

# **Childhood Companions: Children and Animal Companions on Attic Red-Figure Vases**

by  
Michelle Sharon Sanders

*Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts  
and Social Sciences at  
Stellenbosch University*



Supervisors: Dr. Samantha Masters & Dr. Annemarie de Villiers

April 2019

## Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

April 2019

Copyright © 2019 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

# Abstract

In ancient Greece, children and animals found themselves on the periphery of social importance, more closely grouped with slaves than with their older male citizens. This lack of importance has resulted in a lack of documentation on them, in both ancient and modern-day times. However, in recent years there has been a surge of interest in the animals and children of ancient Greece, allowing scholars the opportunity to potentially fill in certain gaps of knowledge. One of the gaps which has yet to be filled, is the relationship and interactions between children and their pets. The aim of this thesis is then to research the relationship that may have existed between children and their ‘personal animals’.

Although sources on these topics can be scarce and problematic, one of the best sources we have showing these interactions are on red-figure vase paintings. Therefore, 203 red-figured vases showing children and animal interactions were selected from the Beazley Archive, catalogued and studied. Vases which contain animals such as Spitz-type lap dogs, hunting dogs, deer, goats and hares were included in this study. By studying these vases in as much detail as possible, this thesis aimed to identify which animals were consistently paired with which age category of the child, whether or not the vase paintings could be viewed as real life scenarios, whether it would be possible to read in these differing pairings of animal and child other reflections of identity and perceptions of childhood and finally how the symbolism of the image would change in accordance to the animal and the age category of the child it is paired with.

To do so, this study utilised a number of primary and secondary sources to gain some insight into the lives of ancient Greek children and the above-mentioned animals to better understand not only their roles in society but also the possible meaning and symbolism linked with the various animals. It was found that certain animals are in fact consistently paired with specific age groups, while the symbolism attached to animals which are depicted with a number of age groups does appear to change, depending on the age group.

# Opsomming

In antieke Griekeland was kinders en diere van marginale sosiale belang en is eerder met slawe as met hulle ouer manlike eweknieë gegroeper. As gevolg van die gebrek aan belang is daar ook 'n gebrek aan dokumentasie oor hierdie kinders en diere, in die antieke tyd sowel as vandag. Navorsing van die laaste paar jaar toon egter 'n groot belangstelling in die diere en kinders van antieke Griekeland en bied aan akademici die geleentheid om gebrekkige kennis te probeer aanvul. Een van die gapings wat nog aangevul moet word, is dié van die verhouding en die interaksies tussen kinders en hulle troeteldiere. Die doel van hierdie tesis is daarom om navorsing oor die verhouding wat moontlik tussen kinders en hulle 'persoonlike diere' bestaan het, te doen.

Alhoewel bronne oor hierdie onderwerpe skaars en problematies kan wees, is rooi-figuur vaas kuns een van die beste bronne wat hierdie interaksies uitbeeld; daarom is 203 rooi-figuur vase wat kind-dier interaksie uitbeeld uit die Beazley Archive gekies om gekatalogiseer en bestudeer te word. Vase met dier afbeeldings van Spitz-tipe skoothonde, jaghonde, takbokke, bokke en hase is in hierdie studie ingesluit. Deur hierdie vase so volledig as moontlik te bestudeer, beoog hierdie tesis om vas te stel watter diere konstant met watter ouderdomskategorie van die kind gekombineer word, om te bepaal of hierdie afbeeldings as voorstellings van werklike situasies gesien kan word, of dit moontlik sal wees om in hierdie verskillende groeperings van diere en kinders ander denke oor identiteit en persepsies van kinderjare raak te lees, en uiteindelik om te bepaal hoe die simboliek van die afbeelding sou verander in ooreenstemming met die dier en ouderdomskategorie van die kind waarmee die dier uitgebeeld word.

Om die bogenoemde te bereik het, hierdie studie van 'n verskeidenheid primêre en sekondêre bronne gebruik gemaak om insig in die lewe van antieke Griekse kinders en in die diere wat hier bo gelys word, te verkry en hulle beter te verstaan, nie net met betrekking tot hulle rol in die samelewing nie, maar ook ten opsigte van die moontlike betekenis en simboliek wat aan die verskeie diere gekoppel word. Daar is vasgestel dat sekere diere inderdaad konstant met sekere ouderdomsgroepe verbind word, terwyl die simboliek van diere wat met 'n aantal ouderdomsgroepe uitgebeeld word, blyk te verander na gelang van die ouderdomsgroep van die kind.

## Acknowledgments

First of all I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom, courage and strength needed to complete this thesis. Secondly to my father who encouraged me to follow my passion and provided me with the support and love needed to do so. To all of my friends and family who offered me their unconditional love and encouragement throughout this project. And finally, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, for all of their valuable guidance and expertise.

# Table of Contents

Declaration .....	i
Abstract .....	ii
Opsomming .....	iii
Acknowledgments .....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
Chapter 1 .....	1
Introduction .....	1
1.1 Research Problem and Questions.....	3
1.2 Hypothesis .....	4
1.3 Methodology and Conceptual Framework .....	4
1.4 Terminology and Parameters.....	10
1.5 Overview of Sources .....	11
1.6 Research Design.....	14
Chapter 2: .....	16
Athenian Childhood and its Iconography.....	16
2.1 Concepts of and Views on Ancient Greek Children .....	16
2.2. Iconographical Markers of Childhood .....	27
Chapter 3: .....	41
Animal Companions of the Ancient Athenians and their Iconography .....	41
3.1 Personal Animals in Ancient Athens .....	41
3.2 Iconography of Animals on Attic Vases .....	51
Chapter 4: Catalogue.....	54
Chapter 5: .....	78
Children and Animals on Athenian Vases: Analysis and Results .....	78
Chapter 6 .....	102
Conclusion.....	102
Reference List:.....	105

## List of Figures

FIG. 2A. ATTIC GEOMETRIC TERRACOTTA KRATER. FUNERARY SCENE.....	29
FIG. 2B. ATTIC PELIKE. INFANT CRAWLING BETWEEN PARENTS.....	29
FIG. 2D. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD CRAWLING TO TABLE WEARING A CHITON.....	31
FIG. 2C. ATTIC CHOUS FR. INFANT CRAWLING TO DOG WITH BODY AMULETS.....	31
FIG. 2E. ATTIC CHOUS. REACHING OUT TOWARDS HARE .....	32
FIG. 2F. ATTIC SKYPHOS. CHILD CRAWLING WITH DOG FOLLOWING.....	33
FIG. 2G. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD LEANING AGAINST TABLE .....	34
FIG. 2H. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD WITH HAIR TIED IN A BUN .....	35
FIG. 2J. HYDRIA. YOUTH RECLINING AT SYMPOSIUM WITH SPARSE HAIR ON HIS FACE.....	38
FIG. 2I. ARCHAIC STATUE. YOUNG FEMALE WITH LONG BRAIDS.....	38
FIG. 2K. AMPHORA. ADULT MALE OFFERING A HARE TO YOUTH.....	39
FIG. 3A. MARBLE. FUNERARY STATUE OF A DOG.....	47
FIG. 5.1A. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD PLAYING WITH DOG .....	80
FIG. 5.1B. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD PLAYING WITH DOG.....	80
FIG. 5.1C. CHOUS. CHILD AND DOG CHASING BIRDS .....	82
FIG. 5.1D. PELIKE. YOUTH AND MAN WITH DOG .....	82
FIG. 5.1E. CUP. YOUTH LOOKING AT DOG.....	83
FIG. 5.1F. ALABASTRON. YOUTH WITH DOG .....	83
FIG. 5.1H. HYDRIA. MUSIC LESSON .....	83
FIG. 5.1G. HYDRIA. SYMPOSIUM. ....	83
FIG. 5.1I. CUP. EROTIC SCENE .....	83
FIG. 5.2B. CUP. YOUTH AND MAN .....	86
FIG. 5.2A. HYDRIA. MUSIC LESSON .....	86
FIG. 5.2C. CUP. MAN AND YOUTHS .....	87
FIG. 5.2D. CUP. YOUTH AND DOG.....	87
FIG. 5.1E. CUP. YOUTH WITH DOG.....	87
FIG. 5.2F. CUP. COURTING SCENE.....	88
FIG. 5.2G. ATTIC CUP. YOUTHS HUNTING DEER.....	89
FIG. 5.2H. ATTIC KRATER. SYMPOSIUM SCENE.....	89
FIG. 5.2I. PELIKE. YOUTH AND DWARF .....	90
FIG. 5.3A. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD RIDING DEER WITH YOUTHS .....	92
FIG. 5.3B. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD RIDING DEER.....	92
FIG. 5.3C. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD PLAYING WITH DEER .....	93
FIG. 5.3D. ATTIC CHOUS. GIRL IN CART PULLED BY DEER.....	93
FIG. 5.4A. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD PLAYING WITH GOAT .....	95
FIG. 5.4B. ATTIC OINOCHOE. CHILDREN WITH GOAT. ....	95
FIG. 5.4C. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILDREN WITH GOAT .....	95
FIG. 5.4D. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD RIDING IN CART .....	96
FIG. 5.4E. ATTIC CUP. SYMPOSIUM .....	96
FIG. 5.6A. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD REACHING FOR HARE .....	97
FIG. 5.6B. ATTIC CHOUS. CHILD LEANING OVER HARE .....	98
FIG. 5.6D. ATTIC CUP FR. YOUTH WITH HARE .....	99
FIG. 5.6C. ATTIC CUP. CHILD BEING PRESENTED WITH HARE .....	99
CHART 5.7A.....	101
CHART 5.7B.....	101
CHART 5.7D.....	101
CHART 5.7C.....	101
CHART 5.7F .....	101
CHART 5.7E.....	101

# List of Tables

TABLE 1: TERMINOLOGY.....	11
TABLE 2: ICONOGRAPHY OF CHILDHOOD.....	40

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

In modern times, childhood is viewed as a fleeting yet important part of one's life, a time which should be treasured and enjoyed for as long as society allows, with various cultures around the world placing great importance on both children and the concept of childhood. Children within the ancient Athenian world, however, found themselves on the periphery of social importance. Socrates was said to have expressed to a friend that, "No one cares about your upbringing or education or about any other Athenian's – except maybe some lover" (Plat. *Alc.* 1 122b)<sup>1</sup>. Plato seems to agree with Socrates on children's lack of importance within society, as he groups them into similar categories as slaves, women and animals (Plat. *Cleit.* 409DE)<sup>2</sup>. This view is then further emphasised by the fact that an Athenian child's birth did not automatically make him/her a part of the *oikos*. Though the extent to which child exposure was practiced in ancient Athens is not well-known, technically this decision was left to the head of the family, the father, and was a decision which only he had control over. Varying factors such as gender and financial circumstances played a role in whether or not a child would be welcomed into the household or be exposed (Golden 2015: 20).

Like children, animals also occupied a role of inferiority and expendability. Although some people such as Pythagoras showed a sense of sympathy with animals, his sentiments were not shared by many (Newmyer 2011: 114). Pythagoras' feelings towards animals were surely also due to his belief in metempsychosis, which is the philosophical view that after death a person's soul is transferred into the body of either another person or animal (Herbert 1948: 149). His sympathies were thus probably not directed towards the animal per se but more towards the potential soul that may be within the animal. This potentially shows that even those who cared for animals may well have done so with other intentions. Golden states that, "Animals stand in the same relation to humans as children to adults" (2015: 5), hereby illustrating their position in the social hierarchy.

