Kennell, who sees[248] in it a kind of 'danced or mimed hunt'.[249] According to Kennell, this term may have replaced the word κυναγέτας,[250] 'the hunter', by the second half of the first century AD. Pausanias in the 2nd century AD knows[251] of a Lakonian place-name which reflects hunting: 'Therai', 'The Hunting Grounds', was on the foothills of Taygetos. The same word is found as a personal name in pre-history: Herodotos refers[252] to one Theras, a maternal uncle (of Theban descent) of Eurysthenes and Prokles, who colonised and gave his name to the isle of Thera.

In the Archaic period, we hear of the name 'Atheradas'.[253] If this does indeed derive from the word θήρα, 'hunt', the force of the initial alpha should very probably be seen as intensitive rather than negative. This man is apparently 'the descendant of Total-hunter'. Later, in 389,[254] a Spartan harmost at Methymna has the name 'Therimakhos',[255] 'Beast-fighter'. Spartan naming can indeed refer to the fierce animals which the hunt pursues,[256] and the name 'Therimenes',[257] 'Brave as a wild beast',[258] clearly implies that such animals were worthy of imitation.

The names 'Syagros'[259] and 'Syagras'[260] both refer to a particularly fearsome species of animal; they mean either 'Boar-hunter' or 'Wild boar'. (If there is a difference of meaning between the two names, the former may mean 'Wild boar' and the latter 'Boar-hunter'.) If the element 'hunter' is correct, we should observe that the name is formed not from θήρα but from ἄγρα, which may mean hunting with the suggestion of catching the animal alive.[261] This must have been done at Sparta, at least in the case of very young wild boars, given that in the 2nd century AD combat between two such tamed beasts was used as a mode of divination.[262] But the name Syagros was ambiguous for the Greeks themselves; the idea that 'Syagros' meant 'Wild boar' emerges at the end of a discussion in Athenaeus.[263]

Even if this interpretation is correct, we are left with the fact that few personal names seem to involve reference to boars. This may be because the boar was seen as fearsome[264] but also as far less cunning than the lion or the wolf,[265] and also, most importantly, because of 'the important

difference...that the boar never kills an opponent'.[266] In the *Iliad* the boar is shown as doomed to be defeated by the lion.[267]

All in all, it remains the case that names suggestive of hunting refer to a practice which was current, and highly valued, at Sparta. When writing of communal means, in the *Lak.Pol.*, Xenophon notes that 'numerous additional items of food resulted from hunting (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρευομένων)'.[268] In his study of hunting at Sparta, E. David concludes[269] that hunting may be considered as a 'national hobby' of the Spartans, and that 'the obsessive hobby of hunting considerably increased the time spent with [one's] companions or some of them at the expense of family life'. Some personal names, however, derive not from real activity involving animals but from animals which existed only in the human imagination.

H) A creature of the imagination

The Gorgon is a case of an animal of fantasy which is involved in a personal name. We know of a Gorgos who was proxenos of the Eleans in the sixth or fifth century;[270] he was the contemporary of Gorgo, daughter of Kleomenes the 1st and wife of Leonidas the 1st.[271] Also recorded are three males with the name Gorgopas, two of them father and son.[272] Did the name, 'Gorgon-look' or 'Gorgon-face', refer to some facial deformity, or was it simply designed to convey fearsomeness? The latter motive probably explains best the name 'Gorgoleon', which we met above[273] and which combines the ideas of Gorgon and Lion.

If, to the list already established, we add these names involving hunting or a Gorgon, the total of known individuals bearing a name of animal reference is 80,[274] or about 10% of personal names known from Lakonia. Some of these animal-based names are masculine, but others feminine.

I) Masculine and feminine names

Some of our Lakonian names exist both in masculine and feminine forms, a fact which bears on the question of difference between men and women at Sparta.

