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The Centaur's Smile

The Human Animal in Early Greek Art

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"ΤΕΛΩΡΑ"

Fabulous Creatures and/or Demons of Death?

Despoina Tsiafakis

SPHINX, SIREN, GORGON, satyr, centaur, Minotaur, Acheloos, Triton, Typhon, Pan: these names of *πέλωρα* conjure images of some of the most characteristic and widely represented composite creatures in ancient Greek art.¹ The Greeks were attracted to fantasy elements that conveyed various aspects of their lives, and their mythology, based on heroes who fight monsters, envisages the beasts in the form of hybrids.² Many other peoples have also conceived of supernatural creatures that incorporate aspects of diverse natural beings—half-human, half-animal. These creatures, not necessarily divine, represent the world beyond fantasy, combining understandable traits such as human intelligence, physical strength (lion), and the power of flight (bird). The mixture of animal and human features in Greek fantasy appears to be similar for any kind of hybrid without implying shared qualities simply on account of common physical characteristics. Thus, the combination of a bull with a man creates two quite different figures: Acheloos, who is a god, and the Minotaur, who is mortal.

Fabulous beasts pictured in Minoan and Mycenaean art disappeared during the so-called Greek Dark Ages (ca. 1100–950 B.C.) and, as far as we currently know, “reappeared” in relatively early historic times, in the Geometric period.³ They are represented in every kind of medium, adorning architecture, sculpture, painting, pottery, and the minor arts throughout the course of antiquity. Occasionally, they participate as principal figures in popular episodes of Greek mythology, and it is not unusual for them to be genealogically related to each other. The characteristic forms taken by the most distinctive Greek composite creatures have been related to beings found in Egyptian and other Near Eastern cultures; the original forms gradually were altered and integrated into Greek myth and imagination.⁴ This paper explores the class of human-animal hybrids in Greek art and thought, following them from their appearance in the Geometric period into late Archaic times.⁵

FEMALE HYBRIDS

The sirens, sphinx, and Gorgon depicted together on the Attic black-figure plate by the Gorgon Painter (cat. no. 82) are generally considered female composite creatures, even if their gender was not fixed from the very beginning. All three may appear bearded in various regions and media of Greek art as late as the sixth century B.C. Medusa maintained a beard as a principal attribute,⁶ but unlike the bearded sirens and sphinxes, her female character was never questioned. The earliest surviving representations of the female hybrids in Greek art date a little before the end of the Late Geometric period, and they became very popular during Archaic times. Employed by all major workshops, they were particularly prevalent in Corinthian, Attic, Laconian, Cycladic, and East Greek art.

Sirens

The human-headed birds known as sirens (see figs. 1–4, 6) were famous for their irresistibly beautiful voices; their songs, which enticed sailors to death, contributed to their strong association with the afterlife.⁷ They are usually mentioned as daughters of a Muse and the river Achelooos or the sea demon Phorkys.⁸ In either case, they are closely associated with the water and connected by family ties to other hybrids such as the Gorgons (daughters of Phorkys), the Sphinx (as a descendant of Phorkys), and, of course, Achelooos. Their number varies from two to three,⁹ and the written sources speak of two different groups: Thelxiepeia, Aglaope, and Peisinoe, the sirens of the Greek mainland; and Parthenope, Ligeia, and Leukosia, the sirens of South Italy.¹⁰ Anthemoessa, a mythical island close to Italy, was believed to be their place of residence; and it was also in South Italy, on the Sorrentine peninsula, that they were worshiped as early as the fifth century B.C. in a temple dedicated to them.¹¹

In Greek mythology, the sirens first appear in Homer's description of the adventures of Odysseus, and they played a key role in the story of the Argonauts.¹² Pausanias adds that they competed with the Muses in singing but that they lost the contest and the Muses punished them by plucking out their feathers to make crowns for themselves.¹³ Through their musical skills, the sirens charmed men and

kept them away from home forever. With the exception of Orpheus and Odysseus, no mortal heard the sirens' song and lived to tell the tale. The music of Orpheus proved more powerful and overcame the sirens' voice, while Odysseus defeated them by having himself strapped to the mast of his ship. Lykophron (*Alex.* 712–13) describes their final fate: unable to bear the failure of not beguiling every human, they committed suicide.

Homer, our earliest extant source for the sirens, does not provide any description of their physical appearance. His are two in number and female, but there is no indication that his audience had any idea about how they looked. The bird-bodied female is not found in Minoan or Mycenaean art, and it seems that Greek artists employed Near Eastern models for the visualization of the creatures. Although the musical sirens, such as the ones in Homer, do not occur in Egypt, the human-headed *ba*-birds (e.g., cat. no. 8) might have looked appropriate for the representation of the Greek sirens, and the Greek artists adapted the type for their own needs.¹⁴

The earliest representations of sirens in Greek art are dated in the late eighth to the early seventh century B.C. and occur mostly as attachments on bronze vessels or in vase-painting along with the sphinxes and the griffins (cat. no. 74).¹⁵ A rare exception is the Geometric bronze figurine of a human-headed bird (cat. no. 73), perhaps an early attempt to form a siren.¹⁶ By the sixth century, sirens were among the most popular figures on Archaic monuments. They found their place in the animal friezes or heraldic compositions decorating the vases of various Greek workshops and as individual creations such as the plastic vases in clay or metal. They were used as supports of handles on vessels or mirrors and as a decorative element on carved gems, as well as on stone and metal reliefs. Corinth, as a chief center of the ceramic industry and of foreign trade during the Archaic period, played a leading role in the diffusion of the canonical siren type by using it extensively on its products (e.g., cat. nos. 75, 76). Sirens from this early period were also popular with other Greek workshops, particularly in East Greece (cat. no. 78) and the Cyclades.

With the exception of the Clazomenian, South Italian, and Sicilian workshops, which appear to depict exclusively

unbearded sirens, the rest of the Greek workshops were not very decisive about the gender of the creature. Judging by the presence or absence of a beard, the earliest Greek sirens could be either female or male (e.g., cat. nos. 75, 76),¹⁷ and the same is true for representations of sphinxes (see below). The artistic evidence is supported by an inscription from the Heraion on Samos that mentions a male siren but does not give any other details.¹⁸ The dual representation of the *ba*-birds, with or without a beard, might have had an influence on the early Greek sirens. When one adds to this the general belief that every species needs both genders to survive, we may begin to approach the reasons behind this double representation. By the fifth century B.C., however, only female sirens were being represented, and the bearded males have disappeared.

During the earlier period, however, when both sexes were depicted, some vase-painters emphasized the female character of the siren. A good example is the siren under the horizontal handle of a Late Corinthian hydria by the Tydeus Painter (fig. 1).¹⁹ The sense of color is striking, with the white body in sharp contrast to the dark plumage and hair. Since the flesh of women in Attic black-figure and Corinthian vases is normally tinted with added white slip, the femininity of the figure is highlighted through the white that totally covers the face, neck, body, tail, and feet. In addition, the vase-painter has added a necklace and a diadem, also to stress that this is a female creature.

Another interesting detail in the iconography of these human-headed birds is the occasional presence of human arms (fig. 2; cat. no. 79). This attribute is also found on some Egyptian *ba*-birds and on the sirens decorating the bronze cauldrons (cat. no. 74). In Greek representations, however, there is a practical reason for arms, related to sirens' association with music. Musical instruments look appropriate in the hands of the sirens, to accompany their song, and they become common features, appearing as early as the seventh century B.C.²⁰ The lyre, kithara, and aulos are the most frequently depicted musical instruments held by the sirens.²¹ The representation of arms strengthens the human part of the siren, and more specifically, when they hold mirrors, beads, or wreathes, the feminine part.²² It is clear that the later addition of human breasts was an attempt to emphasize the female character of the beings.²³

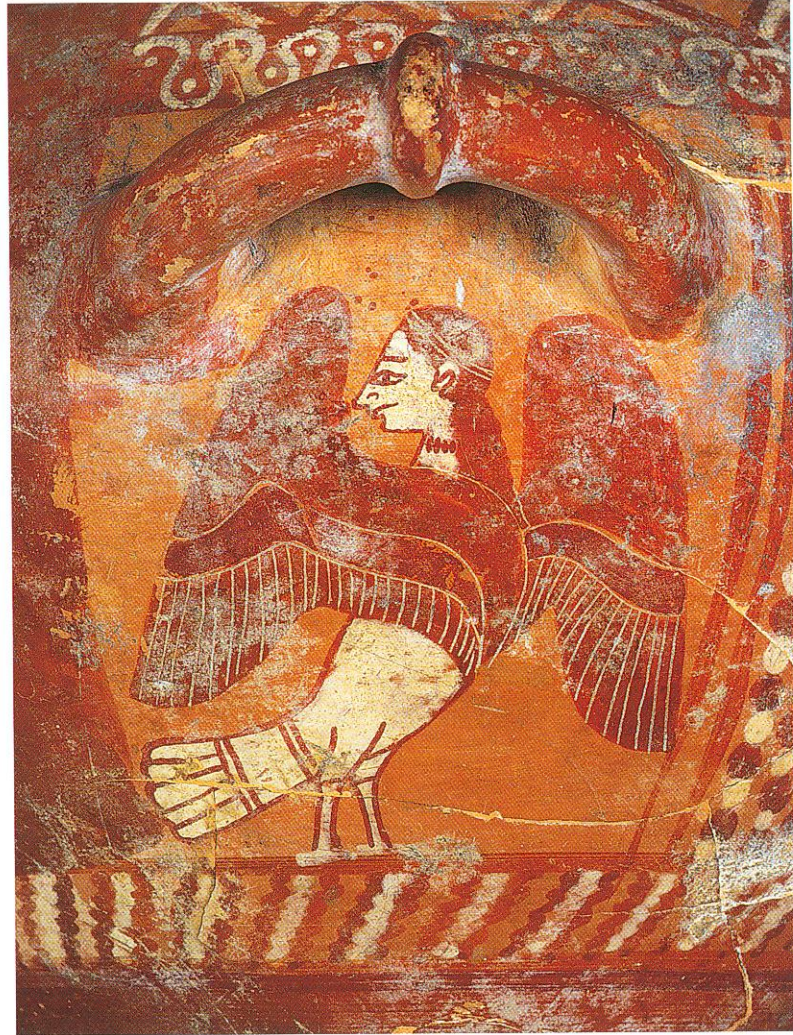


Figure 1. Hydria: siren. Greek, Late Corinthian, mid-sixth century B.C., attributed to the Tydeus Painter. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (135).

The domination of the human part of the siren increased gradually from the fifth century B.C. onward, with sirens eventually resembling humans more than birds.²⁴

The identification of those human-headed birds with the name of sirens, as provided by Homer, is confirmed by the inscription ΣΙΠΕΝ (siren) next to a human-headed bird on two Attic vases dated to the mid-sixth century B.C.²⁵ It is because of the inscriptions that all the similarly formed hybrids are named sirens, whether or not they refer to the Homeric creatures who beguiled humans. In reality, depictions of Homer's sirens are very rare in Greek art compared to the innumerable examples of individual





Figure 3. Aryballos: Odysseus and the sirens. Greek, Late Corinthian, second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (01.8100).

bird-bodied humans. There is no visual representation of Odysseus with the sirens before the sixth century B.C., and even then, only a very few are known.²⁶ Corinthian workshops appear to have been the first to introduce the Homeric story into art, with Athenian artisans following. The earliest indisputable depiction of Odysseus's adventure is found on a Corinthian aryballos from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.; it shows Odysseus's ship and crew, and the hero bound to the mast while two sirens are sitting on a rock and singing (fig. 3).²⁷ The next examples are Attic and date from the late sixth century B.C. They all follow the same basic pattern as on the Corinthian aryballos, with the sirens standing on rocky cliffs that tower over the sea and looking at the hero in his boat. Among the more interesting examples is an Attic white-ground/black-figure lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter, showing Odysseus bound to a pillar and two sirens on either side of him playing musical instruments.²⁸ Unlike other examples, the ship is missing, and only the leaping dolphins denote the sea. Red-figure artists seem even less interested in the subject: there is only one known example, an Attic stamnos in the British Museum, of about 490 B.C., the name-vase of the Siren Painter (fig. 4).²⁹ Here, the hero is again bound to the mast as his ship passes two rocks, each with a siren on top. More remarkable is that the vase-painter has included a third siren plunging into the sea — this is the earliest known reference to their demise.

Despite the rarity of the Homeric story in Greek art and an apparent dearth of depictions of the episode with Orpheus,³⁰ sirens remained very popular throughout

antiquity. The variety in their representations alludes to some difficulty in defining a single significance and symbolic meaning, particularly because this meaning might have changed over time. Though their decorative role obviously cannot be denied — especially when they parade in the animal zones of the Archaic vases — they were also more than that. Their connection to death was clearly suggested by Homer as well as by later sources. Sirens

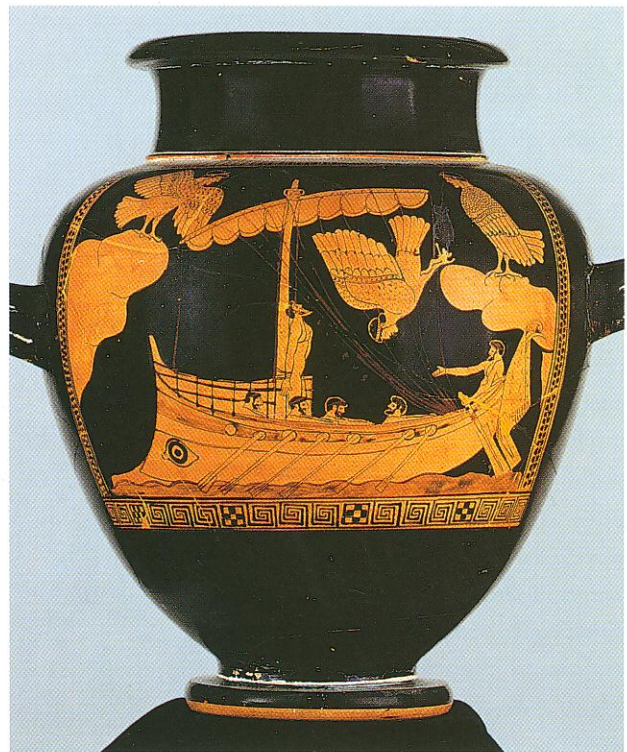


Figure 4. Red-figure stamnos: Odysseus and the sirens. Greek, Attic, ca. 490 B.C., the name-vase of the Siren Painter. British Museum, London (1943.11-3.31 [E 440]).