The worlds of children and animals can often be a challenge to access as they are not well documented in the ancient literature, which tends to generally focus on the world of adult citizens and often has

---

<sup>1</sup> Lamb 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb 1925.

an affluent masculine focus. This trend of placing more importance on certain genders, ages, social standings and even species continued in scholarship on the ancient world well into modern times. Scholars placed their focus on studying ancient Greek men rather than those who fell below the line of social importance<sup>3</sup>. Whether this had to do with a lack of sources related to women, children or other marginalised members of society, or whether or not it was due to the patriarchal era of scholarship, could be debated (Neils & Oakley 2003: 1). Rabinowitz (1993: 4) argues “... the study of the classics has not only shaped texts and constituted canons, it has also engendered generations of students and scholars, instilling the masculine values of antiquity.” She further claims this is because the classical world was not only male dominated but until recently, those who studied ancient Greece were also almost exclusively men. According to Beaumont (2015: 4), at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries this trend began to change with some research being done on ancient Greek children and childhood. The focus of these studies was mainly placed on education and the depiction of children in art. However, it was not until the period between World War I and World War II that the interest in ancient Greek children became stronger. Topics such as games, toys and child exposure were added to the list of aspects looked at by scholars (Beaumont 2015: 3-4) and the list has steadily been growing over the last few decades, with Beaumont herself having done numerous studies on the representation of children in Athenian visual culture, as seen in her book *Childhood in Ancient Athens* (2015).

The study of animals in the ancient world has also followed a similar trend to that of ancient children as it too has seen a large rise in popularity over the last few years and has been gaining momentum as a scholarly field (Campbell 2014: XV). According to Shapiro and Demello (2010: XI), the study that has been termed as Human-Animal Studies (HAS) attempts to investigate interactions between humans and animals. The focus of HAS ranges from the relationship between animals and their human counterparts to animals in literary and artistic representations, and how animals are used symbolically, religiously and through language. While there has been a surge in interest in the two topics of children and animals in ancient Greece, there are still many aspects surrounding them which require thorough research, especially regarding the relationship between children and their animal counterparts.

One of the biggest problems scholars are faced with in the study of children and animals in antiquity is the lack of documentation about them. Sources can be scarce and are often problematic as the

---

<sup>3</sup> Women also fell into this category, however, the last few decades have seen a dramatic rise in publications on women, something which the topic of ancient children and animals is only starting to experience.

reliability of evidence may vary, often leaving scholars with more questions than answers (Neils & Oakley 2003: 1)<sup>4</sup>. Where the literary sources may fail to provide insight, however, the material record can be a valuable source of information about children and animals. One of the best resources we have showing child-animal interactions in classical Athens is the imagery on Attic red-figure vases (Budin 2013: 123). Budin describes this imagery of children and their ‘personal animals’<sup>5</sup> as “comfy imagery”, as it is of a more naturally playful nature as when compared with the quietly contemplative images on funerary stelae (2013: 123). Children of varying ages are shown on Attic vases – especially choes, but also on lekythoi, hydriai, kraters and amphorae – with a variety of animals which are thought to be personal animals. These animals range from small Spitz-type lap dogs to more exotic animals such as deer. Although various scholars such as Beaumont (2015) have touched on the topic of interactions between ancient Greek children and their personal animals, the studies done seem to be brief and diffuse leaving much to still be researched. In this thesis I aim to study certain types of pairings of children with animals on Attic red-figure vases of the Classical period in order to explore what these pairings may signify.

## 1.1 Research Problem and Questions

Although there are a large number of Attic vases portraying children and animals, there is as yet no study which has systematically and comprehensively documented and studied the relationships between animals and children. Kitchell (2014: 49) has observed that certain types of dogs tend to be paired with children of particular ages on Attic vases: younger children who are portrayed with baby-like features and can be classified as infants or toddlers are shown only with the Spitz-type dogs, whereas adolescent boys are only rarely shown with the small lap dog and are instead far more likely to be pictured with a hunting dog. The age of the child then seems to be linked to the size and purpose of the animal, with smaller children being shown with smaller animals rather than large ones. One theory which has been set forth to potentially explain the trend of smaller animals shown with younger children is offered by MacKinnon (2014: 273). He argues that small children may have been drawn to smaller dogs, similar to how children of today are drawn to small puppies, rather than larger dogs which may appear more threatening to a child of that size (MacKinnon 2014: 273). He then further claims that young children may have used the smaller lap dogs as a way to mimic adults who would own the bigger hunting breeds (MacKinnon 2014: 273). The latter view may however be an

---

<sup>4</sup> While the scarcity of sources may extend to both ancient children and animals, it must be noted that Neils and Oakley deal mainly with ancient children rather than animals.

<sup>5</sup> The term ‘pet/s’ was avoided due to the possible modernity attached to the term, this will, however, be explained in more detail in section 1.4.

oversimplification of the relationship between animal and child and too literal a reading of the imagery on Greek vases.

There has been little further research done on this observation that certain animals are portrayed with children of specific age categories. In this thesis I aim to further explore this trend with a view to asking the following research questions:

1. Which animals tend to be consistently paired with children of specific age categories on classical Athenian red-figured vases?
2. To what extent do these pairings reflect real-life scenarios, i.e. the type of personal animals that children would have had, or been allowed to have at different ages?
3. Is it possible to read in these differing pairings of animal and child other reflections of identity and perceptions of stages of childhood; i.e. does the symbolism associated with certain animals change in accordance with the age category of the child they are paired with?

## 1.2 Hypothesis

This thesis will attempt to argue that the pairings of children of specific ages and animals of particular types on Attic red-figure vases of the classical period is not random and that the imagery portraying child-animal interactions can operate on two levels of meaning. Firstly, the pairings may reflect real-life practices concerning children and their relationship with personal animals, as well as the types of animals deemed age-appropriate at different stages in a child's life. However, more importantly, the imagery also operates on a symbolic level, where the symbolism attached to the animal is linked to the age of the child and will therefore change depending on the age group represented. As the artists do differentiate stages of childhood through specific iconography, and the pairings change according to those changes in iconography, there seems to be a deliberate process of pairing on these vases. This may reflect ideas about the particular stage of childhood and its characteristics based on the animal the child is paired with and the symbolic nature attached to the animal.

## 1.3 Methodology and Conceptual Framework

The first step of this project required creating a viable corpus of Attic red-figure vases which contain both children and animals. The Beazley Archive's digital database, the largest digital collection of Athenian vases from museums and collections across the world, was used in order to select vases for this study. This was done through the archive's digital search function, using particular key words

which include animals that are known to be personal animals in antiquity, combined with key words related to children such as ‘child’ and ‘youth’. The key words of both animals and children were searched in both singular and plural form. Through this it was possible to identify a substantial number of vases containing child-personal animal imagery.

Only Athenian red-figure vases of the classical period were collected, i.e. vases dated between c. 500 BCE and 300 BCE. The depiction of children in Athenian visual culture fluctuates not only in style but also frequency; children are rarely depicted in early Greek art and between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE depictions of children in art seem to be non-existent; after this they make a limited appearance in the Geometric period (Bobou 2015: 42). While there are a small number of black-figure vases depicting children and animals, they rarely show children alone with the animal and the limited number of vases made it unfeasible for this study. This lack of early representation of children on vases, along with the available red-figure vases in the Beazley Archive then, has, therefore, set the range of vases used in this study, as being between 500 to 300 BCE.

The vase images were then categorized according to several criteria and the corpus refined based on certain categories. The first categorisation was according to the types of animals represented. The animals included in the study are the following: dogs (both the smaller lap dogs and larger hunting dogs), goats, deer and hares. These animals are not the only animals which would have been seen as ‘personal animals’, however, it was necessary to restrict the study to a selection of animals in order to make the project feasible within the time constraints of a Master’s thesis. Vases containing certain animals, such as birds or horses, were excluded based on their numbers reaching in the thousands.

The second categorizing process involved assessing the likely age of the child in the scene using age categories of ancient Athenian childhood as set forth by scholars such as Beaumont (2015) and Golden (2015), as discussed below. In order to do this, it was necessary to observe key iconographical indicators, and again, Beaumont’s work on the iconography of childhood was used as a guide. The vase types include lekythoi, hydriai, kraters and amphorae but the overwhelming majority of vessels are of the chous type vessel. The function of the vases is also relevant when interpreting the images on them, as the type of vase also potentially plays a large role in the meaning of the image. This can, for example, be seen with the chous, which was a vessel associated with children and used in specific contexts involving children (Beaumont 2015: 60).

Although the Beazley Archive contains 674 vases with children and the selected animals, 68.3% of the vases could not be used due to the lack of a usable image or the vessel being too fragmentary. Despite the archive having a description of the image as part of the entry, it was decided that these entries did not contain a sufficient amount of detail about the iconography needed for this study. A total of 203 vases remained as the corpus for the study and have been catalogued according to date, vessel type, age category of the child, animal, and action of both the animal and child.

The corpus for this study then consists of a range of Attic red-figure vases of the classical period found in the Beazley Archive which contain images of children and specific animals. Through this collection of data, it will be possible to see whether there are specific correspondences between an age category and types of animals and if there are any anomalies. This first step will be in line with the first research question stated above: Which animals tend to be consistently paired with children of specific age categories on classical Athenian red-figured vases? The second research question can be approached by doing a review of the literature, both primary and secondary, in order to assess to what extent children of different ages would have had different personal animals.

To answer research question 3 it is necessary to consider the collected imagery through an appropriate theoretical approach. A semiotic and iconographic approach was selected for this study. By breaking down an image on a vase into a series of signs, we can attempt to understand the various meanings which might exist within the image (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011:73). By looking at more than just the child's age and the type of animal but also looking at meaningful indicators such as stances, gestures and other factors such as clothing and objects within the scene, we can investigate the scenes for other potential meanings beyond the surface meaning. The iconographic interpretative method has been described by Cassidy (1993: 3) as being that which "describes, classifies and interprets subjects represented in the visual arts". He further states that while in theory this 'formula' may be clear cut, the practice of interpretation is, however, not. This is because when looking at images on ancient Athenian vases we are confronted with the reality that we are completely detached from fifth Century BCE society, which existed about 2500 years before our own. Cassidy (1993: 3) states that the interpretation of iconography is often problematic due to the limits which lie within the iconographic approach and how our modern viewpoints and biases may at times obscure interpretations. Cohen (2007: 22) agrees with this point as she also states that even with various sets of information it is sometimes very difficult to fully understand the meaning attached to these vase images, since we are not fully immersed in the contexts and we are also viewing them thousands of years after the fact with modern western mindsets.

Our attempts at understanding aspects of the world of the ancient Athenians at times is largely reliant on these images, something which can be extremely challenging. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 20) reminds us of the fact that objects from the ancient world do not come equipped with detailed descriptions, which indicate anything about what purpose they may have held or the history attached to them. Interpretation is then made even harder when the subject of the vase was not viewed as socially important, thus not much is known about such subjects from other sources. The topic of this thesis deals with two such subjects, namely children and animals. This means that the interpretation of these images, while not without its challenges, plays an extremely important role in furthering our knowledge on ancient Athenian children and their personal animals. The importance attached to these images therefore requires a method of interpretation which would yield the most accurate and probable interpretation of these images. It can therefore be argued that for the purpose of this thesis the best approach would be a combination of both the semiotic and the iconographic approach.

Erwin Panofsky had laid out the foundations of what is now known as the iconographical approach, which is a theory that is still used today (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 58). To Panofsky, art consisted of a series of "symbolic values", a term which he adopted from German philosopher Ernst Cassirer (Cassidy 1993: 5). According to Bayer (2006: 51), Cassirer (1944) argued that human culture consists of a "systematic structure of symbolic forms" consisting of its main elements: myth, religion, science, language and art.

In Panofsky's (1955: 2) iconographical approach he claims that an image's meaning consists of three levels, namely; the natural subject matter, the conventional or secondary subject matter and the intrinsic meaning.

1. The natural or primary subject matter requires the pre-iconographical descriptions of an image in order to determine its meaning (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 59). According to Panofsky (1955: 2) this step requires the identification of the most basic of forms found within an image. These forms are things such as lines, colours and shapes, while the viewer must then also identifying what those shapes might represent such as a human, animal, etc.. This stage also may identify gestures and poses portrayed by those figures and may even include the items surrounding them (Panofsky 1955: 2).
2. The conventional or secondary subject matter requires the viewer to attempt to identify who the figures in the images may be or the story which may be attached to certain motifs

(Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 59). Although many myths and the figures found in these stories would have been common knowledge for the ancient artists creating these artworks and their audiences, in modern day times this is however not necessarily the case. It is here where we often have to rely on other imagery where the story and figures are known and then cross-reference them (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 59).