In the case of *Gorgo-* names, we recall that all, male and female, refer to an imaginary female creature. That we have both a Euryleon and a Euryleonis suggests that both man and woman could be associated with lions.[275] The names Kyniskos and Kyniska show that zoophoric names could be given to members of both sexes in the Eurypontid royal family. Both 'Polos' and the related female name 'Eupolia' were meant to suggest membership of a social elite. It is probable, also, that the names 'Peisippis', 'She who persuades the horse' and 'Alexippa' ('The horse which repulses'

or 'She who repulses the horse'), had their masculine counterparts,[276] Peisippos and Alexippos. The first of these two masculine names is recorded later in Lakonia;[277] the second is not but does occur elsewhere in the Peloponnese.[278] Even if these female names could have been created from male counterparts, it is quite noticeable that females could be named in a way very similar to men: there is no objective reason (other than the fact of overwhelming patriarchy) to suspect that female names were less expressive of an animal quality because they were feminine, even if they could also express family relationship.

Overall, the possession of zoophoric names seems to reflect close attention on the part of the Spartans to the physique or behaviour of the beasts in question.[279] These animal names give us insight into the minds of the Spartans, their concerns and their fantasies. Even more concretely we have images of animals on vases from Lakonia. These too reveal eloquently the role of animals in Spartan thinking.

II) The context of animal images

On Lakonian vases of the sixth century,[280] animals are represented sometimes alone, sometimes in a group, with or without human beings. When they are shown without human beings, they may be confronting each other or pursuing. When shown with human beings, the animals are sometimes in direct relation with the latter, as for example in hunting scenes.

A) Animals on their own

Only rarely in surviving Lakonian vase-paintings are animals shown on their own. In such cases, there is reason to think that the animal in question was deemed worthy of his solo role. Thus we have a lion facing right,[281] or aligned to the left but with head turned to the right,[282] or vice versa.[283] We have already dealt with the virtues attributed to lions; it is those virtues, probably, which explain the solo treatment.

Sometimes also a cock is shown on its own. In Greek it is known as ἀλέκτωρ, meaning 'He who repulses (a danger)' from the verb ἀλέξω.[284] This name is borne by a Spartan character in the *Odyssey*.[285] The cock can be shown facing to the right[286] or the left.[287]

B) Animals shown in a group or juxtaposed

Animals shown in a group may be those seen as gregarious by nature (cf. the term ἀγελαῖος).[288] The mere fact of being shown in groups of the same species may be meant to convey harmony. Compare Aristotle: 'In fish, some form shoals and are friends, others do not and are enemies'.[289]

Birds fall into this category, and especially those with webbed feet. We see this on two cups: around the tondo of one, 15 web-footed waterfowl proceed in single file (the images of five other birds are lost);[290] on the other there are 13 such birds in similar position.[291] Swans are shown elsewhere in a flock. The tondo of another cup shows four waterfowl,[292] each confronting another (Stibbe notes that their wings are spread)[293] and probably being overflown by a bird of prey.[294] Two other cups have each a line of four ducks, probably, also being overflown by a raptor.[295]

Fish are also on occasion shown in a large shoal, as on a cup by the Allard Pierson Painter[296] which is noteworthy in addition for the artist's attempt to convey perspective. (A similar attempt in this direction may be detected on the two vases just mentioned, on which the overflying raptors are shown as smaller than their potential prey.)[297] Four fish swim in line near the perimeter of the tondo, and a fifth is in the centre. Between the single central fish and those near the perimeter four other fish are shown, smaller, as if to suggest distance. The elongated fish shown in a group on a cup from Tarentum (*ca.* 590–570)[298] have been identified as black tuna by Fernanda Pompili.[299]

We also have a single case of a family group of animals. A fragmentary cup in Sydney has two cocks fighting (most of which image is lost), while below them is a hen with her chicks.[300]

Elsewhere we seem to find animals of different species juxtaposed. A cup in Berne from the start of the 6th century, the work of the Tarentum Fish Painter,[301] has on its exterior groups of animals made up of a crab, a scorpion and a fish. Crabs should have ten legs; what suggests that the eight-legged creatures on this vase are crabs, are the pairs of claws which they possess. Scorpions are of course land-dwellers, unlike crabs; what associates them with crabs is their carapace. The fish on this vase have been identified as tuna.[302]

We may have here the trace of a Lakonian way of categorising cold-blooded animals. Alkman speaks of the wild animals of the mountains, bees, fish and birds.[303] The second and third categories in this list match those on the present cup: like the scorpion, the bee is an insect, while crab and tuna are creatures of the sea.[304]