Figure 2. Siren-shaped askos. Greek, South Italian, 470–460 B.C., bronze. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AC.5).

were well known as the musical birds of Hades, and Plato (*Cra.* 403 d) related that their home was the underworld. According to Euripides (*Hel.* 168–78), sirens were the companions of Persephone, and Apollonios of Rhodes (*Argon.* 4.896–97) verifies Persephone's relationship with sirens by stating that they tended Demeter's daughter and sang for her. Their association with the underworld also can be confirmed in art, as they often appear on graves or in funerary scenes as mourners for the dead. Their connection with the funerary lament occurred as early as 600 B.C., as shown by an Attic black-figure pinax in Boston with a *prothesis* scene in which a siren stands under the bier of the deceased.³¹ Numerous ceramic vases in the form of a siren have been found in Archaic and Classical graves, and by the fourth century B.C., sirens commonly appeared on stone grave markers.³²

A similar interpretation can be given to a series of representations of sirens carrying a person in their human arms, recalling depictions of sphinxes carrying off youths (see below) or scenes depicting erotic pursuits, such as Eos with Kephalos or Tithonos.³³ Though the theme is relatively uncommon, it is found in sixth-century vases and gems and continues sporadically into the fifth century.³⁴ The subject appears on a Late Corinthian alabastron and a Laconian cup, both sixth century in date,³⁵ but the best-known examples of this subject are the siren reliefs (misinterpreted in the past as Harpies) on the early-fifth-century so-called Harpy Monument from Xanthos in Lycia.³⁶ In this case, the type of monument itself, a tomb, is indicative of the role of these "kourotrophos-type" sirens.

Sirens were frequently interpreted as omens of death.³⁷ Their popularity, however, and particularly their presence in sanctuaries as dedications,³⁸ cannot be adequately explained if they were considered only as unpleasant beings associated with death. Furthermore, nothing in their appearance makes them as fearful as other death demons. Their connection with the underworld may allow them to have been seen as a positive aspect of death, since through their charming music, sirens could accompany the dead into their graves. Their melodic song may have conveyed a hopeful message of life after death, one promising to tell people how they would be remembered.

Sphinxes

Related to, but different from, the siren is the sphinx, another popular human-animal hybrid in Greek art and one of earliest-known composite creatures in Greece.³⁹ In the most widespread type, the sphinx possesses the body of a winged lion and a human female head (figs. 5–8). Variations include the wingless sphinx and the sphinx with a bearded male head, as well as some combining other human, canine, or bovine elements.⁴⁰ Representations of this composite being occur often in Near Eastern art, but its origins lie in Egypt.⁴¹ A male human head placed on a lion's body comprises the common form of an Egyptian sphinx. The Assyrians gave the sphinx wings; the Hittites altered its hairstyle, preferring curly hair to the traditional corrugated wig lappets. It seems that the Greeks, adopting it in the Bronze Age, were attracted to the type only after most of these alterations and transformations had occurred. As a rule, Greek sphinxes, either female or male, are winged. A further distancing from the original Egyptian model is evident in the apparent lack of interest on the part of the Greeks in the traditional recumbent type of Egyptian sphinx. Instead, the watchful sphinx, seated on its haunches with front legs upright and erect, is the most widespread type in the Greek world. Unlike the immobile Egyptian sphinxes, Greek sphinxes also get up and walk, as they do in Phoenician art.

Despite the early appearance of the Sphinx in art, Homer does not mention her, although he refers to Oedipus (*Il.* 23.679–80; *Od.* 11.271–80). Hesiod (*Theog.* 326) provides the earliest extant reference, calling her a murderous monster without, however, giving any physical description. In Hesiod, the Sphinx is the daughter of Echidna and Orthos (brother of Kerberos) and sister of the Nemean lion. According to other versions of the genealogy, her father was Typhon and her mother, the Chimaera.⁴² Although the term used for the creature in Near Eastern languages and the origin of the name *Sphinx* remain obscure, in popular etymology the word *sphigx* or *sphix* seems to derive from the Greek verb *sphiggo* (to tighten or strangle), perhaps influenced by the Theban story related to her.⁴³ Hesiod, however, names her *Phik*, a word suggestive of the mountain Phikion, the monster's supposed place of residence.

In Greek mythology the Sphinx became a central figure in the great saga of the Labdacidae, in Hesiod's native Boiotia.⁴⁴ The story implied in Hesiod's reference is told in detail in the fifth century B.C. by Sophokles (*OT* and *OC*). In the most widespread version, Hera sent the Sphinx to Thebes to punish Laios for his love for Chrysis.⁴⁵ The monster, which inhabited the mountain Kithairon or Phikion, terrorized Thebes by seizing any travelers, mostly young men, who could not solve her riddle. The riddle—"What goes on four legs in the morning, two in the afternoon, and three in the evening?"—was finally answered by Oedipus, who replied that man crawls as a child, walks upright as an adult, and supports himself with a stick as an old man (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.5.7–8). The legend of the Sphinx as a devourer was widely disseminated throughout Greek culture from the Archaic period onward, and the exotic creature of Near Eastern origin was gradually transformed into an active beast.

The earliest representations in Greek lands of a winged lion with a female head are found in Minoan and Mycenaean art, where they are depicted in different media such as seals, vases, and bronzes.⁴⁶ There, they could have a decorative role or appear as guardians of sanctuaries without participating in any narrative. Until recently, it was generally accepted that the sphinx vanished during the Dark Ages only to reappear in the Geometric period. Theodora Rombos, however, attempts to narrow this chronological gap by presenting a few depictions of sphinxes as early as the ninth century B.C.⁴⁷ Moreover, the basically nonfigurative nature of early Greek Geometric vase-painting may have contributed to the absence of the sphinx in the early Iron Age.

The sphinx took her place in Greek art after the middle of the eighth century B.C. with representations peaking during the Archaic period (seventh and sixth centuries B.C.).⁴⁸ Crete appears to have played a significant role in the iconography of the early examples.⁴⁹ Of particular interest are the depictions of the helmeted or crowned sphinx, found mostly on Cretan vases and bronzes of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., perhaps under the influence of Near Eastern art.⁵⁰ Crete retained her interest in this hybrid creature from the Bronze Age on, creating a distinctive type that influenced the other Greek

workshops. The *polos* headdress worn by Corinthian sphinxes is recognized as a Cretan influence,⁵¹ as is the lock-like motif on top of the head that characterizes the early Greek examples.⁵² The significance of this motif, if there was one, remains unknown, but the motif may have Near Eastern origins. Despite this, it is obvious that the unnatural topknot and spiral curls, combined with the natural elements of a lion, a female, and wings, contribute to the supernatural character of the beast.

The early sphinx types do not appear within a narrative context, and their symbolism, if any, remains obscure. They parade usually within the animal friezes on Late Geometric and Protoattic vase-paintings (e.g., fig. 5). Single or heraldic pairs of sphinxes are found on Archaic vases (e.g., cat. no. 66),⁵³ gold diadems, engraved seals, bronze helmets, and bronze and clay figurines and reliefs (e.g., cat. no. 67).⁵⁴ This creature, however, is not the predatory and ravenous beast that devoured the people of Thebes. That famous Theban monster, along with the tomb guardian and the chthonic demon, is clearly recognizable by the sixth century B.C.



Figure 5. Krater fragment: sphinxes. Greek, Protoattic, mid-seventh century B.C. After Cook 1934–35, 194, fig. 9.

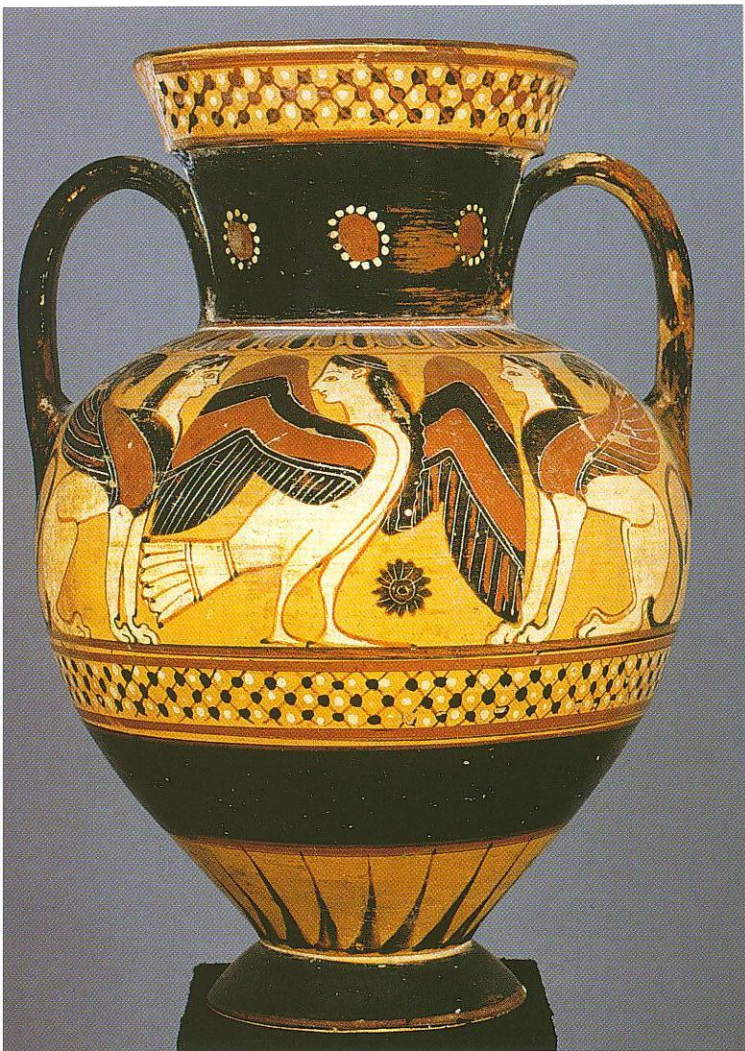


Figure 6. Neck-amphora: siren and sphinxes. Greek, Late Corinthian, 570–560 B.C., attributed to the Tydeus Painter. Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 640).

Greek literature is clear about the gender of the sphinx: she is always female, and this character is often emphasized by Greek tragedians.⁵⁵ Only Herodotos (2.175,5) refers to male sphinxes, and this is in relation to the male statues he had seen in Egypt. Greek iconography, however, is not as decisive, and some early representations show the beast as *dimorphon* (double-natured).⁵⁶ On a Corinthian amphora in Paris (fig. 6), the vase painter emphasizes the female character of the sphinxes by painting them white.⁵⁷ This vase also is interesting for the combination of two hybrids: sphinx and siren.

Male sphinxes (cat. no. 69), like male sirens, occur in Archaic art, and both disappeared after the sixth century B.C. Their initial appearance can be explained as a translation of the Egyptian male sphinx into the bearded or helmeted examples seen in early Greek iconography. Bearded sphinxes, like bearded sirens, were most often chosen by the Attic, Corinthian, and Peloponnesian workshops. The earliest sphinxes in Corinth, in Protocorinthian vase-painting of the seventh century B.C., were female; male examples did not appear until the advent of the classic Corinthian style in the sixth century B.C.⁵⁸

Human arms, a common feature on the sirens, are rare on the sphinxes. There are a few examples, the earliest dating to the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.⁵⁹ Since arms were not of any particular use for the sphinxes—these creatures could carry the dead youths in their front legs and did not play musical instruments—they were not adopted by Greek artists other than experimentally or for matching the sirens.

It was in the seventh century that Greek artists for the first time represented the sphinx in what might be a narrative context. The Corinthian potters' quarter seems to have first introduced the motif of sphinxes surrounding human figures.⁶⁰ A Laconian ivory comb of about 650 B.C.⁶¹ and an architectural relief from Mycenae of about 630 B.C.,⁶² each portraying two sphinxes standing over a male figure, are among the earliest depictions of the beast as a devourer of youths. Whether and to what extent these early representations can be related to the Oedipus myth remains problematic and, frankly, doubtful. Their demonic aspect, however, is evident, and they are perhaps more easily associated with *Ker*, the Homeric demon of death.⁶³

The development of this subject can be followed into the sixth century in depictions of the sphinx chasing or carrying off youths (e.g., fig. 7; cat. no. 64). The model can be traced again to Near Eastern art, as is shown in numerous Egyptian and Phoenician examples.⁶⁴ In Greek art, the theme is found on gems, bronze shield bands, and a series of ceramic vases beginning about 560 B.C.; it was especially popular during the late Archaic period (ca. 500–480 B.C.) and declined thereafter.⁶⁵ Beginning somewhat later are vase-paintings of sphinxes flanking scenes of battle or hunting;⁶⁶ in contrast to those cases

where the sirens might be considered omens of death, here the sphinxes may be present to effect the actual transfer to the underworld. Aischylos (*Sept.* 522, 541–54) confirms the use of the motif as a shield device. The theme of the sixth-century sphinx carrying a dead youth, however, probably relates to the Theban legend and depicts the fate of the traveler who could not solve the riddle (fig. 7).⁶⁷ But apparently it goes beyond that. The scene itself was adopted by and not invented for the Oedipus myth. In Attic vase-painting, the theme recently has been interpreted as symbolizing the Athenian ephebe awaiting initiation as a hoplite, the class of adult citizen who served in the militia as an armored infantryman.⁶⁸ Another interesting interpretation is that this sphinx can be both a dangerous and an erotic interlocutor of youths, posing them riddles on manhood while they are still inexperienced.⁶⁹ The erotic overtones in some of the scenes are undeniable, with the sphinx straddling the nude youth in a suggestive manner (fig. 7; cat. no. 64). The rape by a sphinx is characterized by the actions of chasing and lifting up, and both perfectly fit an erotic pursuit.

The iconography of the sphinx reached maturity in the sixth century B.C. To begin with, the inscription ΣΦΙΧΣ on an Attic black-figure cup of about 540 B.C. (fig. 8) confirms that this type is the Hesiodic creature.⁷⁰ There, instead of being an active participant, the sphinx, placed on either end of the main scene depicting Theseus and the Minotaur, plays the role of a framing ornament or boundary to another state (see below). Two more sphinxes flank the Kalydonian boar hunt on the reverse of the cup. Sphinxes were common motifs on Attic black-figure vases, especially eye-cups from the last decades of the sixth



Figure 7. Interior of a red-figure kylix: the Sphinx carrying off a youth. Greek, Attic, ca. 500 B.C., attributed to the Kleomelos Painter. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (85.AE.377).

century.⁷¹ Plastic vases in the form of a crouching sphinx, although made by Corinthian potters from the late seventh to the early sixth century,⁷² are very limited in number; the shape apparently was not as popular as the siren vases. Plastic ceramic sphinxes appeared again later, from the fifth century onward, in the form of *rhyta*, also in limited numbers.⁷³ In addition, sphinxes served as acroteria or antefixes on buildings, mainly after the middle of the sixth century B.C., with the Peloponnese playing a significant role in their development as terracotta architectural ornaments.⁷⁴



Figure 8. Black-figure band-cup: sphinxes flanking Theseus and the Minotaur. Greek, Attic, ca. 540 B.C., signed by Archikles and Glaukytes. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich (2243).