3. The intrinsic meaning is the phase of interpretation where all of the information that the viewer gathered through the first and second phase is brought together to deduce potential meaning (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 59). This step also requires knowledge of the context of the culture and period to tie together the potential associations within the image (Panofsky 1955: 2). In this step one has to use all of the information within an image to attempt to find out why all these elements were brought together and what meaning they might have as a whole.

The semiotic theory was developed by Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders and according to Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 72) this theory looks at an image in the same way one would look at a language. This means that an image, like a language, consists of various signs which would in turn create meaning through a viewer's interactions with the image and the culture (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 72). This theory, like the iconographical theory, requires the viewer to break down an image into smaller parts; for the semiotic theory these smaller parts are referred to as *signs*. These signs are then individually interpreted after which the image's potential meaning as a whole is then brought together as the viewer attempts to understand how the signs would work co-operatively (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 77). The signs work together on three different levels namely the symbolic, the syntagmatic and finally the paradigmatic (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 77).

The symbolic level consists of the relationship between the signifier or the 'unit of meaning' and the signified, which is the object represented in the image, an example of this relationship can be seen in Poseidon and his trident, as Poseidon's trident becomes representative of Poseidon himself and vice versa (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 77). The syntagmatic level can be seen as the relationship between the signs within the 'semantic field', this means that the signs in an image work together to present certain meanings or ideas. For example, the relationship between a youth, his nudity and a weapon would signify and illustrate the idea that the figure is a strong and idealized form (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 77). The paradigmatic level explains how a sign is connected to a different sign outside of the visual image. For example, how Herakles' lionskin would be symbolic of and hints towards his task of killing the Nemean lion without that specific scene being portrayed in the image (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 78).

Cassidy (1993: 9) states that literary evidence remains the most important way for us to gather information on the past, although it too is wrought with problems and inaccuracies as not all authors say what they truly mean. On the other hand, while Cassidy (1993: 10) warns of the potential pitfall of relying too much on texts to interpret historical iconography, he also states that it is at times necessary. This is especially the case when dealing with a branch of history which is relatively unknown to scholars. Cassidy (1993: 10) states that in such instances, texts may allow scholars some insight to the context of an image. Literary texts are also useful when dealing with narrative images where we are shown one action rather than a full sequence of actions (Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011: 63).

However, because the images found on the Attic vases used for this study, lack any narrative or literary background which may have given us more information about the subject matter, we have to rather rely almost purely on the visual aspect. It is for this reason that it is important to utilize every piece of information that the image may present us with which may in turn aid in interpreting the image. On the other hand, while there are no known narrative texts which may be directly linked to these vase images, there are texts about children and animals which describe them in various contexts. These texts will be used throughout this thesis to help gain some understanding of ancient Athenian children and animals. By researching ancient Athenian children through the viewpoint of the adults who surrounded them and then further understanding the symbolism attached to the various animals they are portrayed with, we may be able to understand why certain animals are consistently pictured with certain age groups. Facial expressions are also something which are sometimes omitted from the imagery or are not fully captured. Emotions can also play a large role in interpretation of the image as they may help deduce the mood of an image. Emotions are identified and captured on grave stelae where ancient artists would have more space to portray larger and more detailed images. These images often include very expressive facial features which allow the viewer to see the emotions felt by the depicted child or adult. This, however, is in contrast to the small chous figures where the size of the vessels does not allow for many facial features and thus emotions have to be deduced through other scene characteristics. However, by utilising all of the other information found in an image, including the type of vessel used, we may still be able to interpret the mood of an image.

In this thesis I hope to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between ancient Greek children and animals and also to gain more insight into these two emerging fields of study, both as individual as well as interdependent fields.

## 1.4 Terminology and Parameters

### *Children and 'childhood'*

Childhood is not necessarily a universally consistent or agreed concept. Neither is a birthday: the exact day that a child was born on was of little interest to Athenian parents after the birth, as the use of the birthday to indicate precise age is a more modern concept and one which was not practiced by the ancient Athenians (Beaumont 2015: 17). While they did have some measurement of the child's age it was not in the conventional modern-day way of an actual birthday and was rather more of a birth year. There were various festivals held throughout a child's life to indicate a certain milestone or rite of passage which was reached by certain ages. This is seen especially with infants of the age of three who would take part in the Anthesteria festival (Beaumont 2015: 17-18), something which will be discussed in detail in later chapters. Another such milestone was when boys reached their eighteenth year and would thus be eligible to join the military (Beaumont 2015: 22).

The terminology used for the different age groups of children can be conflicting and at times varies from author to author. Beaumont (2015: 19) and Golden (2015: 11) both mention that the reliance on one term may be difficult. Beaumont (2015: 19) further states that trying to gather age based on the terminology could lead to inaccuracies and it is therefore best to look at the social and biological changes which would have taken place in a child's life. Some ancient authors do, however, use well defined age categories, such as Hippocrates who noted seven key stages of life. The first three that relate to childhood are: paidion (children up until the age of 7), pais (between the ages of 7 and 14) and meirakion (from age 14 until 21). Other ancient terms and the terms which will be used within this thesis for children are as follows; Beaumont (2015: 20) uses other subdivisions within these categories (see table 1): a new-born of both sexes is called nepios; paidion can be divided into infancy (0-6 months), toddler years (6 months-3 years), younger prepubescent (3-7 years), the older prepubescent (7-14 years), and adolescent youths (14-18). Boys up until civic age and girls up until puberty were referred to as pais and finally girls who reached puberty were referred to as parthenoi and boys who reached civic age were known as ephebes.

	Age Group	Age	Hippocratic Terms	Other Terms
<b>Female</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Infant</li> <li>• Toddler</li> <li>• Prepub. - Younger</li> <li>• Prepub. - Older</li> <li>• Adolescent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 0-6 Months</li> <li>• 6 mos.-3 yrs.</li> <li>• 3-7 years</li> <li>• 7-14 years</li> <li>• 14-18 years</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Meirakion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nepios</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Parthenos</li> </ul>
<b>Male</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Infant</li> <li>• Toddler</li> <li>• Prepub. - Younger</li> <li>• Prepub. - Older</li> <li>• Adolescent</li> <li>• Adolescent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 0-6 Months</li> <li>• 6 mos.-3 yrs.</li> <li>• 3-7 years</li> <li>• 7-14 years</li> <li>• 14-18</li> <li>• 18+</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Paidion</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Meirakion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nepios</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Pais</li> <li>• Ephebe</li> </ul>

Table 1: Terminology

### *Animals: 'Pet' and 'Personal Animals'*

Some scholars such as Mackinnon (2014) are wary of the term 'pet' as it may carry modern connotations and he rather suggests using the term 'personal animals' over 'pet'. However, there are certain parallels between the characteristics which are deemed necessary to classify an animal as a pet in modern day times and the ancient Greeks' relationship with their animal companions. These include the allowance of the animal in the house or certain parts of the house in contrast to animals which were to be consumed, and by giving the animal a name, which is thought to be a very personal action, something which shows a sense of investment in the animal (Mackinnon 2014: 269-270). Although these parallels can be drawn between the ancient and the modern definitions of a pet, I will for the purpose of this study, like Mackinnon, use the term 'personal animal' or 'animal companion' instead of 'pet', as to avoid placing potentially modern terms on the ancient world.

## 1.5 Overview of Sources

For this thesis a variety of primary and secondary sources have been of cardinal importance in both helping to understand the views of the ancient Athenians but also to aid in the interpretation of the vases used in this study. Both the primary and secondary sources can be split into two categories namely those who make mention of children and those which mention animals and the views on them, while some sources mention both children and animals.

The primary sources used in the study of children's lives and the way they were perceived are Plato's *Republic*, *Laws* and *Phaedo* in which he describes various views and opinions he had on children and their position in his ideal state. Aristotle's *History of Animals*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* were also used to gain his insight into children. While both of these ancient authors often refer to children

in a diminutive manner, they also mention various methods of raising a child and more specifically who should raise a child. While these views are reflective of what Plato and Aristotle viewed as being part of an idealised state, we know that some of the things mentioned by Plato were practised, such as the exposure of infants who were deformed or unwanted and could have, therefore, been a possible view shared by many. These ancient authors also highlight the fact that while children may not have stood equal in status to men (Golden 2015: 5) they knew that children were not going to remain in this lowered social standing and thus placed emphasis on the correct way to raise children.

For secondary sources on children, Beaumont's book *Children in Ancient Greece* (2015) has been of great use for this thesis, not only with background information on Athenian children but she was also instrumental in helping to set the age groups and the iconographical markers used to identify the age group that the children portrayed on the vases may have fallen into. Beaumont's book takes an in-depth look at the various age groups and some of the defining aspects of their lives at that time, while also looking at how those moments may help with the interpretation of images and ascertaining which age group they may fall into. Her book, along with Golden's book *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (2015), were helpful in finding the terminology used for ancient Athenian children and better understanding children's roles in Athenian society. These sources were useful in assessing how children were perceived by the adults, especially within the household and then during the child's various stages that they would have passed through to get to adulthood. Anita Klein's book *Child Life in Greek Art* (1942), although a brief book, looks at ancient Greek children on vases and looks at the potential meanings of some of them. Various chapters in *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (2003) and Bobou's *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation* (2015) helped in the interpretation of the images as they, similarly to Beaumont, also deal with interpreting and understanding images which depict children in ancient Greece within their various potential contexts.

Of the primary sources dealing with animals, Aristotle's *History of Animals* has been most useful in the depiction and observations of some of the animals used in this study, especially with the descriptions of hunting dogs, along with Xenophon's *Hunt*. Xenophon describes in detail the appearance of the Laconian hunting dog, as well as the various qualities the ancient Greeks would have sought in them such as their speed and bravery. This is important for this thesis as it not only helps in the identification of the hunting dogs in imagery but also in understanding why the ancient Greeks may have selected certain animals/dogs over other types. It also helps us to better understand the roles these animals would have had and why they were best suited for the role. The *Iliad* and

*Odyssey* also serve as helpful with the perceptions on hunting dogs as Odysseus' dog Argos is often cited by scholars, such as Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017) as being the ideal companion and the epitome of loyalty. Argos is also a prime example of the sympathy and love that the ancient Greeks may have shown towards their animal companion. This is an area in which Korhonen and Ruonakoski's book, *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece: Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature* (2017), is also helpful as they give a comprehensive view of how animals were perceived by the ancient Greeks by looking at various textual sources.

The Melitean dogs were discussed by various primary authors such as Aesop, who also mentions some of the other animals in fables such as the hare. Some of the secondary sources such as Kitchell (2014) often refer to Aesop's fables<sup>6</sup> and how his representations of the animals seem to be in alignment with their most noted traits, for example the spoiled nature of the Melitean. Other primary authors who refer to the small lap dog are Pliny and Aristotle who note the dog's small size. Secondary sources on the Melitean include Busutil's *The Maltese* which is a valuable article on the little lap dog as it gives extensive background on the breed, such as its possible origin, its temperament and how the ancient Greeks treated them. Serpell (1996) also briefly mentions the ancient Greeks' love for the little dog while Johnson's *The Portrayal of the Dog on Greek Vases* (1919) gives clear descriptions of the different breeds of dog found on vases such as the Melitean and the Laconian. Trantalidou (2006) looks at ancient Greek dogs from prehistoric Greece all the way until later periods in Greek history and looks at a number of archaeological and visual sources to formulate a greater understanding of how dogs in ancient times were treated and used in daily life and how they were depicted in art. She also looks at the various symbolisms attached to dogs and their lineages to a variety of gods and goddesses, such as the hunting dog's ties to Artemis. Lazenby (1941), Bodson (2000) and Serpell (1996) write about pet keeping in ancient times and what it entailed while also making mention of the types of people who were likely to own personal animals and the uses for different animal companions.