On the other hand, the juxtaposition of different species may also arise from a wish to convey local colour, as on the exceptional Arkesilas Cup.[305] This shows king Arkesilas II of Cyrene (*regnavit ca.* 565–60): shown with him are a leopard (with a collar around its neck,[306] and lying under the king's seat), a gecko, two birds perched near a baboon,[307] two eagles, a wading-bird in flight and a raptor flying above the scene. Writing of later vases, Schnapp states[308] that 'images from the 5th century...treat tame animals

(of certain species, such as the leopard) as a novelty'. The Arkesilas Cup may just show that in this process Cyrene and its royal court played the leading role. In our vase-paintings, other animals are shown not simply juxtaposed, but opposed, in conflict.

C) Predators on the attack; animals in combat

Representations of predators on the attack may reflect the Spartans' own observation of life. A volute crater in the Campana collection of the Louvre has on its belly the image of a bull preparing to withstand the attack of one of the two lions which surround it.[309] On a Lakonian volute crater of the Hunt Painter the upper register shows a boar attacked by a lion and (probably) a lioness, with a leopard or a panther in attendance.[310] On a vase from Samos we see three scenes of confrontation: two boars apparently about to engage each other; two wading birds pointing their beaks at a frog, and two cocks apparently attacking a scolopendra, which they may then perhaps fight over.[311]

A cup from Tarentum shows a circle of seven dolphins swimming around a shoal of 16 fish.[312] This no doubt derives from observation of real life; dolphins in reality move in circles around shoals of fish before falling on their prey. A similar episode may be shown on another cup, which has a dolphin close to four fish.[313] The viewer might well think of the opening of Book XXI of the *Iliad*,[314] where Achilles massacred Trojans in the waters of the River Xanthos. The poet uses a simile: 'The water turned red with blood. Sometimes we see how fish flee from a great dolphin into the recesses of a port with good moorings...' On occasion the animals in confrontation belong to the same species. A hydria shows two lions facing each other in aggressive posture, jaws open, backs arched; a small geometric motif separates them.[315]

Other confrontations of animals are contrived by men. A cup from the workshop of the Naukratis Painter – a different cup from the fragmentary one mentioned above, on which were a hen and her chicks – shows two cocks at an advanced stage of fighting. One has perched on the back of the other, and, facing in the opposite direction to his victim, is pecking the other with his beak.[316] These may well represent trained fighting cocks. A relevant vase attributed to the Arkesilas Painter, fragments of which are shared between Samos and Berlin, shows a man who may well be a trainer of fighting cocks.[317] In his hand is one cock, while at his feet is another bird immobilised by a device which keeps its head close to the ground. Cock-fights were for the Spartans reminiscent of the heroic *agon*. Pseudo-Plutarch tells[318] how 'a young man was promised a gift of cocks which would fight each other to the death. "Don't give me those," he said; "I'd

rather have cocks which just kill their opponents."' Cocks may then symbolise limitless courage, and the desire for total victory.[319]

D) Animals associated with man

The horse and the dog are especially close to man. They alone of animals are sometimes given individual names.[320]

1 *Horses as mounts for people*

Horses allow their riders to travel to the battlefield.[321] On the Grammichele Crater now at Syracuse, we see on one side two warriors confronting each other after dismounting; on the other side a line of four horsemen are galloping, seemingly accompanied by hunting dogs.[322] Sometimes, in addition, the Rider Painter shows lone horsemen surrounded by animals, and by birds in particular.[323] In this he may be imitating artistic predecessors.[324] These horsemen, who are accompanied by birds of prey and by winged figures (which we have identified elsewhere as *pathēmata*),[325] should perhaps be interpreted as on their way to or from a single combat.