Although the sphinx is not connected to any particular deity, it often served as a votive offering in sanctuaries.⁷⁵ The most representative example is the great marble sphinx dedicated about 580 B.C. by the Naxians at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Although it has been suggested that this was a symbolic grave marker for the Python's tomb,⁷⁶ its votive character cannot be ignored. Similar monuments are known from Cyrene, Delos, and possibly Aigina, Naxos, Paros, and Thasos.⁷⁷ Artistic evidence also suggests association of the sphinx with Athena. It is known that a sphinx decorated the helmet of her cult statue in Athens, the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias; and on a Protocorinthian krateriskos from Samos, the beast raises one forepaw toward the goddess.⁷⁸

Greek art also employed the sphinx on stone funerary monuments. The composition of a sphinx occupying the crest of a marble grave stela is a purely Attic invention with a limited duration in the sixth century.⁷⁹ Written sources also attest to the use of sphinxes in a funerary context. On a fifth-century B.C. tombstone from Pagasai, the sphinx is addressed as "Dog of Hades, whom do you . . . watch over, sitting over the dead?"⁸⁰ and Diogenes Laertius (1.89), although much later (third century A.D.), refers to sphinxes placed on tombs. The abandonment of the sphinx as a grave marker in the fifth century might very well be connected to a general change in Greek—and, in particular, Athenian—thought, with the demonic aspect becoming less powerful.⁸¹ Supporting such a view is the iconography of the fifth century B.C., which favors a gradually less violent repertoire that ends with scenes at the *gynaikonitis* (female scenes at home) and idyllic scenes with Aphrodite and Eros.⁸²

From the sixth century onward, artists chose to illustrate two episodes related directly to the Theban Sphinx:⁸³ the meeting of Oedipus with the monster on his way to Thebes (e.g., cat. no. 63) and the Sphinx surrounded by the Thebans. In the earliest extant representation of Oedipus and the Sphinx, dated about 530 B.C., the scene already follows the standard form known from later depictions.⁸⁴ Oedipus is sitting before the Sphinx, who stands on a column. A number of seated Thebans watch the contest. The form of the Sphinx-on-a-column that becomes standardized for the Oedipus episode recalls the Archaic votive sphinxes, like the one at Delphi. The name-cup of the

Attic red-figure artist known as the Oedipus Painter, of about 480 B.C., is perhaps the best-known representation of Oedipus as solver of the riddle; from that time on, the subject became popular in Athenian vase painting.⁸⁵ During the last decades of the sixth century B.C., there appeared a related episode of the Theban story: the Theban citizens seated around the Sphinx and attempting to solve the riddle.⁸⁶ The scene can be seen as a rite of passage or transition ritual for crossing the boundaries from one state or status to another: they either begin a new life as distinguished citizens or they are led to death. And the Sphinx is the initiator of this transformation.

According to the most popular version of the myth, the Theban Sphinx brought about her own destruction by flinging herself from the acropolis of Thebes when foiled by Oedipus.⁸⁷ In contrast to the sirens' suicide, which is represented in Attic vase painting (fig. 4), there is no extant representation of the Sphinx falling to her death. A late-fifth-century Attic red-figure squat lekythos in the manner of the Meidias Painter, however, depicts a different end of the story, not preserved in the literary sources (fig. 9).⁸⁸ Here Oedipus clearly kills the Sphinx. This version of the subject has puzzled modern scholarship, and Jean-Marc Moret, in his study on the Theban Sphinx, believed that there was a tradition behind it.⁸⁹ In her monograph on the Meidias Painter, Lucilla Burn supported the existence of two alternative traditions: she suggested that the version depicted on the lekythos was the less common but was still present in the fifth century B.C.⁹⁰ On a series of black-figure vases, a man is shown attacking a sphinx. Since iconography often preserves otherwise unknown versions of myths, it is possible that these scenes are related to the myth of Oedipus.⁹¹

Although only a brief accounting of the occurrence of the sphinx in Greek art has been presented here, it is clear that the representations are many and diverse. The ornamental role played by the sphinx is undeniable, but the significance of the beast goes beyond the purely decorative. A funerary inscription probably written under the Saïte Dynasty (663–525 B.C.) echoes the words of an Egyptian sphinx: "I protect the chapel of the tomb. I guard thy sepulchral chamber. I ward off the intruding stranger. I hurl thy foes to the ground."⁹² The role of the sphinx as guardian

of the underworld is as clear in the epigram as it is in the inscription from Pagasai mentioned earlier. The creature's funerary significance is evidently tied to her demonic aspect, which means she functions in an apotropaic role. This is supported by the numerous representations of sphinxes in a heraldic, confronting position, which is particularly common among funerary sphinxes and gives the impression that the creatures act as guardians.⁹³ They keep away the "evil eye" by forcing the spectator to keep a distance. This prophylactic role might be hinted at alongside the ornamental, as in their use on warriors' helmets⁹⁴ or as attachments to bronze mirrors.⁹⁵ The creature's function as a demon of death is attested most explicitly in relation to funerary cult practices, when the sphinx is depicted on grave stelae and on vases placed in graves as votive offerings. Her presence in funerary scenes, the depictions of her carrying dead youths, and her role in the myth of the Theban riddle itself confirm this relationship with the underworld. Indeed, in the Theban episode, the sphinx is portrayed as the creature that completes the transformation of the living into the dead.

The rapacious, violent aspect was maintained until the end of the Archaic period, but in the Classical period, the appearance of sphinxes sweetened and became more feminine—they even are shown wearing the *sakkos* (hairnet) or *sphendone* (headband), as in figure 7. There is no doubt that much of the initial symbolic and religious significance was gradually lost, and the ornamental role, which existed from the beginning, became more important in later Greek iconography, alongside the involvement of the Sphinx in the Oedipus saga.

Gorgons

The third of the female hybrids presented here, the Gorgon, the fearful monster who turns men to stone with her glance, is, like the sphinx, commonly found either as an individual or in a group. In Greek mythology, the Gorgons were three sisters, Stheno, Euryale, and the best known, Medusa.⁹⁶ They were daughters of Phorkys and Keto, who also gave birth to Echidna, the mother of the Chimaera, and to the reptile Ladon, who guarded the Garden of the Hesperides. Hesiod (*Theog.* 277–78) states that of the three sisters, only Medusa was mortal, without offering any explanation of this odd situation. That detail, though, explains the



Figure 9. Red-figure squat lekythos: Oedipus killing the Sphinx Greek, Attic, end of the fifth century B.C., in the manner of the Meidias Painter. British Museum, London (E 696).

beheading of Medusa by Perseus (*Hes. Theog.* 280). A full account of this episode is provided by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.4.1–5). The story starts with Akrisios, king of Argos, and his daughter Danaë. Because of an oracle that the king's grandson would be the cause of his death, Akrisios locked up Danaë to prevent her from having a child. But Zeus came to her in the form of a golden rain, and Danaë gave birth to Perseus. Akrisios did not believe that story and threw mother and baby into the sea. They were rescued by Diktys on the island of Seriphos. The brother of Diktys, Polydektes, king of the island, fell in love with Danaë and, in order to get Perseus out of the way, sent him off to bring back the head of the Gorgon. Through the Graiai, daughters of Phorkys, Perseus found the Nymphs, who gave him the means to protect himself: the famous *kibisis*, a bag in which to put the Gorgon's head; the cap of Hades with which to make himself invisible; and winged shoes.



The head of Medusa turned into stone anyone who gazed at it. Therefore, when Perseus came upon the Gorgons and cut off Medusa's head, he averted his eyes, and carried back the head in the sack. From the severed neck of Medusa sprang Chrysaor and Pegasus, offspring of Poseidon. Pegasus was the winged horse that helped Bellerophon to kill another hybrid, the Chimaera. Chrysaor, who fathered Geryon, had human form but enormous size. The immortal Gorgon sisters pursued Perseus, but he managed to escape using the cap of Hades. After Perseus returned to Seriphos, he showed Medusa's head to Polydektos and his friends, and turned them into stone. He gave the *kibisis* and the winged shoes to Hermes, and the Gorgon's head to Athena, who inserted the gorgoneion into the middle of her shield.

Bold frontality is the principal characteristic of the visualization of the Gorgon, whose name and related words derive from *gorgos*, meaning scary, fearful, terrifying.⁹⁷ Hesiod was the first to mention Medusa in the context of the myth, but he leaves out any description of her or her two sisters. Details of the physical appearance of the monsters were therefore left to the inventive imaginations of individual artists (as will be seen below). The Gorgon appears to be a Greek invention, composed, however, from features borrowed or inspired by Near Eastern and Egyptian prototypes: features from Humbaba, Bes, Hathor, Pazuzu, and Lamaštu, for example, can be recognized in the Greek creature.⁹⁸

The Greek Gorgon is in every aspect a terrifying figure, with a mask-like face placed on a female body (fig. 15; cat. no. 84). She has a long tongue protruding from a great red grimacing mouth with bared teeth and long fangs. On either side of the broad nose, the eyes petrify the observer. Her hair falls in long, undulating locks down her back and forward across her shoulders. Some of the locks are particularly lively in the form of snakes, a feature adequately explained because of her family relations. Other snakes are often tightened around her waist like a belt. Although the head of the Gorgon Medusa preserves its major features, it loses its terrifying character gradually through the centuries. In the Classical period, the entire look is sweetened, as for the sphinx, and finally she becomes a lovely girl, distinguished only by the snakes knotted beneath her chin, and the wings in her wild hair.⁹⁹

Figure 10. Red-figure Panathenaic amphora: running Gorgon. Greek, Attic, ca. 500–490 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich (2312).

Greek art distinguishes between Gorgon and gorgoneion (γοργεῖν κεφαλή), the frontal face of a Gorgon (fig. 10). Homer knows of the apotropaic face,¹⁰⁰ but he does not mention the beast as a mythological figure. Both the running Gorgon and the gorgoneion are among the most popular demonic subjects of early Greek art, and they appear almost simultaneously in the early seventh century B.C.¹⁰¹ Although there has been some controversy as to which came first, Gorgon or gorgoneion, most scholars agree that the image of the disembodied head is older and that the body is a later addition.¹⁰² The dominant part of this creature is certainly the face, the menacing mask to which could be attached a body with normal arms and legs. The Corinthian potters' quarter in the seventh century B.C. appears to be among the earliest Greek workshops to employ the gorgoneion, on Protocorinthian vases. The early examples to a great extent resemble lions, with mane, ruff, mouth, and occasionally, the animal's nose.¹⁰³ Laconian gorgoneia also are found on clay and metal vessels,¹⁰⁴ like the bronze amphora handle in Princeton (cat. no. 85). The East Greek workshops made the gorgoneion (actually the bust of a Gorgon) in the form of plastic vases in the first half of the sixth century B.C.,¹⁰⁵ the aryballos in Boston is an exceptionally good example (cat. no. 83). From the same period date the earliest gorgoneia on Greek gems.¹⁰⁶ Gorgoneia also were employed in architecture as acroteria, simas, metopes, and antefixes from the seventh century B.C. on (e.g., cat. nos. 88, 89).¹⁰⁷

Although gorgoneia were known as early as the Protocorinthian period (ca. 710–640 B.C.), it was not until the inception of the Attic eye-cup, about 535 B.C., that they became a standard decoration in the tondo of cup interiors.¹⁰⁸ These Attic tondo-gorgoneia are based on the earlier Corinthian type and represent a mix of human and animal (especially leonine) features. The foreheads of the gorgoneia are sporadically decorated with dots that recall tattoos (δερματοστιξία), known from art and literary sources, decorating the face and body of northern barbarians (fig. 11).¹⁰⁹

Gorgoneia, as well as more complete Gorgons, are often featured in the decoration of Archaic bronze vessels, especially hydriae and volute-kraters. Among the finest is a series with the Gorgon herself found at the handles of



Figure 11. Black-figure amphora: detail of gorgoneion at the base of a handle. Greek, Attic, ca. 540 – 530 B.C., attributed to the BMN painter. Musée du Louvre, Paris (F 99).

volute-kraters dated to the sixth century B.C. (e.g., cat. no. 86).¹¹⁰ The snake legs of the Gorgon emerging from her garment on some of these vessels, such as the great Vix krater,¹¹¹ allude to demonic figures like Typhon; through them, the demonic and apotropaic aspects of the monster are emphasized, creating a wild image on the cold metal. A similar role is recognizable in the synthesis of the two plastically rendered snakes that spring from a monstrous gorgoneion under the handle of a vase in Paris (fig. 11).¹¹²

Because of its mythical power to paralyze an opponent, the Greeks employed the head of Medusa on military armor and shields, a practice confirmed by Homer, who places it on the shield of Agamemnon and the aegis of Athena. Despite this early mention, the aegis and the gorgoneion were not visualized together in art before the sixth century B.C., when they were combined, especially in Athenian iconography.¹¹³ The gorgoneion occurs often as the device (επίσημα) emblazoned on warriors' shields, where its role is obviously protective and apotropaic through its natural aggressiveness. In addition, the gorgoneion is found both on real bronze shields and shield bands and

on numerous representations of shields on painted vases. On an Attic black-figure amphora attributed to Group E, for example, with the battle between Herakles and the three-bodied Geryon, the frontal face of Medusa is depicted on the shield of the monster (fig. 12).¹¹⁴ Enormous, its height takes up the entire figural surface, its eyes fixed on the viewer; a loud cry seems to issue from its open mouth.