For the type of animals which may have been animal companions, Kitchell's *Animals in the Ancient World A-Z* was used in setting the foundation as well as Lazenby's (1941) *Household Pets in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Mackinnon (2014) set the terminology for the thesis in connection to animals in his section termed *Pets* found in *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Helen Johnson's *The Portrayal of the Dog on Greek Vases* was used in the identification of the dogs

---

<sup>6</sup> Temple & Temple 1998.

on Attic vases as she gives a comprehensive view on how different dog breeds are depicted in art. Werness's book, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*, describes the meanings and symbolism linked to different animals when depicted in art, while also looking at the links they may have had to specific gods, such as the deer and hare's ties to Artemis. This book was then used to identify some of the symbolism attached to the specific animals used within this thesis. Holstrom (2014) writes about goats in mythology and references several myths which involve goats while also mentioning their importance to certain gods such as Dionysus. Barringer (2001) comments on the importance of hunting in ancient Greece and therefore speaks of the roles that the hares and hounds would have had during the hunt. Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (2004) was tentatively used for the myth of Apollo and Cyparissus as it is the most accessible version of the myth, even though much later than the vase imagery.

Both primary and secondary sources were used to research the views that the ancient Athenians had on their children while also researching the different types of animals which would have been viewed as companions to the ancient Greeks and symbolism attached to them. This is to better understand the role and position they would have not only had in Greek society but also the role they would have had to ancient Greek children.

## 1.6 Research Design

This thesis is structured in the following way. Chapter 1 of this thesis has provided background to the topic, including the theoretical framework, methodology, research questions and hypothesis. Thereafter, the aim of Chapter 2 is to investigate the nature of an Athenian childhood by firstly discussing the attitudes ancient Athenians had towards their children and how they were treated. The second part of this chapter looks at and describes the various age categories set out by Beaumont and Golden according to iconographical factors such as clothing, stance, background features, etc. This section is split into the three main age categories namely; infancy, prepubescent childhood and finally adolescent youth. This iconography is important to the process of trying to read the approximate ages of children represented in the vase scenes.

The Chapter 3 takes an in-depth look at animals in the ancient Greek world attempting to identify and discuss in detail the different types of animals that the Greeks may have owned as companions and what their purpose and role in the household would have been. This chapter then also looks at the potential symbolism attached to the various animals mentioned in this chapter as well as looking at the attitudes the ancient Greeks showed towards them. Both sections will be written with the emphasis

placed on the animals identified in this chapter. The chapter includes an analysis and description of the iconography of the respective animals.

Chapter 4 presents the catalogue which has documented and categorised 203 vases from the Beazley Archive, which contain usable images of children of varying ages and the different kinds of animals identified in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 analyses the findings related to the data from the above-mentioned chapters, looking in particular at the nature of the pairings between child and animal. Using a combination of the semiotic and iconographic approaches, the chapter explores how, although the images may reflect real life practices and show that children were more than just miniature adults, the images also operate on a symbolic level. Chapter 6 is a concluding chapter.

# Chapter 2:

## Athenian Childhood and its Iconography

Chapter 2 will take a closer look at ancient Athenian children and the world that shaped them. Section 2.1 will look at Athenian childhood, enquiring how, for example the ancient Athenians perceived their children and how they were treated. Section 2.2 will look at the iconography of ancient Athenian children on Attic vases, and how they are portrayed visually through the various phases of their life.

### 2.1 Concepts of and Views on Ancient Greek Children

Childhood or the concept thereof is a difficult thing to define as even in the contemporary world, the definition and meaning of childhood may differ from one society to the other. This is also the case when considering childhood in antiquity and has led to the important question: whether or not childhood is a universal concept (Korbin 2003: 9). The answer to that question can be both a yes and a no. This is because, although some concept of childhood may exist in a society, even in that specific society the concept and experience may differ from person to person and not just from culture to culture. Korbin (2003: 10) therefore argues that when looking at ancient Greek children “[t]he materials challenge us to think not of a unity ‘Greek child’ but of a variety of Greek childhoods in antiquity”. We therefore also have to be mindful of the various circumstances and environments in which a child in antiquity would have been raised and how that may have had a role in how children were viewed and in turn portrayed.

While childhood may be a relatively abstract and, in some ways, inconsistent concept, it is not the only challenge scholars are faced with when studying ancient children, and attempting to research ancient Greek children can be a somewhat daunting task. This is because, while scholars are already faced with the large task of attempting to avoid imposing modern terms and definitions on the ancient world, in the study of ancient children, they are doubly challenged because of the lack of evidence. Literary sources about children are not nearly as many nor as detailed as those on other aspects of ancient society and the literary material detailing children that is at our disposal is problematic. This is due to the fact that almost none of the existing sources are written from a child’s own perspective.

This removes the voice of the child and instead leaves us with the views of the adult Athenians who spoke on behalf of the child, or who potentially portrayed them in ways which suited the adult's view rather than the child's own view (Golden 2003: 14).

This is a problem when studying children, whether modern or ancient, as seeing the world from their viewpoint is an important part of understanding them and how they functioned within their society. Although there are few ancient Athenian sources written from a child's own perspective, one area which allows us good insight into children's lives is the material record. The archaeological material at our disposal is plentiful and rich. According to Golden (2015: xii), skeletons of ancient children found throughout Greece have allowed a window into their physical lives by granting us some insight into things such as their health, diet and potentially even how they were treated, by looking at any traumas they may have sustained during their short lifetimes. Our best source on ancient Athenian children, however, showcasing them potentially in their daily lives, is found on Attic vases and grave stelae which show us a portrayal of their interactions with those who are involved in their lives during different phases (Neils and Oakley 2003: 4).

Although scholars are often challenged with trying to avoid their own biases as well as trying to study topics through the biases of the ancient sources, in this chapter it is important for us to look at all types of source materials, including those which may have biases attached, as to allow us to paint a full and comprehensive picture of how children were perceived and treated in ancient Greece. This is because, while understanding children within their own individual context is incredibly important, children's lives, especially those of the very young ones are shaped and determined by the adults around them. This means that, while we do need to research ancient Athenian children within their own surroundings, they cannot always be completely separated from the adult's life and surroundings (Korbin 2003: 10). As previously mentioned the limitations in source material also leads to nearly all available information on children being presented from an adult's viewpoint. Though not the child's own perspective, attempting to understand the views that the ancient Athenian men and women had of their children, combined with the material sources, helps to create a fuller and more comprehensive picture of the children themselves.<sup>7</sup>

The treatment of ancient children is something which has caused some debate within the study field of classical childhood, since the evidence of their treatment and the way they were perceived is varied and at times conflicting. This meant that some scholars viewed children as being nothing more than

---

<sup>7</sup> This in turn may aid in deciphering the relationship with their animal companions in later chapters.

miniature adults. This for example is seen with Ariès, author of *Enfant et la Vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (1960). Ariès was one of the first scholars to write about children in the ancient world and believed that there was little, if any, distinction between children and adults (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2). This view was strengthened by studies on children in medieval times which show children dressed up as adults in paintings (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2). While his views dealt more with medieval children, a similar view could be applied to ancient Greece as early Greek portrayals of children also show them depicted with adult-like features such as muscles rather than chubby baby bodies, although this may also be due to the limitations of the genre. Often the only way to differentiate between the adults and the children in these portrayals is their size, with adults appearing taller than the children (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2-3). To Ariès, children being portrayed as adults was also an indication that there was no real concept of childhood itself in ancient times (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2). Another scholar who shared similar thoughts on ancient children is Demause, who thought that the further back one went into history the worse children were treated and the less of a childhood was allowed (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2).

Although scholars such as Ariès and Demause believe that our sources on ancient children point to a society of ancient people who care little for their offspring, a variety of other sources show something contrary to that view. Scholars such as Budin (2013:19) and Pollock (1983) argue that in fact a lot of care was invested in the looking after and raising of children, because, as we will see in more detail later in this chapter, the Athenians knew that they were raising the future citizens of Athens and therefore had to do this well. In the *Iliad* Homer (*Il.* 9. 485-500) mentions how Achilles' foster father shows his affections towards Achilles by describing how he would help Achilles cut his meat and help him drink his wine while he sat on his lap as a child. According to Beaumont (2015: 54), figurines depicting women breastfeeding a child have been found in sanctuaries of *kourotrophic* deities and are thought to have been placed there by caregivers as a way to seek protection for the child during the first few fragile months of its life. If parents therefore did not care for their children they surely would not have sought help from the gods to keep their babies alive and healthy, especially seeing as the Athenians did practice child exposure, to some extent.

This section will look at how the ancient Athenians viewed children in the various phases of their lives – namely, during infancy, while growing up and also in death. This may help to ascertain not only how the ancient Athenians viewed children in general but also during various phases of childhood to see if and how perceptions of them may have changed during these phases.

### 2.1.1 Perceptions of Birth and Infancy

Having a child in ancient Athens was something which took thought and consideration, starting before the birth of the child. Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.1335b)<sup>8</sup> states that pregnant women were expected to look after themselves through exercise and a good diet but they were, however, expected to not exert their minds as children are affected by their mothers while in the womb. This suggests that parents tried to provide the child with as much care as they could before birth, to allow that child to be as healthy as possible.

Another place where the ancient Athenians took careful consideration was whether they were to keep the baby or not. According to Golden (2015: 20) this is because the father had the choice to either accept the baby or to have it exposed once it was born. Exposure of the child would have needed to have taken place within the first few days of the infant's life, before the traditional ceremony (Beaumont 2015: 67-68). Children were deemed undesirable if the parents could not afford a child or sometimes if the child was female (Beaumont 2015: 68). In Plato's (*Rep.* 459d)<sup>9</sup> idealised state he indicates that only the 'best' women and men should procreate and rear their children while the 'worst' should opt to abort or expose their children as to allow the state to be 'as perfect as possible'. Plato (*Rep.* 461c) also claims that couples who have exceeded a certain age should refrain from bearing children, something which Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.1335b) agrees with as he claims that men over the age of fifty should no longer be allowed to father children. This is because children born to older parents were thought to be weaklings who have imperfect bodies and minds and were therefore not wanted (Aristot. *Pol.* 7.1335b). Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.1335b) also states that no parent should raise a deformed child and that they should be exposed. This indicates that, according to Aristotle at least, while children were generally wanted (Neils and Oakley 2003: 2), they should be without fault for them to be deemed worthy.

Once the father or *kyrios* had decided to take on the responsibility of raising a child rather than exposing it, two separate festivals were held in honour of the child being accepted into the *oikos* (Golden 2015: 20). The costs of these two festivals were high due to both festivals involving a sacrifice (Beaumont 2015: 68). The first is called the Amphidromia and took place somewhere between the fifth and the seventh day after the child's birth<sup>10</sup>. Scholars are unsure of the exact day but

---

<sup>8</sup> Rackham 1944.

<sup>9</sup> Shorey 1969

<sup>10</sup> Hamilton (1984: 244) states that ancient sources such as the *Etymologicum Magnum* and Aristotle (*HA.* 588 a8) give conflicting information on which day the ceremony was held. It has been argued that it may have depended on the family, and that they could have chosen either the fifth, seventh or tenth day.

according to Aristotle (*HA* 7.588 a8)<sup>11</sup> it was in the days that parents' worry for the child's survival started to diminish. According to Golden (2015: 20), the festival involved the father of the child parading around the house with the baby, while the family and friends who were present at the birth would present the new father with gifts while the women were purifying themselves. It is also during this time that the family would announce the sex of the baby to the rest of the community, by placing a wreath of olive branches above the door to indicate a son or a wreath of wool for a girl; the wool was to symbolise her domestic role as woman one day and the olive wreath served as aspiration for a victor in the Olympic games (Golden 2015: 20). Poorer families and sometimes families with female infants, would name the child at this festival and therefore did not have a second ceremony (Golden 2015: 20). This is one of the many ways in which we see how males in ancient Greece were generally more socially important than females.