2 *Dogs as aids in hunting*

In his *Lak.Pol.* Xenophon tells that the use of hunting dogs was well established in Lakonia. Lykourgos 'established the following way of sharing hunting dogs: when someone is in need of dogs, he invites their owner to come hunting. If the owner is not free to do so, he lends the dogs with pleasure.[326] Xenophon, a hunter himself, recommends[327] for boar-hunting the use of dogs from India, Crete, Lokris and Lakonia. Plutarch states[328] that a huntsman rears dogs from Cretan or Lakonian stock. The latter were highly reputed: in Plato's words, 'like a Lakonian hound, you go seeking your quarry, sniffing on the track of the ideas'.[329]

These Lakonian hounds may have been bred by crossing with foxes. They were variously called Kastoriai, Alopekides, Kynosourides and Menelaides. Chrysanthos Christou has assembled the relevant texts, and has noted the difficulty of identifying the various kinds of dogs portrayed in Lakonian art[330] – particularly on the Hunters' Amphora where a dog is depicted between the legs of each hunter. Christou observes[331] that the dog shown on another vase with reliefs, beside a chariot,[332] is similar to the hunting dog shown on the Hunters' Amphora, but that, because we have no literary evidence of dogs' being used for war in mainland Greece, we cannot identify this animal as a war-dog. He proposes the following identifications:[333] the type of dog depicted on the relief amphoras, which evidently is a hunting dog, belongs to the breed called Kastorides (probably an alternative form of the name 'Kastoriai'). The dog shown on the

limestone plates found at the sanctuary of Orthia,[334] of compact and powerful build like shepherds' dogs, is of the breed known as Menelaides. The dogs on the hero reliefs of Lakonia[335] should be identified as Kynosourides, while the type of dog shown on vase-paintings are Alopekides.[336]

Dogs for hunting might be given names by men who needed to call to them individually, as with Odysseus' dog Argos. Xenophon gives (*ca.* 391/0) a list of short names easy to call.[337] Dogs are sometimes also given names on vases, as with the Attic François Vase of *ca.* 570[338] and an Attic Black Figure vase of 550–30.[339] These dogs are not always shown accompanied by men.

The role of human beings is even clearer when the animals are pictured alongside man. Schnapp writes that 'The hunting of the hare by men...is only certainly identifiable when the hunters – or a net – are shown explicitly'.[340] But the chasing of a hare by one or more dogs, a common theme on Ionian, Lakonian and Corinthian vases,[341] is seldom shown explicitly as a hunt by the inclusion of hunter or net.[342] This theme – without hunter or net – forms the main subject of a Lakonian cup by the Boreads Painter of 575–570.[343] We also have a case of four dogs shown attacking a boar without any accompanying human figure.[344] But dogs have a clearly subordinate role in boar-hunting;[345] under human control, they help protect their masters.[346]

On the volute crater found in a tomb at Grammichele, dated to 570–560 and possibly a youthful work of the Arkesilas Painter,[347] there is a frieze of four horsemen hunting a hare which is placed under the first horse. Under each of the three following horses is a dog. Overhead fly two birds of prey, and a heron follows. Here, associated with the human beings, are the animals to which they are closest in daily life.

3 *Game*

In his analysis of scenes of Lakonian art associated with hunting, Förtsch distinguishes five themes:[348] hunters on the march; the hunt, carrying the catch and the return home; dogs running after hares, and fox-hunting; one or two hunters attacking a boar; two hunters face to face.

Game provide the δέρματα σηρῶν (animal skins) mentioned by Alkman,[349] but it is not clear that all the animals depicted (most notably lions) were hunted in Lakonia. The relief vase of *ca.* 600 discovered by Christou and published by him in 1964, the Hunters' Amphora,[350] shows groups formed by a single hunter and two of his prey, which the hunter holds vertically.[351] The prey in question is not only two lions and a boar (a second boar is hidden by the handle of the vase), but includes also two does or two deer

and two wild goats.[352] This vertical arrangement of the prey is also found later on a fragmentary cup from Cerveteri, where wolves are shown, standing behind two men who face each other.[353]

In spite of this scene of return from hunting, the actual hunting of deer seems hardly to have been shown in 6th-century Lakonian vase-painting. The reason perhaps is that this form of hunting conferred little status on the hunter, the 'deer [being]...a symbol of cowardice'.[354] Hares could, however, be shown hunted – by dogs.[355] Plutarch mentions the existence of hares at Sparta itself.[356] In 464 or thereabouts, a moment before the occurrence of the great earthquake, youths were drawn out of the gymnasium. A hare had been spotted, they rushed out of the gymnasium to chase it, and that saved their lives.