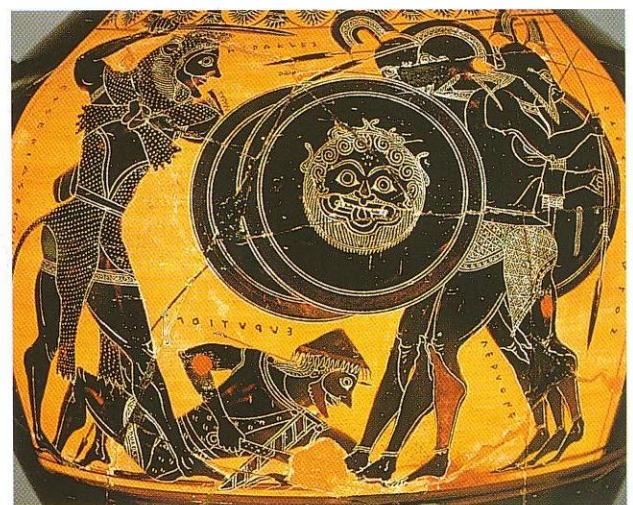


Figure 12. Black-figure amphora: Herakles battling Geryon. Greek, Attic, ca. 550 – 540 B.C., signed by Exekias as potter and attributed to a painter of Group E. Musée du Louvre, Paris (F 53).



Figure 13. Relief-pithos: Perseus killing Medusa. Greek, Cycladic, found in Boiotia, second quarter of the seventh century B.C. Musée du Louvre, Paris (CA 795).

The placement of the shield in a frontal position at the center of the scene not only attracts spectators but also keeps them away. An analogous function can be seen in all similar representations, suggesting that the gorgoneion was being used as subliminal imagery.

It is difficult to pinpoint when Greek artists first began to depict the Gorgon of the Perseus myth, but it was probably by the first half of the seventh century.¹¹⁵ From then on, throughout antiquity, Medusa was depicted in the same media as gorgoneia—vase-painting, sculpture, architecture, and the minor arts. The typical form of Medusa is that of the female body crowned by a gorgoneion. Other principal attributes include the wings, which appeared before the end of the seventh century but are not always found in the early examples. Of interest is the clearly experimental character of the early representations.

One of the earliest extant examples is a Cycladic relief-pithos from Boiotia dated in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C. (fig. 13).¹¹⁶ The moment depicted is the decapitation of Medusa by Perseus. The hero, with the *kibisis* over his shoulder, is about to behead Medusa with his sword; he turns away his face so as not to be petrified by the Gorgon's gaze. The composition of the scene might be considered already standardized were it not for the unique appearance of Medusa herself. To a frontal view of a clothed female figure, the artist has awkwardly attached the hindquarters of a horse in profile. This centaur-gorgon wears a long garment that covers her legs; she has no wings, no snakes or tusks or protruding tongue; in fact, she possesses none of the facial peculiarities, except rotundity of outline, that are connected with the regular Archaic type. The relationship of Medusa to the horse—



Figure 14 . Amphora: the Gorgons pursuing Perseus. Greek, Protoattic, ca. 670–650 B.C., attributed to the Polyphemos Painter. Eleusis Archaeological Museum (2630).

the connection with *bippos* Poseidon, who made her the mother of Pegasus—and the later use of the epithet *gorgos* with the meaning of *tachys* (rapid) to characterize the same animal might be responsible for the equine-human combination.¹¹⁷

The Protoattic amphora in Eleusis by the Polyphemos Painter, dated about 670–650 B.C.¹¹⁸ (fig. 14), is the earliest vase that preserves the next episode of the myth, where Medusa, already beheaded, lies amid flowers, while her monstrous sisters pursue Perseus. Unusual features here

include the heads of the Gorgons—cauldron-shaped with snake protomes—possibly a deliberate reference to bronze cauldrons of the period that in fact do have animal attachments. The Gorgons are dressed in a long garment, probably a peplos, with the skirt split so that one leg issues from it, a way of indicating that the female is running. A horrific contrast is accomplished through the use of this running motif: the nude female leg is revealed, suggesting a sexual element, and this is simultaneously obliterated by the totally appalling face.



Figure 15. Pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corfu: detail of Medusa, Pegasus, and Chrysaor. Greek, ca. 590–580 B.C., limestone. Corfu Archaeological Museum.

This convention of the leg issuing from the garment continues until the sixth century when it is replaced by the so-called *Knielaufschema*—legs and arms bent in pin-wheel fashion, denoting the rapid movement of the human body. The Gorgon at the very center of the pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corfu (fig. 15),¹¹⁹ dated about 590 B.C., is an outstanding example of this motif. The ferocious character of the beast is emphasized through the snakes extending off her shoulders and the reptiles used as a belt around her waist. Her son Pegasus stands to her right, reminding the viewer of her decapitation. The story of the two children of Medusa, Pegasus and Chrysaor, was a favorite subject in the Archaic period and one that declined in popularity in the Classical era.¹²⁰

In addition to depicting episodes related to the Perseus story, artists of the Archaic period were also interested in individual Gorgons, or in groups of two, along with scenes not found in later periods, such as the Gorgon as Mistress of Animals (*Potnia Theron*).¹²¹ Perhaps the most characteristic example is an East Greek plate of about 630 B.C. on which the Gorgon/Potnia holds two geese by the neck.¹²² As Mistress of Animals, the Gorgon adopts

a role similar to that of Artemis. The only difference from the standard type of *Potnia* is that she has been given the apotropaic head of Medusa. It seems that there are certain similarities between Artemis and the Gorgon as *Potnia Theron*.¹²³ That the Greek goddess was wild nature deified is confirmed by her titles *Potnia Theron* and *Agrotera* (of the fields). Homer (*Il.* 21.511) referred to her as *Keladeine* (noisy, echoing), a characteristic that recalls the noise coming out the Gorgon's open mouth. Artemis might also appear winged, as on the handles of the François Vase.¹²⁴ Both *Potnia* and the Gorgon were powerful and apparently frightening figures, and this integration might reflect an earlier aspect of Medusa as a deity. Further, the association between the two appears to be made visible in the presence of the Medusa on the pediment of the temple of Artemis (the official Greek *Potnia Theron*) at Corfu.¹²⁵

The mixture of features belonging to diverse creatures is another characteristic of the iconography of the Gorgons in Archaic times.¹²⁶ The centaur-gorgon is not limited to the scene showing Perseus decapitating Medusa (described above; fig. 13); it is also found on some Greek

gems of the sixth century B.C.¹²⁷ Another interesting mixture, which occurred particularly during Archaic times, is the placement of the gorgoneion on the body of a lion.¹²⁸ These gorgon-sphinxes recall the related type of Bes-sphinx found in Egypt and the Near East.¹²⁹ Archaic artists also experimented with other human-animal combinations, including birds and panthers,¹³⁰ before settling on the form that was to become the standard Gorgon.

The apotropaic role of the Gorgon and gorgoneion is made clear beyond any doubt by the horrible face of the monster.¹³¹ Her gaze kept away any intruder, whom she otherwise would turn into stone. The monster's large, distended mouth conveys to the spectator the idea of a terrifying roar. In the *Iliad*, the head has Terror and Rout as its companions. The connection to death suggested by those features is made explicit in Euripides' *Ion* (1012–14): when Erichthonios was born, Athena gave him two drops of the Gorgon's blood, one drop to give death but the other to heal and prolong life.

All these associations provide the Gorgon with a dual role: she is a demon with an apotropaic aspect and, at the same time—like Artemis—she acts as a guardian. Whether her presence in sanctuaries is as votive offering or as architectural ornament, this dual aspect should always be kept in mind.¹³² The protective function of the Gorgon is clearly noted by Pausanias (8.47.5) in his account of Tegea, in the Peloponnese, where Athena cut off some of Medusa's hair in token of her promise that the city should never fall. The hair was kept in a bronze urn and would turn back an enemy from the city walls. Elsewhere, Pausanias (1.21.3) describes a gilded gorgoneion surrounded by an aegis and placed on the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis.¹³³

The "prophylactic" role of the eye in Greek tradition is well known and remains unchanged to the present day.¹³⁴ Surely a protection against the "evil eye" is the placement of a gorgoneion between two giant eyes on some Attic black-figured cups.¹³⁵ This may also have been intended to protect the banqueter from the ill effects of the drink or simply to magnetize him. Even more interesting is the actual incorporation of the gorgoneion into the eyes, as on a eye-cup in Cambridge.¹³⁶ There the monstrous face replaces the pupils of the eyes decorating the vase, and

the spectator looks at eyes within eyes. The gorgoneion is an image purely for spectacle. Lacking the body, it is only a face, enigmatic and fascinating, a source of supernatural force. The total effect is of a terrifying mask, inhuman; it is not a face but rather a negation of the face, already belonging to the invisible beyond. This confrontation between the viewer and the Gorgon is the major difference between this female hybrid and other Greek *Mischwesen*. Sirens and sphinxes remain distant, whereas the Gorgon, with or without a body, creates an almost immediate connection, something like a mirror game in which she flashes a reflection of her powers toward the viewer.

Magnetism, allure, and fierceness are all characteristics common to these female monsters. The siren, the sphinx, and the Gorgon act as symbols of death with the face of a woman, man-killers with a frightening power that is conveyed clearly through visual signs.¹³⁷ They are females challenging males, and ultimately their death must be brought about by males. The fearsome aspects associating them with death and the underworld are clearly depicted on the features of the sphinx and the Gorgon but are carefully hidden under the charming looks of the siren. Because of their connection to a world of fear, the death of these beings was a welcome event for humans, and almost all the stories about them conclude with their defeat and death at the hand of mortals.

The fifth century B.C. was the boundary that separated the bestial aspect emphasized during the Archaic period in the representation of sirens, Gorgons, and sphinxes from the almost civilized form these creatures assumed in the following centuries. Thereafter, they followed the common path of Greek iconography, gradually becoming more humanized and eventually making their appearance—at least the sirens and Medusa—among the more beautiful women of Hellenistic art.

MALE HYBRIDS

The Minotaur, Acheloos, Triton, Typhon, and Pan are among the best-known male *Mischwesen* of Greek mythology. Their gender was fixed from the beginning, and Greek artists never depicted them with female characteristics.

The Minotaur

Of the male hybrids, only the Minotaur is mortal and a genuine hybrid born from the union of a human with an animal. According to the myth, told in detail by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.1.3–4; 3.15.7–16.9), Pasiphaë, daughter of Helios and wife of Minos, king of Crete, was driven mad with desire for a bull. With the help of Daidalos, she was able to fulfill this unnatural passion. Daidalos constructed a hollow wooden cow and once Pasiphaë was concealed within it, she mated with the bull. The offspring of this union was the Minotaur, whose personal name was Asterios. He had the face of a bull, but the rest of him was human. The Minotaur was confined in the Labyrinth, and Minos exacted a tribute of seven youths and seven maidens from Athens to feed him. Theseus, son of Aegeus, came to Crete as one of the victims and killed the monster with help from Ariadne, daughter of Minos. To find the way out of the Labyrinth, he used a ball of yarn, which Ariadne gave him in return for a promise of marriage.

The early representations of the Minotaur, whose name means “bull of Minos,” indicate that he was thought of as a man-bull hybrid of undetermined shape.¹³⁸ By the sixth century B.C., however, the artistic tradition had chosen the existing figure of the bull-headed man to represent the creature slain by Theseus (e.g., cat. no. 91). The two-figure composition of the hero fighting a monster is a common and well-known motif that finds models in the Near East.¹³⁹ The story of Minos and Theseus is the only myth in which the Minotaur is involved, and Greek artists had begun depicting his battle with Theseus by the middle of the seventh century B.C.¹⁴⁰ Gold reliefs, shield bands, and vases are the principal classes of objects representing the story. Surprisingly, it was not Attica but the Peloponnese, along with the Cyclades, that introduced this deed of the Athenian hero into art; the Athenian potter’s quarter did not include the Theseus legend in its repertoire before the sixth century B.C. The theme reached its peak in the second half of the sixth century and became one of the most popular in Attic black-figure (fig. 16).¹⁴¹ Red-figure artists continued to render it throughout the fifth century, albeit with decreasing frequency.¹⁴²



Figure 16. Black-figure amphora: Theseus and the Minotaur. Greek, Attic, ca. 550–540 B.C., attributed to Lydos or a painter close to him. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (86.AE.60).

Among the numerous preserved representations, of particular interest here are a few vases depicting not only the Minotaur, but also other hybrids. The band-cup by Archikles and Glaukytes with the central scene of Theseus and the Minotaur flanked by sphinxes has already been mentioned (see fig. 8). The same pattern is found on another Attic black-figure cup, dated about 530 B.C., again depicting Theseus and the Minotaur.¹⁴³ The presence of the sphinx as a secondary motif is not unusual, but here it makes us think of the devouring monster who is waiting to grasp the defeated and carry him away, as she does with the dead youths on many other vase paintings. The only difference is that instead of the expected youth, in this case the sphinx will carry away the dead Minotaur, a subject unfortunately not preserved in the art.

Two other vases depict the greatest Greek heroes killing hybrids composed of elements of the same beings: the man-bull and the bull-man. The first is a Corinthian black-figure cup of the Gorgoneion Group, dating about 570–560 B.C.¹⁴⁴ Here Theseus’s battle with the Minotaur is combined with the fight of Herakles and Acheloos. The same subjects are rendered on another vase, an Attic hydria of about 510 B.C. (fig. 17).¹⁴⁵ Striking is the alignment



Figure 17. Black-figure hydria: Theseus fighting the Minotaur and Herakles struggling with Acheloos. Greek, Attic, ca. 510 B.C., attributed to the Leagros Group. British Museum, London (313).

of the scenes on the vertical axis, occupying the center of both figural panels: the battle with the Minotaur is placed on the shoulder of the hydria and consequently is smaller in scale than the Acheloos scene on the body. It is remarkable that the vase-painter uses the same poses to render the motif of the monster-fighting hero. Both monsters turn their head and upper body to face their opponent at the left, and both heroes grasp the horn of the hybrids.

Acheloos

Acheloos, like the Minotaur, also is a bull-man, but in reverse order: he is a man-headed bull (cat. nos. 92, 93). According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 340), he was the son of Okeanos and Tethys, or, as is recounted elsewhere (*Serv. Georg.* 1.8), his mother was Gaia (Earth).¹⁴⁶ A river deity, Acheloos was considered the father of numerous nymphs and of the sirens. A cult place of Acheloos is mentioned

by Plato (*Phdr.* 230b), in the Ilissos area of Athens. Nymphs, Pan, and other deities were also worshiped at the same sanctuary. Archilochos (287w) and Pindar (Fr. 249a SM) tell of a battle between Acheloos and Herakles, but a full account of the story is not preserved before that of Sophokles (*Trach.* 1–27). The episode is related to Herakles' desire to marry Deianeira, the daughter of Oineus of Kalydon. In order to fulfill his wish, Herakles had to fight the river god Acheloos, who already was courting Deianeira. As they wrestled, the hero broke off the horn of Acheloos and finally defeated him.