According to Golden (2015: 20) the second ceremony took place on the tenth day, the Dekate, after the child's birth. This was more public than the Amphidromia, and in fact it seems to have been optional: it was often only held by wealthy parents who could afford the costs or by poorer parents who were willing to pay. This festival was open to other members of the public as well, not just those who attended the birth, but it is assumed that an invitation to the festivities would have been required. This ceremony was far more jovial and women would do a dance after which they were given a cake (Golden 2015: 20). Although these ceremonies were part of tradition, a lot of preparation and effort went into them, indicating the care parents took and the pride they likely felt for their new babies.

Once a child had been accepted, he/she was named. Golden (2015: 21) elaborates on systems of naming saying that children were often named after desired qualities such as the case with 'Hegesistratus' (army leader) as well as after physical characteristics which the child would bare, for example 'Pyrrhus', which means red (haired). Sometimes their names would even indicate the child's parents' political views or agendas as seen with Lacedaemonius who was the son of Cimon, an ally of Sparta (Golden 2015: 21). Girls were often given the feminine version of male names such as Hegesistrate, although not necessarily as a way to indicate future aspirations and hopes such as with boys, and girls were seldom given names which contain qualities required in battle such as 'Alkē' or 'Courage'. It is thought that some of the names given to young girls would have contributed to them being objectified later on in life (Golden 2015: 21). Girls were also given abstract names such as Euphrosyne, or 'Happiness' (Golden 2015: 21).<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Cresswell 1897.

<sup>12</sup> When looking at animal companions, they seem to have been named in a similar manner, however, this topic will be further explored in Chapter 3.

While the Athenians recognised that children possessed similar abilities to adults such as the use of their senses, such things were overlooked and emphasis was rather placed on how adults and children may have differed as a way to distinguish child from adult (Golden 2015: 3). Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* 1161b)<sup>13</sup> also places emphasis on the fact that children have limited understanding of the world and their surroundings, as shown in their love for their parents. He claims that parents love their children from birth whereas children only love their parents once they gain understanding of the world (Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* 1161b). Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* 1161b) further claims that while a parent may love a child unconditionally, a child may only love its parents as they are the child's 'source of being'. This reiterates the fact that the ancient Athenians not only viewed children as lacking in mental capabilities but also portrays them as somewhat selfish. Aristotle's view presents parents as loving their children unconditionally, whereas he suggests that a child's love seems to be more out of gratefulness for his/her existence.

### 2.1.2 Perceptions of Children Growing Up

Extreme care was fostered on the child during the first few months of his/her life and parents were willing to spend large amounts of money on the various customary ceremonies in which the child was presented to the *phratries*. Neils and Oakley state that the ancient Athenians were not fond of celibacy and frowned upon childlessness, which meant that they would take various measures to ensure that their little one survived into adulthood (2003: 2). Although in some ways children were cherished and seem to have been loved, young children, whether male or female, were not given many rights outside of the domestic sphere. In this way they share their sense of inferiority with the women, slaves and animals who/which would have been involved in the early years of their lives.

In these early years the children spent all of their time with the women in the house and were heavily involved with domestic life. There seems to be little distinction between girls and boys in the early stages of their lives (Golden 2003: 17). This can be seen in the nature of grave goods in very young children's burials, as they remain gender neutral in contrast to those of older children (Oakley 2003: 177). It was only in later stages of childhood that boys and girls would start to receive different opportunities from one another as once young boys could understand and speak the language, they would be presented with a *paidogogos*, or care-taker (Beaumont 2015: 20). It was, however, when

---

<sup>13</sup> Rackham 1934.

children reached the years before their adolescence, when boys would fully branch off from the girls and partake in activities which girls were excluded from, such as music lessons and exercise in the *gymnasium* (Beaumont 2015: 139).

In contrast, girls would remain within the household where they continued their education, which involved learning how to run the household rather than how to read and write (Beaumont 2015: 20). This all was done in preparation for when they got married and had to manage a household of their own, something which would have taken place in their mid- to late teenage years (Golden 2003: 14-16). This also meant that girls experienced a somewhat shorter childhood than boys, as a boy's transition into adulthood was not merely brought on by puberty but through various other social and civic responsibilities (Beaumont 2015: 21-22). This included adolescent boys being courted by older men who would act as a mentor in sexual and social behaviour (Beaumont 2015: 21-22). It was this step in a boy's life which indicated that in the following years he would leave his childhood behind and become a man who had gained the ability to join the military and *polis* politics.

As far as childhood for both genders is concerned, Beaumont states that children in ancient Athens were thought to share similar qualities to women in the sense that they lacked fully developed intellectual capacity and they were not able to control their emotions (2015: 15). This is likely due to young children crying when they are hungry or in need of something. They were also seen as being physically weak and morally incompetent, something which was highlighted by Aristotle (*Eud. Eth* 7.1240 b33)<sup>14</sup>, when he states that children cannot be moral or happy as they do not have a purpose. Aristotle also compares young boys to women as he argued that they yet lacked the ability to produce 'male' semen (Golden 2015: 5). Male semen was thought to be different to female secretion or *katamenia*, in its ability to give life: the *katamenia* was thought to be imperfect and lacking 'the principal of soul' and so would be unable to give life (Songe-Møller 2006: 76). Therefore, the inability to produce the very essence of life in the patriarchal society of ancient Athens, a society which looked down upon childlessness (Neils & Oakley 2003: 2), could have potentially provided the ancient Athenians with another reason for why children, including boys, would stand in an inferior position to the men of ancient Athens (Golden 2015: 5).

Young boys were also similar to women and slaves as they were prohibited from taking part in the political sphere of Athens since they were seen as not being as strong as adult men in sense, spirit as

---

<sup>14</sup> Rackham 1981.

well as physical strength (Golden 2015: 19). In art they were also portrayed with very pale skin, similar to women as a way to highlight their inferiority to men and their likeness to women (Beaumont 2015: 16). Although young boys were compared to women, they were still superior to young girls in many ways. The remains of ancient Athenian children show that boys were better fed than girls and received more autonomy once a certain age was reached, while the lives girls experienced growing up were ultimately the lives they would lead until their deaths (Golden 2003: 17). This, however, does not mean that no girls were educated, as Beaumont (2015: 146) notes that a small number of girls could read and write. However, they were most likely taught at home and not through formal schooling, which was reserved for boys (Beaumont 2015: 104). Golden (2015: 5) argues that ancient Athenians also thought of children as being gullible and easily persuaded into doing anything an adult would ask. This meant that children were sometimes used as a form of entertainment by being mocked and teased by adults (Golden 2015: 5).

Some children experienced more than just harsh words as some child graves show that corporal punishment was taken to extremes. Babies were found to have bone fractures and breaks in their skeletons, some children were found to even have cracked skulls (Main 2015). This indicates that not all parents were nurturing ones. Some older children also suffered dearly at the hands of brutal treatments as seen in one of the few sources we have written by a child. In this document<sup>15</sup>, written by a young boy named Lesis, he complains of being tied up and constantly whipped. It is likely that neither the boy, nor his family were citizens, which potentially provides the reasoning behind the cruel treatment (Golden 2003: 14). This indicates that, while girls may have been inferior to boys, non-Athenian citizens were even lower on the hierarchy.

Being compared to a child, like in modern day times, was an insult and something which the ancient Athenians strove to avoid. Even when demi-gods act in irrational ways they are described as being childlike. This view stems from the thought that any good Athenian male citizen should have the intellectual capacity to know the difference between right and wrong, good and bad, and therefore any action to the contrary shows a lack of the desired qualities, thus being like a child (Golden 2003: 14). Being childish was something which should be outgrown, this meant that adults were expected to leave their playful and childlike nature behind them as they entered adulthood; some ancient Athenians went so far as to even dislike games designed for adults as they had no place in politics (Golden 2015: 46). This is also seen when children, especially girls, ‘sacrificed’ their toys to various

---

<sup>15</sup> A lead tablet was discovered in a well in the ancient Athenian agora which contained a personal letter written by a possible metic boy from the fourth Century BCE, the letter was addressed to his mother but never reached her (Jordan 2000: 92).

gods as a way to indicate them moving on from one phase of their lives, namely childhood, to the next (Golden 2003: 14). Girls dedicated their toys just before marriage while boys dedicated their toys once they reached puberty (Barnes 2015: 269). Plato (*Laws* 1. 645e)<sup>16</sup> compares a drunk person to a child as he claims that being drunk is like having a second childhood, which may refer to the drunk person being and acting without any reason, all while not remembering his/her actions once sober (or growing up in the case of a child). He (Plat. *Phileb.* 65d)<sup>17</sup> also states that drunks are without any reason and are fearful (Plat. *Phaedo.* 77e)<sup>18</sup>.

Despite the fact that children fell below the line of social significance, they were undeniably still an important part of society, as Aristotle stated: “From day comes night, and the boy comes man” (Neils and Oakley 2003: 1). This may show that, although children were not seen as the most important members of society, it was still understood that men, who did form the top part of the hierarchy, were also once children. Aristotle (*HA* 587 a28) also claims that adults and children are friends, although they are not equals and that the parents are superior to the child. This may allude to the fact that parents had good relationships with their children, as friends would have with one another. The ancient Athenians also realised that in order for children to grow up to be ‘good citizens’ they would have to be raised in a certain way, meaning that they would require certain life lessons instilled on them (Golden 2015: 1). These lessons were intertwined in all parts of the child’s life, even in the games they played and the way they played them. Plato (*Laws* 7) states that when children play games and follow the rules religiously, never changing them or veering away from them, they would grow up to have the same mentality as an adult, never breaking the rules and laws and always remaining within the constructs of society, thus being a ‘good citizen’ (Plat. *Laws* 7). The opposite of course resulted in the apparent potential collapse of society (Plat. *Laws* 7). Neils and Oakley (2003: 2) also state that children were valued for their ability to continue the family and their genes, something which was undoubtedly important to the ancient Athenians.

### 2.1.3 Perceptions of Children in Death

Interestingly, according to Derevenski (2005: 153), children were given greater importance in death than in life. The ancient Athenians took great care when it came to child burials and felt the need to illustrate that it was a child in particular who had passed on. This may show that the ancient Athenians also viewed the death of a child as particularly sad: a life which had ended too soon, one which may

---

<sup>16</sup> Bury 1967 & 1968.

<sup>17</sup> Fowler 1925.

<sup>18</sup> Fowler 1966.

have had so much potential. This idea is reinforced through the change of attitudes towards children the ancient Athenians experienced during the end of the fifth Century BCE (Oakley 2003: 177). This was probably due to the infant death rates soaring due to the plague that befell Athens during the Peloponnesian War (Hillard 2005: 157). Faced with the potential collapse of society due to an inverted population, the Athenians may have begun to take more seriously the fact that children were the future citizens of Athens and therefore greater care had to be taken of them (Oakley 2003: 177). Golden (2015: 71), however, directly disagrees with this statement and claims that children were just as irrelevant in death, with no extra attention being placed on them. While this may be the case for some children, for others the amount of the effort and attention some grave stelae and other burial elements received indicate otherwise. Oakley (2003: 178) makes mention of how child graves are in fact a reflection of politics due to the fluctuation of interest in child graves over the centuries.