Food from the sea is not entirely neglected in Lakonian vase-painting. A cup from Tarentum, from the workshop of the Hunt Painter,[357] shows a man carrying on his back a large fish, possibly a tuna. But before being reduced to dead prey to be carried, certain animals had to be fought.

4 *Dangerous opponents of man*

The Homeric poems make clear at several points how dangerous animals can be for man. An unexpected example is the war between Pygmies and cranes[358] – a theme which appears in Lakonian vase-painting.[359] But this theme of danger from animals is found on many other Lakonian vases.

Following Lonsdale's study,[360] we see that in the *Iliad* the animals most likely to attack man are: the lion, the wild boar, the snake and the leopard – in other words the four creatures into which Proteus is supposed to be transformed.[361] In this mid-8th-century poem lions are mentioned with remarkable frequency.[362] The Chigi Vase, an *olpē* probably of Corinthian origin and dating from *ca.* 635, shows a hunt *by* a lion; the animal is eating one of the hunters supposed to be attacking him.[363] But the depiction of a hunt *for* lion is seemingly very rare in Lakonian vase-painting of the 6th century. In fact we have only a single scene which implies that a lion has been killed in a hunt – on the amphora with reliefs dated by Christou to the start of the 6th century.[364] This scarcity may be due to the great difficulty for vase-painters of seeing a living model. Admittedly, a cup in Athens attributed to the Rider Painter and dated *ca.* 540, shows a naked man with shield and spear confronting a lion; the latter rears up on its hind paws and rests its front paws on its opponent's shield.[365] It has been observed that 'lion-hunting is more of a combat than a pursuit'.[366] But that scene remains exceptional. Moreover, the absence of lion-hunting in Lakonian 6th-century vase-painting corresponds with a similar absence in the *Iliad*. Schnapp-Gourbeillon has sought to explain[367] this latter absence by the

fact that the lion and the hero are too alike, and that the latter cannot properly hunt his own likeness.[368] In any case, the influence of the *Iliad* may have contributed to the rarity of images of lion-hunting.

A prey that one does commonly see hunted on Lakonian vases is the wild boar. 'What makes the motif of boar-hunting rather special is the aggressive nature of the beast', observes Alain Schnapp.[369] This is an opponent which can be attacked frontally[370] or from behind.[371] The analysis of Homeric passages conducted by Annie Schnapp-Gourbeillon suggests that this kind of hunt is supposed to take place in the depths of a wooded mountain-side, far from human habitation.[372] Its energy and strength, and its fearsome reputation, made the boar a symbol of wildness and an inevitable target for combat.

A hunter in the act of killing a wild boar and accompanied by dogs, was shown on a Lakonian cup by the Allard Pierson Painter found at Satyrion (some ten kilometres south-east of Tarentum). Its four fragments are dispersed between the museum of Tarentum and that of the Villa Iulia.[373] From the hunting scenes shown on Lakonian vases, A. Schnapp identifies four as referring to the hunt for the boar of Kalydon.[374] He concludes:[375] 'Lakonian cups diverge from the tradition of collectivity, preferring to show single combat against the boar'.[376] He also finds, on an alabastron from the end of the 7th century now in the Louvre,[377] juxtaposed scenes of 'the last Corinthian lion-hunt and the first Kalydonian hunt'. The scenes seem to combine to exemplify danger to the hunters and thus heroic values. On Lakonian pottery we have no such combination of scenes on a *single* vase. But such scenes exist on separate vases from half a century later: the four cups which A. Schnapp accepts as showing the hunt of Kalydon are datable to 555–530, while the cup in Athens showing a man fighting a standing lion may be dated to 540.[378]

Thus 6th-century Lakonian vases display hunting scenes, man against beast, in a way reminiscent of the mentality of the Homeric poems. In Homer, hunting is done as a form of training or of relaxation, and never – except under the pressure of exceptional circumstances – as a means of getting food.[379] Spartan images of conquered prey[380] portray trophies rather than food, even though game has a recognised role in the meals at the *syssition* of the Classical period.[381]

Animals, however, are not only shown as opponents. From the human viewpoint, they can also serve as mediators between men and gods.[382]