Acheloos as an individual figure without a narrative context appeared in art as early as the seventh century B.C., with the East Greek workshops having a prominent role in his initial representations.¹⁴⁷ The episode with Herakles, however, was introduced in Attic black-figure, the first depictions of the myth thus dating to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.¹⁴⁸ Corinthian and Caeretan pottery workshops followed suit. Although the theme was not completely abandoned later, the majority of the depictions date from the Archaic period. Acheloos is most commonly represented with the body of a bull and the head of a bearded man. On the hydria by the Leagros Group (fig. 17), however, Acheloos has the body of a horse and a human torso, like a centaur; were it not for the large horn on the river god's head, the scene could easily be mistaken for Herakles and Nessos (cf., e.g., cat. nos. 35, 37). The most remarkable representation of Acheloos, however, was painted by Olto on a red-figure stamnos of about 520 B.C. (fig. 18).¹⁴⁹ Here Acheloos has the fishlike body normally reserved for monsters of the sea rather than freshwater deities. Only the inscription AXEAOIO (running from right to left), which identifies the figure as the river god, and the way that Herakles grasps his prominent horn enable us to distinguish this combat from that with the sea monster Triton.

Triton

Triton is not mentioned by Homer. The earliest reference to him is in Hesiod's *Theogony* (930 ff.), where he is described as a horrible god (*deimos theos*)¹⁵⁰ and the son of Poseidon and Amphitrite. The visualization of this monster was a merman named Triton, who, according to Herodotos (4.179),



Figure 18. Red-figure stamnos: Acheloo with a fishlike body. Greek, Attic, ca. 520 B.C., signed by the potter Pamphaios and attributed to Olto. British Museum, London (E 437).

acted as a seer to the Argonauts. The account of Herodotos and that of Apollonios Rhodios (*Argon.* 4.1537–1619) relate Triton to Lake Tritonis in Libya. The term “triton” is used for rivers, springs, nymphs, and aquatic figures. It has therefore been suggested that in pre-Hellenic times the word meant “water” or something similar.¹⁵¹

Triton is a male *Mischwesen*, characterized in archaic Greek art as a man above the waist and a fish below. His just-noted connection to water provides a logical justification for this depiction and at the same time

emphasizes his aquatic connection. The combination of an elderly, civilized figure with a fish body was not limited to Triton but also was used in representing sea demons such as Nereus and Proteus.¹⁵² The three are so alike that often it is not clear which one is being portrayed. The origins of the type can be traced once again to the Near East. The Greeks borrowed the iconography during their Orientalizing period to personify their own mythical sea monsters. It is probable that the various dangers of marine voyages led to this personification of the constantly

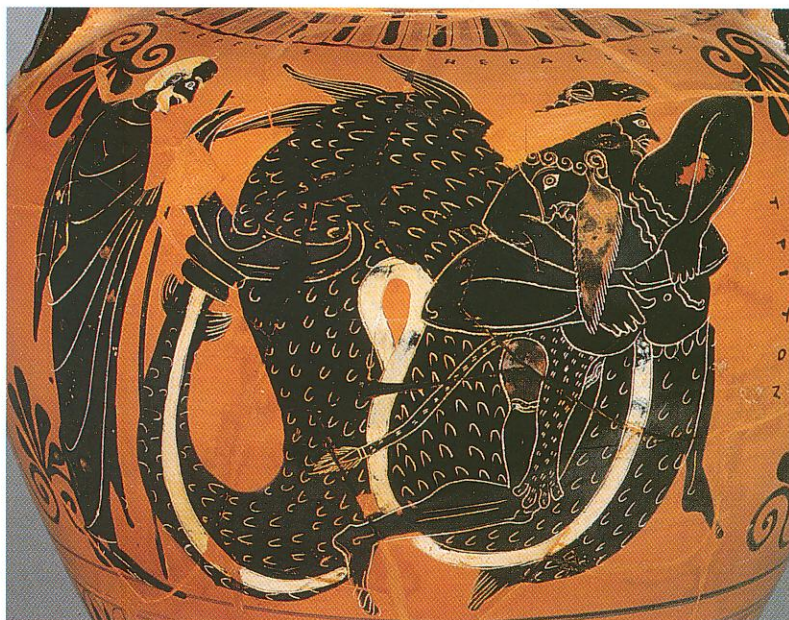


Figure 19. Black-figure neck-amphora: Nereus watching Herakles wrestling Triton. Greek, Attic, ca. 520–510 B.C., near the Group of Toronto 305. British Museum, London (B 223).

changing aspects of the sea and that the combative wrestling pictured between the sea demon and the heroes paralleled the Greeks' real struggle to succeed in marine navigation.

Representations of Triton began with certainty in the sixth century B.C. and depicted him as a composite creature whose head and upper body were human and whose lower body was that of a fish with a long tail. The battle of Triton with Herakles, the principal subject depicted in art (fig. 19), is not preserved in the literary sources. Ancient authors, however, emphasize the dreadful character of the sea monster and his dangerous aspect for humans. A tradition regarding his conquest by the greatest of heroes, therefore, was undoubtedly welcome. The struggle of Herakles with Triton appears to be an Athenian invention, for it appears almost exclusively on Attic vases and reliefs limited primarily to the second half of the sixth century B.C., with a particular popularity in the years 530–510 B.C. Furthermore, the name Triton is never found outside Attic art;¹⁵³ a series of inscriptions on Athenian vases identifies the hybrid and the subject. It appears that the scene replaced the struggle between Herakles and another sea demon, Nereus, about 560 B.C. The fight with

Triton has been regarded as having political symbolism, referring perhaps to some Athenian maritime success at the time of the Peisistratids.¹⁵⁴ Even though the iconography of the fight between Herakles and Triton is very close to that with Nereus, there are some differences that allow them to be distinguished: Triton is neither old nor mutating and Herakles does turn around.¹⁵⁵ Of interest are some representations in which Nereus watches the struggle between Herakles and Triton,¹⁵⁶ such as on a neck-amphora of about 520–510 B.C.¹⁵⁷ (fig. 19). Here Nereus, depicted as an old man holding a stick, looks on as his successor fights their common opponent. By the fifth century, the episode with Herakles had been abandoned, and Triton thereafter would appear in scenes with his parents and Theseus, as on a cup by Onesimos of about 500–490 B.C.¹⁵⁸

Typhon

The dangers of the sea, embodied by Triton, are even more powerful in the personification of Typhon, by virtue of his additional and equally destructive natural powers of wind and fire.¹⁵⁹ Typhon, known to Homer (*Il.* 2.780–783), is a demonic figure and, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 820–80), the youngest son of Gaia (Earth) and Tartaros, and father of the unpleasant winds. In Greek mythology, Typhon was born to prevent the gods from establishing themselves as rulers of the world after their victory over the Giants. Despite Gaia's desire, Zeus destroyed him with his thunderbolt and hurled him into Tartaros. The model of this combat with Zeus and the origin of the hybrid figure of Typhon in art are traceable to the Hittite myth about the dragon Illuyanka.¹⁶⁰

Hesiod describes Typhon as having human legs and one hundred snakes' heads growing from his shoulders. Some centuries later, Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.6.3) reverses this, presenting him with a human upper body and serpents instead of legs; in addition, he is said to have wings, wild hair and beard, and one hundred dragons' heads projecting from each hand. The fierceness, hostility, and danger posed by snakes and dragons are emphasized through the great number of reptiles common to both descriptions of Typhon. The serpent form seems ideal for this mythical monster because it suggests his chthonic origin and nature.¹⁶¹



Figure 20. Black-figure hydria: Zeus and Typhon. Greek, Chalcidian, probably made at Rhegion in Sicily, ca. 540–530 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich (596).

Typhon entered the repertoire of Greek artists in the seventh century B.C., appearing first at Corinth. His appearance in art, however, does not quite correspond to the earliest—and nearly contemporary—descriptions provided by the literary sources. He is shown with wings and serpents, but the latter are placed differently. The isolated being depicted on Protocorinthian vases and recognized as Typhon is a winged hybrid with a human torso and head, and a serpent body instead of legs.¹⁶² He usually has wild hair and beard and occasionally two serpents instead of one. The depiction of this same creature in a fight with Zeus on bronze shield bands from Olympia¹⁶³ allows us to identify him with the demon on the vases.

It is noteworthy that no certain depiction of Typhon is preserved in Attic art,¹⁶⁴ which suggests that the myth with Zeus could be a Peloponnesian invention. Except for a Chalcidian hydria, probably made at Rhegion in Sicily (fig. 20), all other known representations come from the Peloponnese, especially Laconia.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the most impressive depiction of the battle between Zeus and Typhon may be on the strikingly colorful Chalcidian vase, which dates to about 540–530 B.C.¹⁶⁶ Zeus rushes at Typhon, brandishing his thunderbolt. The monster, except for his face, is rendered frontally so that there is no mistaking the identity and power of the enemy, who is roughly twice as large as the figure of Zeus.



Figure 21. Red-figure oinochoe: Pan. Greek, Attic, ca. 470–460 B.C., attributed to the Geras Painter. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (126056).

Pan

Nonnos (*Dion.* 1.409–534) provides an interesting version of the story of Zeus and Typhon, in which the goat-god Pan is involved. The music of Pan's instrument, the syrinx, bewitches the monster and makes him dream that he is already lord of Olympos; in reality, though, the song celebrates the coming victory of Zeus and is only a trap. This form of the story does not occur in Archaic art, and

Pan is not included in the iconography of Typhon. Pan, however, is also a hybrid figure, a mixture of goat and human. A rustic god closely related to shepherds, Pan was considered the son of Hermes and Dryope. His liking for music—the syrinx, or Pan's pipes, is his principal instrument—dancing, flirting, and drinking wine, in combination with a bestial animalism like that of the satyrs, connects him closely to Dionysos. The name Pan derives from the root *pa(s)*, meaning the “guardian of the flocks.”¹⁶⁷ In the Homeric Hymn to Pan (19.45–47), however, his name is related to the Greek word *pan*, meaning all (*olos*), from the way he delighted *all* the gods.

Pan started as an Arcadian deity whose cult was introduced into Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, after his supposed intervention at the battle of Marathon.¹⁶⁸ His goatlike appearance corresponds to descriptions by the ancient authors. Artistic and literary evidence for him do not predate the fifth century B.C.¹⁶⁹ Greek art depicts him as a man-goat, at first with the animal's features predominating, but over time gradually evolving into a more humanized creature. In the beginning, in the early fifth century, he is almost entirely a goat; nevertheless, a representation showing a goat chorus cannot be identified with certainty as a depiction of multiple Pans.¹⁷⁰ Very soon, however, he is given a human torso and arms but with a goat's legs and tail, and a goat's head, bearded and horned (e.g., cat. no. 99).¹⁷¹ This becomes one of his standard forms along with a partially human shape that might have either a human head or human legs (fig. 21).¹⁷²

The scenes in which Pan is included are most frequently related to the world of Dionysos and the satyrs, rustic scenes, and erotic pursuits. These representations indicate that with Pan, the Greeks found a deity through whom they could express otherwise unacceptable behavior. From the fifth century through the Roman period, he is depicted in a variety of media, and occasionally multiple Pans and female *Paniske* are also found. Since the goat-god is not involved in any of the major Greek myths, he either functions as a side figure or appears in scenes without any particular narrative content.

With the exception of his physical appearance, Pan is not really closely associated with the other composite creatures presented in this essay. Although literary sources

attest that his appearance caused *panic* (a word deriving from his name),¹⁷³ this trait is much less fearsome than the attributes of Medusa or Typhon. Furthermore, he is not connected to death, nor can he be identified as a demon or guardian. "Otherness," however, as well as an element of the exotic, is found in all these creatures. Of all the Olympian deities, Pan is the only animal hybrid, very different from the rest of the gods. In that sense, he shares the generally barbaric behavior that characterizes all the other, more terrifying hybrids.

CONCLUSION

All those fabulous creatures, with the exception of Pan, made their appearance or reappearance in the Greek world sometime between the end of the eighth and the early seventh century B.C. The Peloponnese appears to have been the leader in introducing many of those beings into Greek art or to have played an important role in the development of their iconography.¹⁷⁴ At about the same time, literary sources began to provide information for the existence and genealogy of the hybrids. Homer knew only few (sirens, Typhon),¹⁷⁵ but Hesiod in his *Theogony* provided a full account, excluding—surprisingly—the sirens, the Minotaur (who is not preserved in the literary sources until Hellanikos,¹⁷⁶ in the fifth century), and the god Pan. Many of them belong to the *genos* of Pontos, as is stated in the *Theogony*, and they have Phorkys and Keto as their ancestors.

Although Hesiod does not provide a full description of those creatures, contemporary Greek art preserves their earliest indisputable images. Wild hair, beards, grimacing faces, and snakes are attributes used frequently to denote the fearsome character of some of the demonic beings. Wings appear also to be a common attribute for a wide range of these hybrid creatures, perhaps under the influence of Near Eastern art. Their use, however, in the Greek composite creatures might be an indication of rapid movement in an unconventional, supernatural way.¹⁷⁷ Until the sixth century B.C., it seems there was not a standard way of rendering the composite creatures; artists experimented with mixing different forms of existing creatures that served as prototypes for other unusual demons. In this way can be explained

the appearance in early Greek art of hybrids composed of other hybrids, such as the gorgon-sphinx, the Chimaera-sphinx, or the sphinx with two bodies and one head.¹⁷⁸

Equine elements are not unknown on some early hybrid creatures. Among the earliest representations of the Perseus myth is the relief-pithos already mentioned, with the Gorgon in the form of a centaur (fig. 13).¹⁷⁹ An equine element is also fairly common on some early sphinxes. On a late Geometric Attic skyphos, for example, two sphinxes with equine legs and hooves are depicted facing one another.¹⁸⁰ They are winged, with feline tails and human heads, and they retain the spiral-like motif on the head, an attribute of many early sphinxes. Typhon is the third hybrid recognized in the form of a centaur: an eighth-century bronze group shows a man fighting a centaurlike figure (cat. no. 13); and a Protocorinthian aryballos depicts a similar scene (cat. no. 31).¹⁸¹ The Minotaur might also be depicted in an equine form on a Cycladic relief-amphora of the seventh century B.C.¹⁸² Thus, the combination of human and horse seems in the early Archaic period to have been a device utilized to represent several different kinds of monsters (at the same time, we cannot be absolutely certain that the earliest centaurs were even conceived in this form). The association of the horse with deities and demons of the underworld might be related to this preference.¹⁸³

The fluid forms of these creatures, as evidenced by the various artistic attempts at their visualization and the absence or insufficient description provided by the literary sources, point toward their origin in and connection to the Near East. Their amorphous shapes also suggest that these monsters existed in the Greek imagination prior to their visualization and that it was not necessarily the Near Eastern *Mischwesen* that led to the creation of the Greek myths. A direct Near Eastern origin would have required a fixed form of representation from the very beginning, with changes expected to come later. Thus, the Greeks may be said to have borrowed the forms from the Near East to visualize their own mythological creatures. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that all those hybrid creatures express beliefs, fears, superstitions, and perhaps myths held in common by different cultures.