Although we cannot know for sure how the ancient Athenians would have felt over the death of their child, Golden (2015: 71) mentions that some earlier scholars such as Finley (1981) argue that ancient parents would have grieved the death of a child in a very different way in comparison to modern day parents. According to Golden (2015: 71), Finley (1981) states that although parents would have felt grief-stricken upon the death of their child, they would have potentially not mourned as intensely or as long (Golden 2015: 71). This was because of the high mortality rate in general in ancient times, and children were especially at risk. It was therefore thought that parents would have put little emotional investment into a child until they reached a certain age (Golden 2003:22). This was at least to some extent true, as Aristotle claims that the first week of a child's life was the most critical, as most infant deaths took place during this time period (Beaumont 2015: 88). This is also the reason why a child was only officially welcomed into the *oikos* and given a name after this time period. While not referring to Athenian culture, Herodotus (*Hdt.* 1.136)<sup>19</sup> states Persian parents did not even acknowledge their children until they turned at least five, as to avoid the heartbreak of an untimely death (Golden 2003: 22). While perhaps not going to Persian extremes, the ancient Athenians would have most likely also had specific ways of dealing with premature deaths. Finley (quoted in Golden 1988: 154) argues that couples would have likely had to bury at least one child in their lifetimes. Korbin (2003: 8) states, however, that various grave stelae which depict mourning parents show that, for some parents at least, burying a child was an extremely difficult burden to bear regardless of how often it would happen.

---

<sup>19</sup> Godley 1920.

The type of burial as well as which grave goods would have been presented at the burial was dependant on the age of the deceased child. According to Derevenski (2005: 153) the age categories can be split into three: infants who died within their first year, toddlers between the ages of 1-4 and finally children between the ages of 4 and 10. Children who died after the age of 10 were buried in the same manner as adults (Derevenski 2005: 152). This may potentially indicate that after this age children were seen closer to adulthood than to their infancy as this was also more or less the age when boys would start attending school. One of the ways in which burial goods differed between the ages was in the vessels placed with children. Lekythoi containers are often found buried with various ages but almost none with very small infants; this could be due to the fact that lekythoi containers are thought to have been used as a form of purification or as grave markers (Derevenski 2005: 154). Children were probably not presented with the expensive oils as it may have not have been deemed necessary for them in the afterlife due to their young age. Derevenski (2005: 153) also mentions that infants were presented with more food-bearing vessels and smaller jugs such as choes, whereas older children were given items such as make up, toys, strigils, aryballoi, etc. These items would also decrease or increase in quantity based on the child's age, therefore items which are found with infants would rarely be found with older children and vice versa. Food vessels may have been associated with very young children as they had not yet reached the age to do much more than eat and drink. Oakley (2003: 177) states that some of the items found within child graves may have been placed there as a way to pay homage to the adult he/she may have become rather than being personal belongings of the child. Inanimate objects are not the only items buried with children, as animals such as dogs and piglets have also been found among child graves indicating that the child's personal animal was sometimes buried with him/her (Oakley 2003: 176). This may show the importance children placed on their personal animals as parents went so far as to ensure that the child had his/her companion even in the afterlife.

#### 2.1.4 Concluding Remarks

The sources we have on ancient Athenian children can be conflicting which gives the impression that the ancient Greeks had a seemingly complicated relationship with children and the concept of childhood. This has caused debate about how children were treated and perceived by the adults who would have been a part of their lives. Some theories claim that children were highly valued, others less so. Although children might not have been held in the highest regard in ancient Athenian society they were undoubtedly cared for and nurtured. Not every child had this experience, however, and some were inevitably better treated than others, such as boys as opposed to girls, the free in contrast

to slave children and the wealthy in contrast to poorer children. This illustrates that the concept of childhood is varied and that the way in which children were treated could be influenced by a number of factors. One cannot assume that no parent cared for his/her children. Although the various sources may allude to such thoughts it could instead be seen as children being overlooked as they have not yet reached their ‘usefulness’ in the eyes of the ancient Athenians.

## 2.2. Iconographical Markers of Childhood

One of the key points to deciphering and potentially better understanding the lives of ancient Greek children, lies in being able to interpret and attempt to understand the sources which we have at our disposal. While scholars are fortunate to have a plethora of red-figure vases containing images of ancient Athenian children in their daily lives, including portrayals with their personal animals, the problem lies with the interpretation of these vase images. This is because without any literary background or context to the images, interpretation can be challenging. This lack of textual background leaves the interpretation of ancient images with room for biases and sometimes scholars are so determined to prove their theories that they may only see what they want in the image, or focus on particular aspects without giving due consideration to others. An example of this, as mentioned by Beaumont (2015: 24) is Sourvinou-Inwood’s (1988) attempts to categorize iconographical indicators of children in vase images in her book *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*. Beaumont (2015: 24) agrees that Sourvinou-Inwood’s book was a useful and necessary addition within the discipline. However, she claims that Sourvinou-Inwood’s main objective was to prove that girls who took part in the arkteia festival were between the ages of 5 and 7. This meant that her observations and set of iconographical indicators could be called into question, due to her having what Beaumont terms as a “broader scholarly agenda” (2015: 24). It is therefore important to utilize any and all iconographical signifiers which may be present within an image.

Beaumont (2015: 24) notes that scholars such as herself, Clairmont (1993), Lawton (1994) and Bobou (2015) have used various indicators from the images found on Attic vases and in other media to understand age categories, although their focus has been on different scenarios. As mentioned by Beaumont (2015: 24), Clairmont’s work deals largely with children on funerary stelae for example, whereas Beaumont (2015: 3) deals more with ‘everyday life’ scenes of mortal children in Athenian art. An example of the type of vase scenes that Beaumont deals with in her book *Childhood in Ancient Athens* is that of young boys at school or of young *paides* at play (Beaumont 2015: 132 & 138). The

Greek view of childhood age categories, as reflected in the literary sources, has been discussed in Chapter 1. Beaumont (2015) and Clairmont (1993) seem to be in agreement that the Greeks thought in terms of three distinct phases of childhood namely: infancy (approximately 0-3 years), prepubescence (approximately 3-12) and adolescent youth (approximately 12-18). Beaumont's analysis of vase imagery uses these age categories, though she subdivides prepubescent children into an older and younger group (3-7 years and the older prepubescent children 7-12 years). Bobou (2015: 47) describes more age categories, stating that while the three main age groups can work for the fifth and early fourth Century BCE, for the latter part of the fourth Century into the Hellenistic period the ancient literary evidence suggests that there was a more complex understanding of age grouping. The following age categories, based on those set out by Beaumont, have been utilised for this study because as mentioned above, she deals with 'everyday life' scenes. There will be occasional references made to Bobou's categories as well.

1. Infants and toddlers: children up until the age of 3 years old (toddlers being infants aged between 6 months-3 years);
2. Prepubescent children: 3-12 years (with a sub-division into younger children between 3-7 years and older children between 7-12 years);
3. Adolescent youths: between 12-18 years.

The different age groups will also be discussed in accordance with the six main iconographical markers that Beaumont has noted with relation to age, (Beaumont 2015: 24-25) as well as one of my own. These iconographical indicators will be used in deciphering the age group of each child on the vases studied in order to categorise the children into ages/phases of life. The iconography will also be used to explore the questions related to lifestyle, perceptions of the phase of childhood and to pose questions around identity.

As mentioned, Beaumont's iconographical markers of children's age can be divided into six main categories. These are: size and bodily forms, hair, dress, gestures, composition and attributes (Beaumont 2015: 24-25). In addition, I have added a seventh iconographical marker: that of posture and stance. All of these indicators combined play a crucial role in deciphering the age group that the child may fall under; Beaumont (2015: 25) warns against the reliance on only one indicator since it is often not enough to be conclusive. This is because indicators such as size cannot always accurately indicate age, as artists not only portrayed children with smaller bodies in comparison to adults but

slaves were also shown in a diminutive size, while adults were depicted with small bodies when shown in comparison to the gods (Beaumont 2015: 25).

### 2.2.1 Infants and Toddlers

While infants and toddlers might be considered as two separate age groups in modern conceptions of childhood, they will be discussed in this section simultaneously as they bear many iconographical similarities, with only some key characteristics to help distinguish between the two.

#### *Size and Bodily Forms*

Size is a consistent indicator of childhood from the Geometric period to the late Classical period. During the Geometric period children can only be recognised through their size differentiation as humans in general are portrayed in a very basic and simplistic way (see Fig. 2A). Children being differentiated by size only continued after the Geometric period, and while some changes in their depiction took place during the Archaic and Classical era, these were merely stylistic changes (Bobou 2015: 44). These stylistic changes meant that figures were painted to be more natural looking (see Fig. 2B), in place of the schematic stick-figured humans found in the Geometric period (Bobou 2015: 44). Although artists began depicting humans with more detailed and natural features, children were still portrayed more as miniature adults than children (Bobou 2015: 44).



Fig. 2A. Attic Geometric terracotta krater. Funerary scene. ca. 750–735 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.14.



Fig. 2B. Attic Pelike. Infant crawling between parents. ca. 450–400 BCE. London, British Museum, 1864.1007.189

It is only during 460-450 BCE that ancient Athenian artists attempted to differentiate children and adults by not only the way they were represented in size but also in their features (Bobou 2015: 44). Infants/toddlers, who are described by Beaumont (2015: 38) as being any child up until the age of

three, were no longer portrayed as smaller versions of adults but instead began to take on more baby-like appearances. It is this major change in representation of infants which makes this age group possibly one of the easiest categories to discern, as infants bear some of the more distinguishable characteristics in comparison with children in the other older age groups (Bobou 2015: 47). According to Bobou (2015: 44), infants' bodies were no longer portrayed as fit, muscular and athletic but instead softer with small, chubby baby bodies, complete with rounded stomachs and fat thighs. Depictions of babies from 430-420 BCE onwards start to show infants with shorter limbs and bigger heads; although their faces still resemble the faces of adult men, the rest of their features, however, resemble those of an infant (Bobou 2015: 45). The gender of infants in vase paintings is something which is often omitted, although according to Lawton (2007: 43), it is not necessarily clear whether this is due to the fact that, as mentioned in section 2.1 very young children were treated in a similar fashion regardless of their gender or whether it was not possible to add such details onto the tiny vessels. Toddlers are depicted in a similar way to infants as they are portrayed with small chubby bodies, short limbs and big heads which almost do not suit their small bodies and their faces are still shown to be rounded to indicate that they still have their baby fat (Bobou 2015: 48).

### *Hair*

Infants and toddlers alike are often shown with short hair rather than bald heads, however, little mention is made of the hair and hairstyles of such young children. This may be due to hairstyle not yet having any iconographical significance or because infants were not yet at the age to take part in certain rituals which required certain hairstyles or cutting.

### *Dress*

Beaumont (2015: 38) states that while infants are mostly depicted without clothing, they are, however, often shown with protective amulets (*baskania*) strung across their bodies (see Fig. 2C). According to Lee (2015: 153) these strings of amulets were worn by young vulnerable infants as a source of protection from evil spirits; visible amulets were not only depicted on infants but also on *hetairai* (although, unlike children they were portrayed with a single amulet rather than a string of them). Children's amulets differ from those of adults in that they were not just rounded stones but instead, as Lee (2015: 153) claims, took a variety of shapes such as butterflies or crescent moons; the same shapes may be found on *hetairai*. Lee (2015: 154) states that this may have been a representation of *hetairai* as being 'less-than-adult' or being lower on the social scale, and in that way similar to children. Lee (2015: 153) has also noted that in visual materials these amulets are mostly pictured on

infants and especially on choes, which are vessels linked to children. Therefore, these body amulets are often used as a marker for young children.