III Animals as mediators between men and gods

A) Animals for sacrifice

Herodotos tells[383] that the Spartan kings had 'the right to sacrifice, on military expeditions abroad, as many victims as they wished, the skins and chines of all the sacrificed animals became their property'. He adds[384] that the kings 'initiated the libations and received the skins of sacrificed animals. On every day of a new moon, and on the seventh day of every month, each king was given, at the expense of the public treasury, an adult animal for sacrifice which was brought to the temple of Apollo, along with one *medimnos* of flour and one quarter of a Lakonian measure of wine'. Xenophon confirms and amplifies this evidence:[385] '[Lykourgos] granted [to the king] the right to take the first share from the victims... He also allowed each of the two kings to choose for himself two companions at his own meals. They are called the Pythians. He also gave them the privilege of taking one piglet from every litter, so that a king would never be short of a victim when he needs to consult the gods.'

Spartan kings, then, commonly use as sacrificial victims the animals with which they are supplied. 'For each sacrifice, the king starts before dawn, since he wishes to be ahead of the enemy in getting the god on his side,' Xenophon informs us.[386] Immediately before joining battle, the head of the army sacrifices a goat to Artemis Agrotera.[387] After battle, a cock was sacrificed 'to the gods', according to Plutarch; elsewhere Plutarch writes that a cock was sacrificed by a general who had been victorious in pitched battle, whereas if he had succeeded through trickery or persuasion he sacrificed an ox.[388]

That a ram could be sacrificed to Poseidon seems to be made clear by a small bronze from sometime in the second half of the 6th century, which bears a dedicatory text on its base.[389] In the 2nd century AD, in what may perhaps be a centuries-old practice, the contest between two groups of young Spartans at the Platanistas was preceded, according to Pausanias,[390] by the sacrifice of dogs to Enyalios (along with a duel which was arranged between wild boars). Pausanias again[391] is our authority for the sacrifice to Helios of horses, which took place on Taleton, a peak of Mt. Taygetos which overlooked Bryseai.

In spite of the importance and variety of these sacrificial practices attested from the fifth century onwards in written sources, in Lakonian art we hardly see such things. This should not surprise, however; such scenes are underrepresented in Greek art in general.[392] But while we do not see animals presented passively, as sacrificial victims, in Lakonian art, they do have a role in embodying other values, whether symbolically or as omens.

B) Animals symbolising the gods

As usual in Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods, Lakonian iconography often shows animals symbolic of the gods in the company of the gods they symbolise.[393] Thus the eagle is clearly associated with Zeus,[394] and the dolphin with Poseidon.[395]

A series of cups by the Boreads Painter shows divinities seated.[396] One of these vases may show Herakles introduced to Mt. Olympos.[397] In its *exergue*, i.e. the lower part of its *tondo*, it shows a wild boar charging in the same direction as Herakles walks, to the right; this may be done to emphasise Herakles' physical power. Another cup by this artist, now fragmentary and in the British Museum, shows a similar scene, which has been compared with Lakonian heroic reliefs.[398] The lion shown in its exergue may signify heroism, indeed may even refer to the name of the person portrayed, since, as we have seen, lion-names are well attested in Lakonia.[399]

In the same way that a symbolic animal can, through some special characteristic, refer to the important characteristic of a divinity, an animal may also be seen as a messenger from the gods to man.

C) The role of animals as signs of destiny

Reviewing the references to animals in the Homeric poems, A. Schnapp-Gourbeillon observes,[400] 'When...the animal has an active role in a story, it is often perceived as mediating between men and gods.' Indeed, this is the main principle of divination by means of animal livers or through the behaviour of birds.[401] But any appearance by an animal can also be understood as a divine sign. However, the exact significance to be attached to the appearance of an animal 'varies with the circumstances';[402] and the meaning of its portrayal on a vase may be determined by the significance seen in its appearance in real life.

Thus the snake can be conceived as having multiple functions: as guardian of a place; as symbol of the soul of the dead; as closely linked to earth or water.[403] For its role in divination, the following passage of the *Iliad* is revealing:[404]

> an omen had just appeared [to the young Trojans], when they were burning to cross [the Akhaian trench]: an eagle flying high and with the army to its left (ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων) was carrying in its claws a red snake. Huge and still alive, the snake was writhing and had not given up the fight. Suddenly twisting backwards, it struck the bird near the neck. The eagle then cast the creature away. In pain he dropped it into the middle of the crowd, and with a yelp flew off down the wind. The Trojans shuddered in horror to see, on the ground in their midst, this serpent twisting, an omen from aegis-bearing Zeus.