The many artistic attempts to embody those creatures of fantasy before their standardization, plus the indecisiveness

about gender, might be related to a different role previously played by the hybrids. Reading their hidden meaning and significance can be particularly complicated, especially because we might be missing the right password.¹⁸⁴ It is known that superstitions, fear, and demonic powers had much more influence on the Greeks of the Archaic period than in the Classical period and later. Iconography also shows that hybrid forms and monsters had less of an appeal for the Greeks of the fifth century than for their forebears of the Orientalizing period or even for the Greeks of the sixth century. And this cannot be unrelated to a general change in the repertoire that occurred in Greek art by the late Archaic period: violent, warlike scenes diminished and were replaced by scenes of daily life and other, less aggressive subjects. Considering those parameters, we may begin to think about some of the reasons that led to the gradual humanization of the earlier monstrous figures and their full absorption into mythology.

Death provides one link among the creatures. The exotic “foreignness” reflected in their composite nature was deemed the appropriate imagery of an unknown world, the underworld. The sphinx and the siren, for example, were widely employed on grave markers honoring and commemorating the dead. The Gorgon petrified those who turned their gaze upon her, depriving them of their senses. Triton embodied the threat in the sea, while Typhon destroyed humans through storm and fire. All the *πέλωρα* also have in common that they combine in one body three ontological characteristics: animal, human, and superhuman. This mixture of human and nonhuman features was suitable for a dual purpose: first, in their ferocious animal form, the hybrids protected against hostile supernatural forces in day-to-day living; and second, through their human element, they enabled mortals to conquer those symbols of death. Their complex, antithetical nature made of them “mediators between worlds.”¹⁸⁵ But which worlds? The only undeniable answer is that the *πέλωρα* mediated between the actual world and that of fantasy. The greatest Greek heroes—Herakles, Theseus, Odysseus, Oedipus, Perseus—were all monster-slayers, as was Zeus, first among the Olympians. And thus it is not surprising that in the end, human heroes or gods triumphed over all the supernatural beasts.

NOTES

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- 1 The name *πέλωρα* (*pelora*) characterizes oversized and giant creatures, usually malevolent beings like monsters, for example: Hom. *Il.* 18.410; *Od.* 9.428; 12.87; Homeric Hymn to Apollo 374, 401. For Gaia and her offspring: Hes. *Theog.* 159, 173, 295, 479, 505, 731, 821. For gorgoneion: Hom. *Il.* 5.741 and *Od.* 11.634; Karagiorga 1970, 69.
- 2 For hybrids, see Müller 1978, *passim*.
- 3 See below for the individual hybrids.
- 4 Akurgal 1968, 162–224.
- 5 Centaurs and satyrs in early Greek art are presented in Michael Padgett’s essay, “Horse Men,” in this volume; they are mentioned here only as part of the group of *Mischwesen* with human features.
- 6 Of interest is the explanation given by Pipili (1987, 89 n. 131): the moustache and the beard of the Gorgon probably represent a lion’s rough hide and mane, and are not male characteristics added to a female figure to enhance its hideous character (cf. Floren 1977, 15–16, 34–35, 58 ff.). For all three female hybrids, see Stibbe 2001, 1–38.
- 7 The bibliography on sirens is immense. See *RE* III A 1 (1927), 290 ff., s.v. “Sirenen” (Philipp); Roscher IV (1965²), 602–17, s.v. “Seirenen” (Weicker); Weicker 1902; Kunze 1932; Buschor 1944; Gropengiesser 1977; Hofstetter 1990; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 1093–1104, pls. 734–44, s.v. “Seirenes” (Hofstetter); Tsiafakis 2001, 7–24. For Corinthian plastic vases in the form of a siren, see Biers 1999, 135–46. For Laconian, Corinthian, and South Italian bronze sirens, see Stibbe 2001, 6–8, 24–27.
- 8 The ancient authors provide several different names for their mother, including the Muses Terpsichore, Melpomene, and Kalliope; another is Sterope, the daughter of Helios. See Weicker 1902, 67–68; *RE* III A 1, 294–95, s.v. “Sirenen”; Roscher IV, 604, s.v. “Seirenen.” See Soph. *Fr.* 852 for Phorkys as the father of the sirens.
- 9 Homer (*Od.* 12.39–46) knows only two sirens, in contrast to later authors like Apollodoros (*Epit.* 7.18), who, for example, gives three names.
- 10 Apollodoros, *Epit.* 7.18.
- 11 Ps.-Arist., *Mir. ausc.* 103; Strab. 6.252; Weicker 1902, 39–40.
- 12 Hom. *Od.* 12.39–46; 12.158–160; 12.197–200; 23.326. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.905–9.
- 13 Paus. 9.34.3. The story recalls the musical contest described by Homer (*Il.* 2.594–600) between the renowned Thracian musician Thamyras

- and the Muses, a contest that Thamyras lost. As punishment for his hubris, the Muses blinded him and took away his musical skills. Pausanias also recounts this story (1.3.3).
- 14 Buschor 1944, 11–14; Cooney 1968, 265–67; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 179–88; Tsiafakis 2001, 7; see also Childs, “The Human Animal,” in this volume.
- 15 Tsiafakis 2001, 7, no. 12 with earlier bibliography.
- 16 Cf. *LIMC* 8, 1095, nos. 8, 13, pl. 734, s.v. “Seirenes,” possibly a next stage in the depiction of the hybrid.
- 17 Weicker 1902, 36, 42; Buschor 1944, 19–23; Schefold 1964, 91; Hofstetter 1990, passim; Tsiafakis 2001, 7, no. 15.
- 18 Buschor 1944, 22, 41; Tsiafakis 2001, 11, no. 16.
- 19 Late Corinthian hydria, mid-sixth century B.C., Dresden 135; Amyx 1988, 271, C2.19; Knoll 1998, 46–47, no. 15.
- 20 Kunze 1932, 133, pl. V.5; *LIMC* 8, 1096–97, nos. 35–39, pl. 736, s.v. “Seirenes.” Kitharas and *krotala* (rattles) are the earliest musical instruments found in the hands of sirens.
- 21 Hofstetter 1990, passim; Vedder 1985, 276–83. Cf. the bronze askos in the form of a siren holding a syrinx, in Malibu (Getty 92.AC.5; fig. 2 above); Tsiafakis 2001, 7–24.
- 22 Cf. an Archaic engraved cornelian scarab in The Hague: Boardman 1968, 66, no. 140.
- 23 The attribute is found from the fifth century onward. A characteristic example shows the sirens on the Harpy Monument from Xanthos (now in London, Brit. Mus. B 287); Hofstetter 1990, 243–49, pls. 22–23. See also n. 36 below.
- 24 Cf. a red-figure Apulian loutrophoros in Malibu (Getty 86.AE.680), by the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148; Hofstetter 1990, 268, no. W45, pl. 29.1. See also the large terracotta sirens in Malibu (Getty 76.AD.11); Bottini and Guzzo 1993, 43–52. Attic statues of sirens from fourth-century B.C. graves also look more like women than birds: see Vedder 1985, 68–69, 103, 277, no. S 7a, figs. 43, 47, 51.
- 25 Black-figure hydria of the Archippe Group, Paris, Louvre E 869; *ABV* 106.2; *Paralipomena* 43; *BAdd*² 11; *CVA* Louvre 2, pls. 12.1 and 3, and 13; *LIMC* 8, 1097, no. 50, pl. 736, s.v. “Seirenes.” Black-figure band-cup by the potter Neandros, Boston 61.1073; *Paralipomena* 69; MuM Auktion XXII (May 13, 1961), pl. 38, no. 125; Hofstetter 1990, 97, no. A115.
- 26 Brommer 1973, 441–43; Hofstetter 1990, 33–35, 116–20, 130–32; *LIMC* 6 (1992), 962–64, nos. 150–89, pls. 632–33, s.v. “Odysseus” (Touchefeu-Meynier); Schefold 1978, 267–68. The subject reappears in the Hellenistic period on a group of almost thirty Etruscan cinerary urns. See Candida 1971, 214–15, no. 7, pl. II, fig. 1; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 174, no. 332; *LIMC* 6 (1992), 975, no. 93, pl. 648, s.v. “Odysseus/Uthuze” (Camporeale).
- 27 Boston 01.8100; Schefold 1978, 267–68; Hofstetter 1990, 34, 58, no. K90; Buitron and Cohen 1995, 31, pl. 39. Cf. a Middle Corinthian aryballos of about 590 B.C. (Basel BS 425.1966) depicting both a man standing on a boat and a siren, but their placement on the vessel makes the identification of the theme problematic: Amyx 1988, 180–81, 344, pl. 67.2; Hofstetter 1990, 33–34, 47, no. K47; Buitron and Cohen 1995, 31, pls. 44–45.
- 28 Athens, Nat. Mus. 1130; *ABV* 476; *Paralipomena* 217; *BAdd*² 120; Hofstetter 1990, 94–95, 117–18, no. A90; Buitron and Cohen 1995, 34, pls. 49–50.
- 29 London, Brit. Mus. 1943.11–3, 31 (E 440); *ARV*² 289.1; 1642; *Paralipomena* 355; *BAdd*² 210; Hofstetter 1990, 17, 122, 124–26, 130–31, no. A178, pl. 27.2; Buitron and Cohen 1995, 33, pl. 47.
- 30 On an Attic black-figure lekythos in Heidelberg (68/1), it is doubtful that the man standing between two sirens is Orpheus; see Tsiafakis 1998, 45 n. 161 with the earlier discussion. A possible depiction of the subject is on the terracotta group at the Getty Villa in Malibu (n. 24 above). Cf. also an Attic black-figure lekane (Dresden ZV.1464) by the Painter of the Dresden Lekane, first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (*ABV* 21.1; *BAdd*² 7; Knoll 1998, 50, no. 16); a male flanked by two sirens places his hands on their necks as if he is their master or is trying to beguile them. Is he Orpheus or some other male tempted by them?
- 31 Boston 27.146; Gropengiesser 1977, 593, fig. 15; Hofstetter 1990, 10, 81, 88, 192, no. A55. See also Huber 2001, passim.
- 32 Vedder 1985, 65–78. For animal symbolism in Greek vase-painting, see also Edlund 1980b, 31–34.
- 33 For Eos pursuing Kephalos or Tithonos, see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 16–21, 81–93, pls. 8–11.
- 34 Boardman 1968, 72; Rizza 1996, 139–43.
- 35 Late Corinthian alabastron in Berlin (VI.4285); Amyx 1988, 65; Hofstetter 1990, 61, fig. 1, pl. 3.1. Laconian black-figure cup in Catania (KC 4712); Rizza 1996, 135–43.
- 36 London, Brit. Mus. B 287; Hofstetter 1990, 243–49, pls. 22–23, with the earlier discussion and bibliography; *LIMC* 8, 1099, no. 73, pl. 739, s.v. “Seirenes.” Sphinxes also decorate this monument. Harpies are related to myth of the Thracian king Phineus, and they are depicted as winged female creatures very different from sirens. Hesiod (*Theog.* 266–69) presents them with beautiful hair and rapid wings. Homer (*Od.* 1.241; 14.371; 20.77) regards them as personified storm winds and clearly relates them to death. The Nettos Painter krater fragment (once in Berlin F 1682; *ABV* 5.4; *Paralipomena* 2, 8; *LIMC* 4 [1988], 446, no. 1, pl. 266, s.v. “Harpyiai” [Kahil and Jacquemin]) preserves an early, indisputable representation of Harpies as winged women through the inscription ΑΡΕΠΥΙΑ next to them. For Harpies, see Smith 1892–93, 103–14; *LIMC* 4, 445–50, pls. 267–71, s.v. “Harpyiai.” For the confusion surrounding the Harpies and other winged creatures, including their interchangeability, see Cohen 1997, 143–55.
- 37 For sirens as omens of death, see Gropengiesser 1977, 593–96.
- 38 Bevan 1986, 300–302, 309–11.
- 39 On the sphinx, see Roscher IV (1965²), 1298–1408, s.v. “Sphinx” (Ilberg); Payne 1931, 89–90; Verdélis 1951, 1–37; Dessenne 1957; Demisch 1977; Bosana-Kourou 1979; Rhyne 1982; Dierichs 1993, 33–54; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 1149–74, pls. 794–817, s.v. “Sphinx” (Kourou,