Fig. 2C. Attic Chous Fr. Infant crawling to dog with body amulets. c. 450-400 BCE. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: S101607

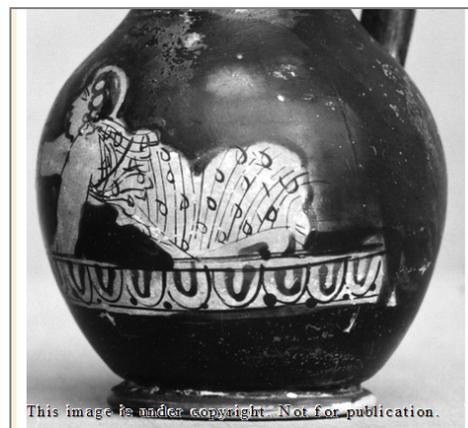


Fig. 2D. Attic Chous. Child crawling to table wearing a chiton. c. 425-375. London, British Museum: 1933.6-13.5

Beaumont (2015: 32) notes that while most infant children are portrayed nude, some older infant girls are shown wearing a chiton (see Fig. 2D). This, however, is mostly seen in sculpted media rather than in vase images. Toddlers are also depicted either nude or with a chiton. Some children are also shown swaddled though this is a less common way for them to be depicted (Beaumont 2015: 31). Bobou (2015: 47) has noted that new-borns, however, while rarely depicted are always shown to be wrapped up in a himation or cloth. In many scenes the child is not actually depicted but instead the artist depicts the mother or servant holding a himation with a bump in it which would represent the new born (Bobou 2015: 47).

### *Gestures*

Various scholars such as McNiven (2007) and Bobou (2015) have noted that infants portrayed in ancient Greek art are shown with a very limited range of movements and gestures. McNiven (2007: 86) gives three potential explanations as to why this may be. The first is that the infrequency of infants on Attic vases as a whole may play a role in the lack of range, as scenes involving older children at the gymnasium are far more abundant.<sup>20</sup> The second possible explanation is that the vessels on which the images are painted are too small to include finer details in the hands and fingers. As McNiven (2007: 86) has also noted, infants are never shown pointing or showing any other gestures with their fingers. The third and most plausible reason is that the limited gestures are the most appropriate in showing the dependant state that infants would have been in at such a young age, as they are not yet

<sup>20</sup> This has been noted in this thesis as well.

capable of standing, etc. Their limited range of gestures then ties in with the absence of their fine motor skills.

One of the most common gestures by infants depicted in vase imagery involves the infant with his/her arms stretched out towards an adult or older youth (see Fig. 2E). This is a very clear and obvious gesture of the infant wanting to be picked up (McNiven 2007: 87). This gesture is used in some scenes as a way to show the infant's fear; this is seen on a vase where Herakles and Iphikles are attacked by snakes and Iphikles raises his arms towards his mother to ask for her help. McNiven (2007: 87) argues that this show of fear is another way of showing children's inferiority in comparison to men. Bobou (2015: 48) claims that when toddlers are shown grabbing something it is with a tighter grip than those of infants and they are usually holding a toy.



Fig. 2E. Attic Cup. Reaching out to female. c. 500-450. Brussels, Musées Royaux: A890

### *Composition*

Compositional relationship of figures is described by Beaumont (2015: 37) as the placement of the additional figures found with the child/children in a specific scene. She further states that this is something which may play a large role in classifying the specific age group that a child may fall into (Beaumont 2015: 37). This, for example, is evident with infants who are carried by a parent. However, due to this category varying from scene to scene this section will be expanded on further in Chapter 5 in the analysis of the vase images, where scenes will be explored in more detail.

### *Attributes*

Body amulets, personal animals or age-appropriate toys such as rattles are all attributes frequently depicted with infants and toddlers (Beaumont 2015: 36), while toddlers are shown with toys such as

*amax* or carts which are frequently pulled by goats or even dogs (Beaumont 2015: 40). Choes are at times present in the images of both infants and toddlers, which is theorised to be an indication of the context of the Anthesteria festival (Beaumont 2015: 71).

### *Posture and Stance*

While this is not one of Beaumont's categories, a seventh proposed category is included in this section namely, posture or stance. This seventh category is important, especially with reference to infants. Bobou (2015: 48) states that infants are often portrayed in stances which are absent in other age groups and that there are clear distinctions between the way infants' postures and stances are depicted and the way those of adults are portrayed. In the early depictions of infants, they are almost always shown in a seated position on the floor with one knee raised and supporting their weight with their hands. While their seated position may be indicative of their infancy as they are yet unable to walk, this seated stance was also adapted into mainland Greek religious art from Cyprus. Votive relics have been found of temple boy statues where the figures are shown in the seated position with one knee up (Bobou 2015: 44).

Crawling is another way infants can be depicted, as Golden (2015: 37) also notes: this action is likely indicative of a child under the age of 3 years. Infants are at times shown to be crawling away from (see Fig. 2F) or towards something, i.e. a person or animal. Beaumont (2015: 38) claims that this expansion of infant posture takes place within the late fifth Century BCE when artists started to portray *paides* with more child-like features and began to move away from depicting them like miniature adults. It is here where toddlers and infants begin to differ, as toddlers can be shown either standing (see Fig. 2G), sitting or even running as they now have the ability to do all three of these. According to Bobou (2015: 48), when toddlers are portrayed seated it is in such a manner that they are shown to be able to hold their own weight, for example sitting on a rock by themselves and more often than not with their feet dangling below them. When they are shown standing, it will usually be with some toy or other form of plaything such as their personal animal (Bobou 2015: 48).

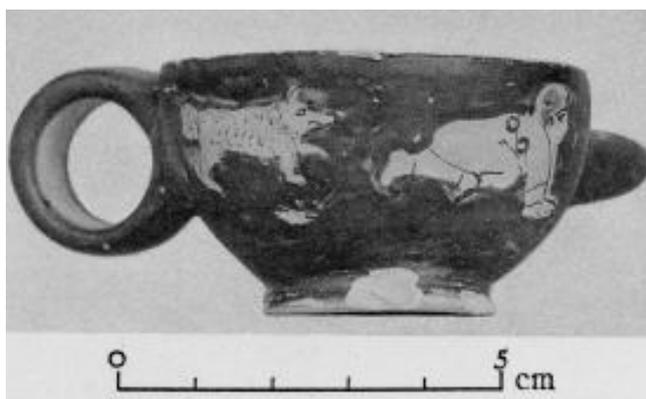


Fig. 2F. Attic Skyphos. Child crawling with dog following. c. 425-375 BCE. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 29.6



Fig. 2G. Attic Chous. Child leaning against table. c. 450-400 BCE. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8086

### 2.2.2 Prepubescent Youths

Beaumont (2015: 40) has divided her category of prepubescent *paides* into a younger and older section, as she claims that from the late sixth Century BCE the attributes pictured with this age group create a division between the older and younger children. This section will discuss the iconographical identifiers of prepubescent *paides* and see how they differ not only from other age groups but also how the younger prepubescent *paides* differ from older ones.

#### *Size and Bodily Forms*

The older half of this age group is where the bodies of children begin to move away from the chubby baby bodies mentioned in the previous section. However, it must be noted that while size can be an indication of age it is not always possible to discern age from just this category, especially with the older age groups, as their size is not often as easily notable unless pictured with an adult male figure. During the same time that artists began to depict more natural looking children, they also began to differentiate older children from younger children; size was the first change which took place to distinguish them, followed by various other age appropriate changes (Bobou 2015: 45). Prepubescent youths, especially the ones who fall into the earlier stage of prepubescence, still appear smaller than adults while their bodies are now taller than infants or toddlers. While some children are still pictured as slightly chubby they begin to be represented as more lean/slender as their stomachs no longer protrude like those of infants (Bobou 2015: 48). According to Beaumont (2015: 26) one of the indicators of prepubescence in girls is the lack of breasts, this is obviously due to the fact that breasts mostly only develop from pubescence onwards.

## *Hair*

While male hairstyles may have been an indication of age in other parts of the Mediterranean such as Crete (Golden 2015: 23), Beaumont (2015: 28-29), however, claims that for Athenian males in vase imagery this is not the case and that there is little to no indication of hair being an age marker on vases. This is because hairstyles in ancient Athens were, similar to modern day times, dependant on a variety of factors such as social class, latest trends, as well as gender. That being said, there were numerous rites of passages which boys would have to embark on during their ascent to manhood which often included a specific hairstyle or more specifically the cutting of hair. Beaumont (2015: 29) claims that in other media portraying prepubescent youths, hair may indicate their age to some extent, such as on funerary reliefs. However stelae are more ‘idealistic’ renditions of the child and also designed to showcase the boy’s respect for customary age rituals (Beaumont 2015: 30). This is in contrast to vases which Beaumont (2015: 30) states “...serve a wider range of functions in both the secular and the religious contexts, and do not in the same way commemorate, honour or mark the piety of an individual and, by association, of his family”. For this reason hair may not always be an accurate way to determine a boy’s age in vase imagery (Beaumont 2015: 30).

Hair style is a more reliable age indicator for girls. According to Beaumont (2015: 30) there are distinct variations of hairstyles and hair lengths for girls which would indicate whether a girl is prepubescent or whether she had yet reached puberty and finally whether or not she was a ‘mature woman’. Hair length may vary for prepubescent girls but is usually depicted very short, however, when they are shown with long hair it is never as long as the hair of parthenoi (Beaumont 2015: 30). A young girl’s hair may be left loose or tied up in a bun at the back of her head (see Fig. 2H); in the fourth Century BCE girls were also depicted with the melon coiffure style (Beaumont 2015: 30). One thing which must be noted is that in certain scenes hair may be depicted contrary to the above-mentioned, as women and young girls alike would have cut their hair when in mourning or servants



and slaves would also be pictured with shorter hair. Beaumont (2015: 31) suggests that in these situations all other aspects of the image must be brought into consideration.

Fig. 2H. Attic Chous. Child with hair tied in a bun. c. 425-375 BCE. Athens, National Museum: 14532

### *Dress*

According to Beaumont (2015: 32) younger boys may still be depicted nude, while the older prepubescent children are mostly shown with a himation tightly draped over them, sometimes shown to partly cover their heads. In exercise scenes, however, the older prepubescent boys may also be depicted without clothing. Beaumont (2015: 32) then further claims that prepubescent girls are no longer pictured nude and are more commonly shown wearing a chiton or long dress which is held in place with a cross band. The cross band or girdle is seen as a metaphor for sexual maturity as the girdle was loosened on her wedding night by her new husband, therefore the girdle being placed so high on a prepubescent girl's body is an indication that she was not yet sexually mature (Beaumont 2015: 32). Bobou (2015: 50) states that the himation was worn by young girls either over the shoulders or around the waist and that it was never portrayed as being transparent or in any other way which may be sexually provocative.

### *Gesture*

According to McNiven (2007: 89) older children are depicted making 6 times the number of gestures that infants do with some of these being similar to gestures used by adults. This was likely done with the intention to show that they are developing in both their social and physical capabilities. While older children are portrayed with similar gestures to adults, McNiven (2007: 89) notes that they share only 60% of adult gestures, therefore, illustrating that while they are older than infants/toddlers they are not yet adults. These gestures include girls at funerals mirroring the older women who tug at their hair in despair while boys may also at times exhibit such gestures to show that they are not yet men, as men are not depicted using this gesture. As mentioned in section 2.1, young boys were thought to be similar to women in that they are incapable of controlling their emotions in the same way that women were thought to be emotionally volatile. McNiven (2007: 89) claims that *paides* are at times depicted as being held by the wrist and led by an adult; this is thought to be due to their lower status in comparison to adults. This action shows the dominance of the leader over the those being led, as McNiven (2007: 89) has noted that older men lead women, children and old men but are never shown leading other men. For a *nepios*, being held by an adult may have been a sign of their vulnerability and dependence on the adult (Beaumont 2015: 45); it can therefore be argued that a prepubescent *pais* being led by an adult may bear a similar function. Through studying the vase images it has also been noted that prepubescent youths also share similar gestures with adolescent youths, i.e. arms stretched out in speech. However, unlike the adolescent youths they are rarely pictured with the more erotic gestures discussed later on.

### *Attributes*

Older children are still pictured with various toys and personal animals, similar to the younger children; Beaumont (2015: 36) states that the *amax* and carts are especially prominent among prepubescent boys whereas girls are often depicted playing with knuckle bones. She also claims that older prepubescent youths are also shown with educational attributes such as clay tablets or even musical instruments (Beaumont 2015: 36).

### *Posture and Stance*

Prepubescent youths are often shown standing or seated in music lessons or at the *gymnasium* while the younger group can also be shown playing with their arms stretched out towards an animal or holding an *amax*.