This passage seems to have directly inspired a picture on a cup by the Allard Pierson Painter or the Hunt Painter (Fig. 1):[405]

Figure 1. Lakonian Black-Figure kylix (87.AE.31) attributed to the Hunt Painter by the Museum; about 530 BC; diameter 19.5 to 19.9 cm. © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California.

The exact movement of the snake, which 'suddenly twisting backwards... struck the bird near the neck', is no ordinary representation. Also, we see the eagle from its left side, as the army is supposed to see it. Now, as Schnapp-Gourbeillon has observed,[406] Polydamas gives an interpretation meant to fit the case: the eagle did not succeed in bringing the snake to its eyrie, to give it to its young. 'Well, likewise, said Hektor's wise adviser, if we batter down the gate and the wall of the Akhaians...we shall not come back in good order from the ships by the same route, but we shall leave behind us there thousands of Trojans cut to pieces by the Akhaians' bronze'.[407] In Polydamas' comment, nothing is said of the angle at which the eagle appeared. This might be because it was irrelevant to the meaning of the omen. But it could also be because its negative meaning was obvious. The Trojans are said to be to the eagle's left, rather than the eagle being said to be to the right of the Trojans:[408] the poet treats the bird as the point of reference, perhaps because the eagle is part of a spectacular process. The bird is doing something which draws the attention, and thus becomes an omen. As for the significance of the direction in which the bird is flying, this is referred to explicitly by Hektor when he tries to reject the portent.

He states, 'birds can head to the right, towards the dawn and the sun, just as they can head left towards the misty half-light'.[409] Now in the present case the bird flies to the left, that is to the direction associated with night – and, implicitly, failure –, according to Hektor and, after hard fighting (Book XIV), the Trojan attack fails, accordingly. So, it is probably because the eagle's left and the Trojans' left happen to be towards the sunset that the omen is especially potent.

It is true that to give a cup decorated in this way, with the image of an eagle bitten by a snake, may amount to urging the recipient to be careful, especially as the danger posed by a snake for an eagle was still very much remembered in the fifth century – as witness the *Choephori* of Aiskhylos (dated to 458).[410] The fact that this eagle is shown flying to the left would not in itself be a bad omen; an eagle shown in this way features on a cup by the Naukratis Painter, simply associated with a seated figure of Zeus which faces it.[411] But the flight to the left of the eagle shown on the Malibu cup is probably a way of referring the scene to the text of the *Iliad*.

In general an eagle can certainly indicate a decisive moment, not only for a group such as the Trojan army but also for an individual. A 5th-century clay tablet now in the Sparta museum[412] shows a warrior mounting a chariot to which two horses are harnessed. Above the scene is an eagle with wings outstretched, flying in the same direction as the chariot faces. This must be understood as a good omen; similarly with the horse on the right (the well-omened side) which has its head thrown back, no doubt in the act of neighing. For the horse to neigh may be thought to make Poseidon favourable to the coming venture.[413]

However, birds can also be valued for their own sake. Taking as a whole the birds portrayed on Lakonian cups, we recall the principle expressed by Schnapp-Gourbeillon[414] concerning birds in the Homeric poems: 'The appearance of a bird is never random: whether as signal or omen, it always reveals a message from gods to men'. In her view,[415] 'the essential role [of birds] is to mediate between the visible world and that of the gods'. We recall how, in the *Iliad*,[416] Athena and Apollo in the guise of vultures perch in an oak tree to see the spectacle of the Greek and Trojan armies.[417] Likewise,[418] Athena and Hera go to watch the Argives, and their appearance is 'just like that of timid doves'.[419] While not every bird shown on Lakonian pottery should be seen as a divinity in disguise, another possible case of such exists on a vase showing a bearded Herakles and a beardless Apollo. The two are apparently dancing and not (yet?) in dispute over the Delphic tripod, under the eye of an eagle symbolising Zeus – the father of both.[420]

In some cases the presence of an eagle must imply the support of Zeus, as in an image created by the Hunt Painter which may show Herakles