- Komvou, and Raftopoulou); for the Sphinx in Etruria, see *LIMC* 8 (1997), 1165–69, nos. 235–63, pls. 809–10, s.v. “Sphinx” (Krauskopf). For the Chian sphinx, see Zacharou-Loutrari 1998.
- 40 *LIMC* 8, 1158–60, nos. 123–64, pls. 801–4, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 41 See also Childs, “The Human Animal,” in this volume; Akurgal 1968, 187 and passim for representations of sphinxes in Egyptian and Near Eastern Art.
- 42 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.8; Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 326.
- 43 For the name, see Roscher IV, 1329, s.v. “Sphinx”; Demisch 1977, 13; *LIMC* 8, 1150, s.v. “Sphinx,” with the early discussions on an Egyptian origin of the name.
- 44 For the myth, see Gantz 1993, 23–24, 495–98; Hausmann 1972, 7–36. For an analysis of the myth of Oedipus and the Sphinx, see Edmunds 1981, 147–73; Edmunds 1988, 213–27; Hoffmann 1994, 71–80.
- 45 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.8, whose version follows closely that of Sophokles.
- 46 Poursat 1973, 111–14; Mylonas 1980, 352–62; Rhyne 1982, 3, 6, 264. See Demisch 1977, 65–69; Dessenne 1957, 122–53; esp. for Mycenaean pottery, see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, V27, V28, VI16–18, VIII30–32, X42, XI65, XI91. For connections between Crete and Egypt, see Warren 1995, 1–18.
- 47 Rombos 1988, 244–54, and they are all Cretan productions: a bell-krater from Tekke, Tomb E, near Knossos, dated about the middle of the ninth century B.C.; a bronze quiver from Fortetsa and a gold relief from Kavousi by the so-called Knossian Workshop, dated about the late ninth to the middle of the eighth century B.C. Note that Kourou (*LIMC* 8, 1156, no. 86, pl. 799) dates the krater even earlier, about 900 B.C.
- 48 Although not rare, representations of the sphinx become less popular from the fifth century B.C. onward: see Schefold 1964, 74; *LIMC* 8, 1149–65, pls. 794–817, s.v. “Sphinx.” For the sphinx in Archaic relief-pithoi, see Anderson 1975, passim.
- 49 See Rombos 1988, 246–50; *LIMC* 8, 1158, nos. 123–25, 127, 139–41, pls. 801–2, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 50 Rombos 1988, 248–50; *LIMC* 8, 1158, nos. 123–28, pl. 801, s.v. “Sphinx.” Helmeted sphinxes are known earlier from the Near East: cf. a bronze bowl of about 900 B.C., probably from North Syria and found in Lefkandi, depicting helmeted sphinxes flanking Trees of Life (Lemos 2000, 12–13).
- 51 Payne 1931, 90. According to Payne, the Ionian sphinxes are bareheaded. For Cretan influence on Laconian sphinxes, see Anderson 1975, 67.
- 52 Dierichs 1993, 33–54. Cf. also the sphinx on the Chigi Vase (see n. 178 below).
- 53 Cook 1933–34, 165–219; Verdélis 1951, 1–37; Whitley 1994b, 63; Kyrkou 1997, 428–30, figs. 10–13. For the sphinx in Cycladic vase painting, see Zapheiroupolou 1985, 56–58.
- 54 *LIMC* 8, 1152–57, s.v. “Sphinx.” For Laconian, Corinthian, and South Italian Archaic bronze sphinxes, see Stibbe 2001, 2–4, 8–20.
- 55 Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 508, 1199; Eur. *Phoen.* 806, 1042.
- 56 The term is borrowed from Diodoros (4.64.3), who addresses the Sphinx with this epithet but without further explanation.
- 57 Late Corinthian amphora by the Tydeus Painter (Paris, Louvre E 640): Payne 1931, pl. 40; Amyx 1988, 270, 330, 588.
- 58 Payne 1931, 89. For bearded sphinxes, see *LIMC* 8, 1158, nos. 129–34, pls. 801–2, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 59 Attic Late Geometric IIa cup from the Athens 894 Workshop (Athens, Nat. Mus. A 784): Rombos 1988, 244–45, cat. no. 202, pl. 46b; *LIMC* 8, 1158, nos. 135–38, pl. 802, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 60 The scene is found on Middle Protocorinthian vases. See Amyx 1988, 661; *LIMC* 8, 1161, nos. 189–90, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 61 *LIMC* 8, 1161, no. 188, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 62 Athens, Nat. Mus. 2870: Gantz 1993, 24.
- 63 Hom. *Il.* 2.302; 3.454; 11.332; 12.326–27; 13.665; 16.687; 21.548; 18.115–18, 535–40; 22.202; 23.78–79; *Od.* 3.410; 4.502; 5.387; 11.171, 398; 14.207; 17.500, 547; 19.558; 22.66; 23.332. Aischylos (*Sept.* 776) also uses the term *Ker* for the Sphinx. Cf. Walter 1960, 66–67, who recognizes the *Ker* in the sphinxes of the eighth–seventh centuries B.C. For *Ker* as demon of death, see *LIMC* 6 (1992), s.v. “*Ker*” 14–23, pls. 11–12 (Vollkommer).
- 64 Moret 1984, 15–17, figs. 1, 2, pls. 10.2–3, 11.
- 65 Moret 1984, 24–26; *LIMC* 8, 1160, nos. 172–81, pls. 804–5, s.v. “Sphinx.” On gems, see esp. Boardman 1968, 65–76. For the sphinx as man-killer, see Cohen 2000a, 103–6.
- 66 Pairs of sphinxes flanking warrior or battle scenes are found on black-figure vases of the sixth century B.C. See *LIMC* 8, 1161, nos. 190–92, pl. 805, s.v. “Sphinx.” Of interest is a Middle Protocorinthian aryballos painted in a style close to that of the Huntsmen Painter in Syracuse (Payne 1931, pl. 1.4; Amyx 1988, 25, no. 3), depicting a warrior between two male sphinxes. See also the sphinxes flanking the Kalydonian boar hunt on the François Vase, the famous Attic black-figure volute-krater by Kleitias and Ergotimos (Florence 4209): *ABV* 76.1; *Paralipomena* 29–30; *BAdd*² 21; Minto 1960; Cristofani, Marzi, and Perissinotto 1981.
- 67 Attic red-figure cup by the Kleomelos Painter of about 490–480 B.C. (Malibu, Getty 85.AE.377): *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986): 190; Cohen 2000a, 104–5. Pausanias (5.11.2) relates that Theban youths seized by the monster were carved on the front legs of the throne of Pheidias’s colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus in Olympia. For a recent discussion of this statue, see Lapatin 2001, 79–85, 136.
- 68 Oakley and Langridge 1994, 41–42, no. 28; Hoffmann 1997, 82–83.
- 69 Vermeule 1979, 171; Moret 1984, 9–29; Cohen 2000a, 105; Hurwit 2002, 18. See also discussion above for sirens carrying off youths.
- 70 Band-cup by Archikles and Glaukytes (Munich 2243): *ABV* 1633.2; *Paralipomena* 68; *BAdd*² 47; *LIMC* 8, 1155–56, no. 82, pl. 799, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 71 Jordan 1988, 194–97.
- 72 Higgins 1959, 37, 40, pls. 27–28.
- 73 Cf. the two sphinx vases in the British Museum, from the so-called Brygos tomb at Capua, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century

- b.c.: the first is attributed to the Athenian potter Sotades (E 788: *ARV*² 764.8); the second to the Tarquinia Painter (E 787: *ARV*² 870.89). For the vases, see Williams 1992, 617–36; Hoffmann 1994, 71–76; Hoffmann 1997, 77–88. An interesting example is the sphinx vase dated to the fourth century b.c., from Phanagoria, now in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Φa 1869-7: Demisch 1977, 95, fig. 265.
- 74 Danner 1989; Winter 1993, 21, 26, 37, 50, 112, 126, 128–30, 141–43. The preserved examples indicate that Corinth and the areas under its influence employed sphinxes as acroteria. Their use as antefixes in the Arcadian system is especially distinctive. In contrast, sirens are not common in architecture as acroteria or antefixes. Cf. a terracotta antefix from Gela, dated in the sixth century b.c. (Winter 1993, 279).
- 75 Bevan 1986, 293–97, 302–3, 312–14.
- 76 Homolle 1909, 54.
- 77 *LMC* 8, 1153, no. 31, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 78 The chryselephantine statue that stood in the cella of the Parthenon is dated 438 b.c.; it is known only from copies and literary sources: *LMC* 8, 1155, no. 71, s.v. “Sphinx”; for this and other chryselephantine statues, see Lapatin 2001. For the Middle Protocorinthian krateriskos of about 670 b.c. in the Samos Museum, see Walter 1960, 65, pl. 5.15; Benson 1995, 165, pl. 37a.
- 79 They occurred between 600 and 530 b.c. and were then abandoned. It seems that they yielded this role to the sirens in the fourth century b.c. (Richter 1961, 15–36). On this subject, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, 83–87; Hoffmann 1997, 79–80; and Walter-Karydi 2002, 63–70.
- 80 Volos 690: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 239; Müller 1978, 335.
- 81 Walter-Karydi 2002, 68–70. The explanation that connects the abandonment of the funerary sphinx with an Athenian law limiting luxury (see Richter 1961, 38–39; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 89–90) is no longer accepted by many scholars: see Shapiro 1991, 631; Morris 1992, 38.
- 82 Vase-painting is our principal source for this change. For the repertoire during the sixth century b.c., see Boardman 1974 *passim*; for the fifth century, see Robertson 1992, *passim* and Boardman 1975a, *passim*.
- 83 The scene with the sphinx carrying a dead youth cannot, as was stated earlier, be exclusively related to this story. For Oedipus and the Sphinx, see Brommer 1973, 481–83, 551; Hausmann 1972, 7–36; Schefold 1978, 87–88. For suggested representations of the Theban Sphinx in the seventh century b.c., see Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 45–46.
- 84 Chalcidian black-figure amphora in Stuttgart (65/15): Hausmann 1972, 22–23, figs. 21–23; Moret 1984, no. 101, pl. 58; *LMC* 7 (1994), 6, no. 46, pl. 11, s.v. “Oidipous” (Krauskopf).
- 85 Attic red-figure cup in Rome (Vatican 16541: *ARV*² 451.1; *LMC* 7, 4, no. 19, pl. 7, s.v. “Oidipous.”) The subject appeared only sporadically during the sixth century.
- 86 *LMC* 8, 1160–61, nos. 183–84, pl. 805, s.v. “Sphinx”; Hoffmann (1997, 81–82) interprets the scene as “the city’s future hoplites, awaiting initiation—submitting to the terror of death, from which they will emerge reborn.”
- 87 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.8. See also Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 391–98 and Eurip. *Phoen.* 806–11.
- 88 London, Brit. Mus. E 696: *ARV*² 1325.49; *BAdd*² 364; Burn 1987, 46–48, pl. 32; Moret 1984, 80–82, no. 105, pl. 63; cf. also Gantz 1993, 497.
- 89 Moret 1984, 80–82, with bibliography.
- 90 Burn 1987, 46–48.
- 91 Moret 1984, 77–93; Hausmann 1972, 9–10; *LMC* 7, 8–9, nos. 75–77, pl. 13, s.v. “Oidipous”; *LMC* 8, 1161, no. 186, pl. 805, s.v. “Sphinx.” Add also an Attic black-figure oinochoe, Rhodes 12368: *ABV* 428.2 (Collar-of-Esses Class); Lemos 1997, 458, fig. 2.
- 92 Hanfmann 1953, 230.
- 93 The major distinction between the votive and the funerary sphinx is the frontal head of the latter, which faces the viewer of the stela. In contrast, the head of the votive sphinx follows the direction of the body: see Walter-Karydi 2002, 63.
- 94 *LMC* 8, 1152–53, nos. 8, 38, pl. 794, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 95 *Ibid.*, 1153, no. 40.
- 96 Hes. *Theog.* 270–82. Gantz 1993, 19–22; Besig 1937; Schauenburg 1960; Vernant 1985.
- 97 For the name, see Riccioni 1960, 127–28; Howe 1954, 209. Gerojannis (1927/28, 144) claimed that Medusa and Eurymedusa were common female names without a particular significance, at least from Homeric times onward; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.727; *Od.* 4.627, 696. Pausanias (10.26.9) calls Medusa one of Priam’s daughters.
- 98 For the various suggestions on the origin and meaning of the Gorgon, see Roscher I, 2 (1965), 1695–1727, s.v. “Gorgones” (Furtwängler); Frothingham 1911, 349–77; Marinatos 1927/28, 13–41; Hopkins 1934, 341–58; Howe 1954, 209–22; Riccioni 1960, 127–206; Boardman 1968, 37–39; Karagiorga 1964, 116–22; Karagiorga 1970, 23–45. See also Childs, “The Human Animal,” in this volume.
- 99 Floren 1977; *LMC* 4 (1988), 298–99, nos. 127–44, pls. 172–73, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones” (Krauskopf).
- 100 *Il.* 5.741–42; 8.349; 11.36–37; *Od.* 11.633–35.
- 101 For their representation in Greek art, see Besig 1937; Schefold 1964, 38, 49, 52; Karagiorga 1970; Brommer 1973, 274–283; Floren 1977; *LMC* 4, 285–330, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones” (literary sources: Dahlinger); cf. also Payne 1931, 79–89; Riccioni 1960, 127–206; Boardman 1968, 28 ff.; Rizzo 1992–93, 233–57.
- 102 Besig 1937, 5–7; Riccioni 1960, 129–57; but cf. Touloupa 1969, 877: Gorgons may have existed earlier than the seventh century b.c. 103 Payne (1931, 79–89) provides a full discussion of the type and its development, from the Protocorinthian to the Late Corinthian period; see also Amyx 1988, vol. 2, 626.
- 104 For the gorgoneion in Laconian art, see particularly Pipili 1987, 14–18.
- 105 Higgins 1967a, 31. The Gorgoneion Group of plastic vases is named after this type.
- 106 Boardman 1968, 27–44, 89–102.

- 107 Belson 1981, *passim*; Winter 1993, 110, 114, 123, 125–26, 129, 137, 141–44, 199–200, 223–24, 227–28, 258, 261–62, 266–69, 279, 303. Use of the gorgoneion on a pediment is not common in mainland Greece, but it is known from Sicily (Belson 1981, 38–39; Riccioni 1960, 161, fig. 44).
- 108 Connor 1983, 23–31; Jordan 1988, 59–65.
- 109 For tattooing as a barbarian attribute, see Hdt. 5.6, 2.113; Tsiafakis 2000, 372–73; Tsiafakis 1998, 38, with earlier bibliography. For gorgoneia decorated with dots, cf. Jordan 1988, 68–69. Cf. also the dots decorating the entire face of a gorgoneion on a Corinthian alabastron by the Scale Painter of about 550 B.C. (Philadelphia, MS 553): Payne 1931, no. 457, fig. 24b; Amyx 150, 290; Karagiorga 1970, 106, fig. 13; *LIMC* 8, 1163, no. 223, pl. 808, s.v. “Sphinx.” The dots on the forehead occur mostly on Attic gorgoneia; they have been interpreted as hints at the creature’s animal-like nature. See Jordan 1988, 68–69 n. 86, with a summary of the earlier discussion.
- 110 Hitzl 1982, 57–58, 247–54, 256–70, pls. 14–16, 18, 22; Vokotopoulou 1997, nos. 98, 100–102, 105. Cf., for example, a bronze volute-krater handle in London (Brit. Mus. Br 585 [73.8-20.99]): Pipili 1987, 18, fig. 27. For Laconian, Corinthian, and South Italian Archaic bronze Gorgons, see also Stibbe 2001, 4–6, 20–24.
- 111 Joffroy 1954; Joffroy 1962; Rolley 1982, 57–71; Vokotopoulou 1975, 106, 108–19, 182, pl. 42b; Thouverin 1990, 301–4.
- 112 Attic black-figure amphora, Paris, Louvre F 99; Connor 1983, 24, fig. 5.
- 113 The aegis was initially a plain skin that was fringed with snakes; eventually it was frequently covered with scales. The Gorgon’s head was attached to it after about 530 B.C. (Besig 1937, 5; Carpenter 1991, 46).
- 114 Paris, Louvre F 53, about 550–540 B.C.: *ABV* 136.49.
- 115 For representation of the myth in Greek art, see Schauenburg 1960; Schefold 1978, 81–85; Schefold 1988, 100–107; *LIMC* 4, 311–15, nos. 289–342, pls. 182–88, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones”; Amyx 1988, 625–26; Carpenter 1991, 104–6 (with a brief summary of the development of the myth in Greek art); *LIMC* 7 (1994), 332–48, pls. 272–308, s.v. “Perseus” (Roccos).
- 116 Paris, Louvre CA 795; Frothingham 1911, 373–74; Howe 1954, 214; Riccioni 1960, 146–49, fig. 28; Karagiorga 1970, 2, 14, 151, no. I 9, pl. 5a.
- 117 Earlier scholarship has suggested three different interpretations for the equine shape of Medusa: (1) desire to emphasize her monstrous character; (2) association with an equine-type earth goddess, who had mated with the horse-like Poseidon; (3) birth of Pegasus. See Ahlberg-Cornell (1992, 144, with earlier discussion), who believes that the artist portrays the birth of Pegasus in his own way. Fittschen (1969, 128) suggests that the equine form of Medusa is connected to her having given birth to one human (Chrysaor) and one horse (Pegasus), and therefore that she must be part of each. Accordingly, he does not accept that the scene on the pithos in Louvre CA 795 depicts the very act of giving birth. For the relation of Medusa with Poseidon and the horse, see also Papachatzis 1987, 109–15; Burkert 1985, 138, 222; Simon 1985, 71; Vernant 1992, 46–47.
- 118 Eleusis 2630: Mylonas 1957; Riccioni 1960, 151–55, figs. 36–38; Karagiorga 1970, 13, 151, no. II 9, fig. 2; Whitley 1994b, 63–64; Carpenter 1991, 233–34, figs. 340–41.
- 119 Rodenwaldt 1939; Hampe 1935/36, 269–99; Kunze 1963, 74–89; Benson 1967, 48–60; Stucchi 1981, 7–86; Marinatos 2001, 83–88.
- 120 *LIMC* 4, 313–15, nos. 307–42, pls. 184–88, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.”
- 121 For the extant examples, see Boardman 1968, 27–29; *LIMC* 4, 310–11, nos. 279–88, pls. 181–82, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.” See also Karagiorga 1970, 73–78.
- 122 London, Brit. Mus. 748; Riccioni 1960, 137, fig. 13; Karagiorga 1970, 33, 153, no. IV 10, pl. 6a; Carpenter 1991, 106, fig. 157.
- 123 Howe 1954, 214–15; Vernant 1992, 34–36, 44–47.
- 124 See n. 66 above. Worthy of note is that on the inner face of the handles are two Gorgons with outstretched tongues and hair comprised of serpents.
- 125 For the Corfu pediment, see Hampe 1935/36, 269–99; Kunze 1963, 74–89; Benson 1967, 48–60; Simon 1985, 170–71; Bevan 1986, 277. In his discussion of the Corfu pediment, Marinatos (2001, 83–88) also refers to the relationship between the Gorgon and Artemis. For similarities between the two, see also Vernant 1992, 34–36.
- 126 *LIMC* 4, 315–16, nos. 344–51, pl. 188, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.”
- 127 Boardman 1968, 27–28, pl. 2.
- 128 Riccioni 1960, figs. 14–15; Boardman 1968, 29; *LIMC* 4, 315–16, no. 348, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.”
- 129 *LIMC* 4, 315–16, nos. 345–46, pl. 188, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.”
- 130 *Ibid.*
- 131 For the meaning of the Gorgon and the gorgoneion, cf. also Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 151–65; Vernant 1985.
- 132 Bevan (1986, 277–85) also accepts the earlier interpretation of the Gorgon image as a symbol of the sun.
- 133 Although the gilded gorgoneion, a gift from Antiochus IV, king of Syria in the second century B.C., is much later than the period under study, its placement on the battlements is still indicative of its protective role. As an apotropaic demon, it kept enemies away from the city.
- 134 Even today, every newborn baby gets as a gift at least one *mataki* [little eye] that is placed over the clothes in order to protect the baby and to keep away the “evil eye.”
- 135 Attic black-figure eye-cup of about 520 B.C., Munich 2027; *ABV* 205; *LIMC* 4, 291–92, no. 41, s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones.”
- 136 Attic black-figure eye-cup, Cambridge, Fitz. 61; *ABV* 202.2; Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 163, fig. 230.
- 137 On the sphinx and other female killers, see Cohen 2000a, 98–131.
- 138 Cf. the human-headed equine Minotaur depicted on a Cycladic relief-amphora of the mid-seventh century B.C. in Basel (Kä 601): Fittschen 1969, 166, no. SB 63.
- 139 Young 1972, 102–3, 122; Neils 1987, 22. See also Childs, “The Human Animal,” in this volume.
- 140 For the Minotaur in Greek art, see Roscher II, 2 (1965), 3004–11, s.v. “Minotaurus” (Helbig); Schefold 1964, 12, 24, 37, 58, 66, 70; Fittschen

- 1969, 166–68; Young 1972; Schefold 1978, 150–53; Neils 1987, 22–27; Schefold 1988, 253–58; *LIMC* 6 (1992), 575, 577, nos. 6, 7, 33, pls. 316, 321, s.v. “Minotauros” (Woodford); Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 123–24; *LIMC* 7 (1994), 940–43, nos. 228–63, pls. 661–62, s.v. “Theseus” (Woodford). Among the earliest representations are five identical gold reliefs from Corinth, dated about 675–650 B.C., in Berlin (G I 332–336): Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 123, 225, no. 138, fig. 225.
- 141 Attic black-figure amphora by Lydos or a painter close to him, of about 550–540 B.C., in Malibu (Getty 86.AE.60): *Getty Antiquities* 2002, 60.
- 142 For the representations of the theme, see Brommer 1973, 226–43.
- 143 For the Archikles and Glaukytes cup, see n. 70 above. The other cup is in London, V&A 373-1883; *LIMC* 8, 1162, no. 219, s.v. “Sphinx.”
- 144 Brussels, A 1374: Payne 1931, pl. 34.6; Amyx 203–4, 627, 630; *LIMC* 7, 940, no. 228, s.v. “Theseus”; photograph in *LIMC* 1 (1981), 27, no. 246, pl. 50, s.v. “Acheloos” (Isler).
- 145 Black-figure hydria attributed to the Leagros Group (London, Brit. Mus. 313): *ABV* 360.1; Carpenter 1991, fig. 225.
- 146 For Acheloos, see Roscher I, 1 (1965), 6–9, s.v. “Acheloos” (Stoll); Schefold 1964, 21, 22, 66, 70; Isler 1970; Schefold 1978, 146–47; *LIMC* 1 (1981), 12–36, pls. 19–54, s.v. “Acheloos” (Isler); Schefold 1988, 185–90; Gantz 1993, 28–29.
- 147 For early East Greek, *LIMC* 1, 13, nos. 2, 3, pl. 19, s.v. “Acheloos.” The subject is extremely rare in Corinthian vase painting; see Amyx 1988, 630, and cf. a Middle Protocorinthian oinochoe, Syracuse 42684: Payne 1931, 13, fig. 6; *LIMC* 1, 13, no. 1, s.v. “Acheloos.” In the discussion in *LIMC* 1, 30–32, Isler provides an overview of the representations of Acheloos as an individual figure. The Syracuse oinochoe has recently been published in Bennett, Paul, and Iozzo 2002, 224–25, no. 47, with color plate.
- 148 Brommer 1973, 3–4.
- 149 Attic red-figure stamnos signed by the potter Pamphaios (London, Brit. Mus. E 437): *ARV*² 54.5; *LIMC* 1, 27, no. 245, pl. 50, s.v. “Acheloos.”
- 150 For Triton, see Roscher V (1965), 1150–1207, s.v. “Triton” (Dressler); Payne 1931, 77–78; Shepard 1940, passim; Brommer 1973, 143–51; Schefold 1978, 128–30; Glynn 1981, 121–32; Brommer 1983a, 103–9; Ahlberg-Cornell 1984; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 105–7; Barringer 1995, 155–62; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 68–73, pls. 42–46, s.v. “Triton” (Icard-Gianolio).
- 151 Roussos 1986, 246.
- 152 For Nereus and Proteus, see Shepard 1940, passim; Glynn 1981, 121–32; Brommer 1983a, 103–9; *LIMC* 6 (1992), 825–27, nos. 1–6, 16–25, pls. 516, 519–20, s.v. “Nereus” (Pipili); *LIMC* 7 (1994), 560–61, s.v. “Proteus” (Icard-Gianolio).
- 153 Brommer 1983a, 103; Glynn 1981, 126.
- 154 Boardman 1972, 59–60, 70; Glynn 1981, 121–32; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 106–7.
- 155 Apart from the iconography, it is also the literary tradition (Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 16a; Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 164; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11) that refers to Nereus’s changes during his fight with Herakles.
- 156 *LIMC* 6, 833–34, nos. 107–24, pls. 529–33, s.v. “Nereus.”
- 157 Attic black-figure neck-amphora, near the Group of Toronto 305 (London, Brit. Mus. B 223): *ABV* 284.7; *Paralipomena* 125; *BAdd*² 74; *LIMC* 6, 833, no. 107, pl. 529, s.v. “Nereus.”
- 158 Attic red-figure cup in Paris, Louvre G 104: *ARV*² 318.1, 1645; *Paralipomena* 358; *BAdd*² 214; Denoyelle and Pasquier 1994, 110–11, 192, no. 50. For other representations of the subject, see *LIMC* 8, 71, no. 23, s.v. “Triton.”
- 159 The name Typhon is related to the verb *typhain* (to consume in smoke). See Roscher V (1965), 1441–42, s.v. “Typhon” (Schmidt). Typhon is called Seth and Sutech in Egypt (Seippel 1939, 5).
- 160 Akurgal 1968, 165–66; Burkert 1982, 7–9. See also Childs, “The Human Animal,” in this volume.
- 161 Cf. another hybrid, Kekrops, the legendary first king of Athens, who was the incarnation of autochthony. Sources say he was born from the earth rather than from a female (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.1) and was characterized as a man who had the lower part of his body in the form of a snake.
- 162 Roscher V, 1426–54, s.v. “Typhon”; Payne 1931, 76–77; Seippel 1939; Schefold 1964, 15, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29, 32, 36, 49–51, 60, 61; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 147–52, pls. 112–13, s.v. “Typhon” (Touchefeu-Meynier). Pausanias’s information (5.19.1) that Boreas was represented with snakelike legs on the Chest of Kypselos calls into question the identification of the figure with Typhon. In either case, however, we have a wind-demon.
- 163 *LIMC* 8, 149, nos. 16–19, pl. 113 s.v. “Typhon.”
- 164 For two uncertain depictions, see *ibid.*, 150, nos. 25–26.
- 165 For Typhon in Laconian iconography, see Pipili 1987, 68–69. For his presence in Etruscan art, see *LIMC* 8 (1997), 151–52, s.v. “Typhon” (Krauskopf).
- 166 Munich 596: *LIMC* 8, 149, no. 14, pl. 113, s.v. “Typhon.”
- 167 Borgeaud 1988, 181; Roscher III (1965), 1404–6, s.v. “Pan” (Roscher).
- 168 Htd. 6.105; Borgeaud 1988, 133–35.
- 169 *LIMC* 8 (1997), 923–41, pls. 612–34, s.v. “Pan” (Boardman).
- 170 *Ibid.*, 924, nos. 1, 2, pl. 612, s.v. “Pan.”
- 171 Cf. the name-vase of the Pan Painter (Boston 10.185): *ARV*² 550.1; *BAdd*² 256–57; Cohen 2000a, 116–17, fig. 4.5.
- 172 Attic red-figure oinochoe by the Geras Painter, about 470–460 B.C. (Naples 126056): *ARV*² 287.32; Boardman 1997, 925.22.
- 173 According to Ailianos Taktikos (27), he instilled panic on the Persians at Marathon; for Pan’s effect on the Trojan guards, see Eur. *Rhes.* 36–37.
- 174 According to Whitley (1994b, 61), the adoption of Oriental and Orientalizing imagery in Greece began when the conventions of the Attic Geometric were slowly breaking down, and “[c]ommunities such as Corinth, whose Geometric tradition was less established, . . . were in the forefront of these developments.”
- 175 The Gorgon is not included since Homer refers only to the gorgoneion.
- 176 *FGrH* 4 F 164.
- 177 For winged figures, see Kenner 1939, 83–95; Cohen 1997, 141–51.

- 178 *LMC* 8, 1159, nos. 154–61, pls. 803–4, s.v. “Sphinx.” It is remarkable that the majority of those examples are Peloponnesian creations. The static, bicorporate sphinx, in particular, appears to be a Corinthian invention. Cf. the sphinx on the Chigi Vase, a Protocorinthian olpe by the Chigi Painter, about 650–640 B.C. (Rome, Villa Giulia 22679): Amyx 1988, 369; Hurwit 2002, 1–22, with all the earlier bibliography on the vase and esp. p. 10 for the double sphinx.
- 179 Relief-pithos, Paris, Louvre CA 795. See n. 116 above.
- 180 Athens, Nat. Mus. 784: Rombos 1988, 244–45, cat. no. 202, pl. 46b; see also 248–49 for Cretan sphinxes with equine body.
- 181 Bronze group, New York, Met. 17.190.2072 (this volume, cat. no. 13): see Akurgal 1968, 170–72; Fittschen 1969, 111, 119, no. SB1, fig. 16; *LMC* 8, 150, no. 27, s.v. “Typhon.” Protocorinthian aryballos attributed to the Ajax Painter, Boston 95.12 (this volume, cat. no. 31): see Fittschen 1969, 113, 119, no. SB5; *LMC* 8, 150, no. 22, s.v. “Typhon” (picture in *LMC* 8, 317, no. 16, pl. 219, s.v. “Zeus” [Tiverios]). The identification with Typhon was proposed by Buschor (1934, 128–32) and accepted by Kunze and Schefold. For a different opinion and the earlier discussion, see Fittschen 1969, 119–28; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 25–26, 103–4.
- 182 Relief-amphora from Boiotia (Basel, Ciba Collection): Fittschen 1969, 166–68, no. SB63.
- 183 Papachatzis 1987, 111; Burkert 1985, 138.
- 184 For a new reading of the Chigi Vase, see Hurwit 2002, 1–22. Cf. also Edlund 1980b, 31–35; Hoffman 1994, 71–80; Whitley 1994b, 51–70.
- 185 Hoffman 1994, 74.