## 2.2.3 Adolescent Youth

### *Size and Bodily Forms*

For adolescent boys who are not yet of *ephebic* age it is often difficult to tell them apart from the older prepubescent youths and at times even ephebes, as these *paides* have no distinct iconographical characteristics which would set them apart. They are shown to be larger than prepubescent boys but smaller than ephebes and thus we have to largely rely on context or the other figures within a scene (Beaumont 2015: 41). Adolescent boys, especially boys of *ephebic* age, are also portrayed as more muscular than younger age groups (Bobou 2015: 48). As for females, adolescent girls or *parthenoi* are no longer depicted as flat chested and start to be shown with breasts. This is a very accurate method of determining whether or not the portrayed girl has reached puberty as Beaumont (2015: 26) claims that there is only one known example of a girl who may not yet have reached puberty being depicted with breasts. This example is seen on the Sappho painter's plaque and it is thought that the girl has been depicted with breasts either as a way to indicate her gender rather than her age, or due to children being depicted as miniature adults in earlier centuries (Beaumont 2015: 26)

### *Hair*

The hair of adolescent girls plays a large role in identifying them, this is because girls in this age group are depicted with long hair which either hang loose over their shoulders (see Fig. 2I) or may also appear in braids which would hang behind her. This is unlike young girls or adult women who would have their hair tied up (Beaumont 2015: 30). Boys start to develop body hair and older youths of *ephebic* age are shown with pubic hair and the onset of facial hair; this however is not yet a full

beard and is instead shown more as soft, wispy hair on their cheeks, close to their sideburns (see Fig. 2J) (Beaumont 2015: 27). Full beards were the sign of an adult man, no longer a child in any way, and according to Aristotle (*HA*, 7. 582a: 32-33) occurred once a man had reached the age of 21.



Fig. 2I. Alabastron. Young female with long braids. c. 500-450. BCE. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls- Univ., Arch. Inst.: E140



Fig. 2J. Skyphos. Youth with sparse hair on his face. c. 475-425 BCE. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: SN6

### *Dress*

Beaumont (2015: 34) claims that for adolescent male youths the himation is depicted hanging more loosely around the wearer's body and at times his chest is even shown along with his left arm being uncovered. This is in contrast to prepubescent youths who are more tightly and fully covered. Boys who have reached ephebic age are often depicted nude while younger adolescent youths are also depicted nude but mostly in gymnasium scenes. Ephebes from the fifth Century BCE are also at times shown wearing a traveller's outfit of a chlamys, a petasos and carrying spears (Beaumont 2015: 34).

### *Gesture*

Gestures among adolescent youths involve gestures of supplication in pursuit scenes (McNiven 2007: 92), while courting scenes show youths with their arms extended out while offering hares and cocks to older men as love gifts and vice versa (see Fig. 2K). McNiven (2007: 94) also states that arms may be extended out in certain scenes as a way to indicate that the youth is speaking. In contrast, girls are usually shown busy with something or holding objects and thus tend not to – or cannot – make gestures.

### *Attributes*

The range of attributes depicted with children begins to widen with adolescent children and according to Beaumont (2015: 36) adolescent boys are now also shown with various objects related to the gymnasium such as strigils, and aryballoi, while ephebes may be portrayed with weapons such as spears. On the other hand, parthenoi are at times shown holding mirrors, jewellery or other stereotypical feminine objects (Beaumont 2015: 36).



Fig. 2K. Amphora. Adult male offering a hare to youth. c. 500-450 BCE. Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 50462

### *Posture and Stance*

Adolescent youths not only enter a new age group but also various rites of passage which only come with reaching puberty. For boys this signifies that they will likely enter their first homosexual relationship (Golden: 2015: 49) and various other social activities. This new phase introduces various different scenes depicting adolescent youths as well as a multitude of postures not found in scenes with very young children. Some examples of postures or stances found among this age group can be seen in erotic scenes between an adolescent and his older male partner, where the adolescent may be leaning into his partner, while symposium scenes show youths reclining on couches. Parthenoi may be portrayed in a way which would indicate that they are dancing as they have outstretched arms and legs (Beaumont 2015: 180). They are also commonly depicted as having an upright posture while holding an item, such as a basket, or may be seated while performing a household task.

#### 2.2.4 Concluding Remarks

As mentioned throughout this section, identifying a child's age group cannot merely depend on a single aspect or iconographic indicator. Instead the scene as a whole must be viewed in order to get the best estimate and there are times when even then it is impossible to discern a specific age. The following table contains all of the above-mentioned iconographical indicators in condensed form. This will be extensively referred to in Chapter 5, the analysis and reading of the vase images.

	Hair	Body, Size	Gestures	Attributes	Posture	Dress	
1	Infant	Short hair	Chubby body, large head, short limbs	Arms stretched out towards person or object/animal	Body amulets, rattles, pets	Seated with one knee on ground, hands placed on ground, crawling	Naked or in swaddling cloth
	Toddler	Short hair	Chubby body, large head, short limbs	Arms stretched out towards person or object/animal, Holding objects	Amax, carts, rattles, pets, body amulets	Seated with feet dangling, leaning against e.g. table.	Naked or girls in chiton
2	Young prepubescent	Short or medium length: loose or tied in bun for girls, boys lack any facial and/or body hair	Taller than toddler, shorter than adult, girls are flat chested	Speaking gestures	Amax, knucklebones, pets, musical instruments, educational object: stylus, tablet, etc.	Standing or seated, running, playing with arms outstretched	Boys wear tightly wrapped himation which may partially cover head. Girls wear chiton or dress with crossband
	Older prepubescent	No facial hair. Girls have short or medium length hair (loose, bun or coiffure style)	Smaller than adults, less babylike features.	Speaking gestures	Pets, musical instruments, educational object: stylus, tablet, etc. strigil, aryballos	Standing or seated	Tightly wrapped himation or naked in gymnasium scenes
3	Adolescent youths (including ephebes and parthenoi)	Sparse hair on face and pubic hair on ephebes. Long hair for girls, loose or braids over shoulders,	Taller than prepubescent, boys are muscular and girls are shown with breasts	Boys are shown offering love gifts, speaking gestures	Weaponry: spears; pets, strigil, aryballos	Youths leaning into older men/youths. Symposium scenes show youth reclining. Parthenoi shown dancing with arms and legs stretched out	Loosely fitting himation baring shoulder and chest or naked or wearing chlamys and travellers hat

Table 2: Iconography of Childhood

# Chapter 3:

## Animal Companions of the Ancient Athenians and their Iconography

Chapter 3 looks at some of the animals that the ancient Athenians may have possibly allowed into their lives as personal animals. Section 3.1 will look at some of the different types of animals, as well as the roles they had within society and the symbolism attached to each of them. Section 3.2 gives a brief description of the iconography of each animal mentioned in this study and looks at how they were visually depicted on Attic vases.

### 3.1 Personal Animals in Ancient Athens

Animals have a unique and necessary position within the lives of humans, fulfilling a variety of roles. One of the most endearing and emotional of those roles is that of companion to a person. This was no different for the people of ancient Athens who would have been surrounded by various animals taking on their designated roles. As mentioned in Chapter 1, MacKinnon (2014: 269) describes the characteristics which would qualify an animal to be termed a personal animal over a working one. He explains that a personal animal can be differentiated from a working animal by its allowance within certain spheres of the house and that these animals were given personal names. Naming an animal is thought to have shown a form of investment into the animal and in some ways also shows a sense of attachment that the owner may have had. MacKinnon (2014: 271) also, however, notes that the uses of animals may have overlapped and that some working animals may very well have been viewed as personal animals too.

According to sources such as Mackinnon (2014: 269) and Bodson (2000: 27), having an animal companion was a widely accepted and practiced custom throughout both Greece and Rome. However, Bodson (2000: 27) does note that while having a pet was popular, some Greeks may not have agreed with people using animals as a way to substitute children, i.e. to have animals instead of children. In *The Graces* (quoted by Athenaeus 12.519a)<sup>21</sup>, Eubulus' one character ponders the thought of why some people would purposely choose to raise naughty monkeys and noisy geese over children.

---

<sup>21</sup> Yonge 1854.

Athenaeus (12.518f-519b) also mentions that the king of Numidia, Masinissa, interrogates the Sybarites on their fondness for animals over children by questioning whether their women even bear any. This negative view on those who chose animals over children may derive from the fact that the ancient Athenians of the fifth Century BCE placed a large emphasis on the importance of procreation and citizenship (Neils and Oakley 2003: 2). Therefore, someone who preferred animals over children may have gone against one of the most important societal norms and expectations. Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017: 97) claim that, when looking at animals and children with long-term prospects, children would have served a greater use to the ancient Greeks as they were able to take care of their aged parents one day. This is of course in contrast to animals who would have required their caregivers to look after them, even if they themselves were physically frail. This may have been one of the reasons why some people questioned how anyone could choose rearing animals over children. Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017: 82) mention a character in a play by Sophocles (*Poimenes* fr. 505)<sup>22</sup>, where a shepherd mentions that although he is the master of the sheep, in reality he is their slave as he has to tend to them constantly and make sure that their needs are met. While caring for an animal companion may not have been as labour intensive as looking after a child, it may have been perceived similar to the treatment of some of the more pampered companions which will be discussed in this chapter.

Although some did not agree with how loved and cherished certain animal companions were, it did not stop the ancient Athenians from hosting a wide variety of animals within the comforts of their homes. Some animals were even presented with grave stelae upon their passing with affectionate and personal messages from their grieving owners (Bodson 2000: 27). This illustrates the deep and personal relationship some shared with these animals, regardless of how low they may have been in the hierarchical structure of the household.

The type of animals that the ancient Athenians kept as companions ranges from modern day companions such as dogs, birds, and on the rare occasion cats to the more exotic and unusual such as deer, and even various species of big cat-like leopards (Bodson 2000: 27). This chapter will look at and discuss in detail some of the animals which the ancient Athenians would have taken on as their personal animals while also looking at the symbolism attached to and attitudes towards said animals. The animals in this section are the animals selected for this study as discussed in Chapter 1. While there are many animals which would have kept the ancient Athenians company, this study will only

---

<sup>22</sup> Sommerstein 2012.

focus on some of the more commonly found animals such as dogs, hares, goats, and some more exotic ones such as deer.

### 3.1.1 Dogs

The first and most prominent animal which would be found by the side of many Athenians is, like in modern day times, the dog (MacKinnon 2014: 270). It is a relationship which according to Kitchell (2014: 47) cannot be compared to any other animal in both dogs' closeness with their human companions as well as their multifunctional uses in the ancient world. While there are references to dogs being eaten, as seen in Hippocrates (*Hp. Morb. Sacr.1*)<sup>23</sup>, MacKinnon (2014: 270) states that there are very few other mentions of dogs being consumed and it therefore was unlikely to be a common occurrence. He further claims that the predominance of adult dog remains found across ancient Greece also points to the likelihood of dogs almost exclusively being used for work or companionship purposes.

Although dogs may have been the preferred animal companion to the ancient Greeks, Kitchell (2014: 48) observes that in early literary works such as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* they are portrayed as more savage and unforgiving. Dogs are mentioned as feasting on the corpses of the fallen early in the *Iliad* (*Il. 1. 4-5*) as well as later on when Priam shares his fears of his own corpse being devoured by the dogs (*Il. 22. 66-67*). Eumaios' (*Od. 14. 29*) guard dog is also portrayed as fearsome and aggressive. While this does allude to the dog's savage behaviour and nature, Priam's worry may also be due to the degrading image of dogs feasting on the king, as according to Papaionnou (2016: 13) dogs were also viewed as unclean. Ironically, however, dogs were sacrificed during various purifications rituals as they were thought to be able to absorb evil influences (Liston & Rotroff 2013: 68). Dogs were also sacrificed to Ares due to them being "the most vigorous domesticated animal" which is thought to have matched Ares (Trantalidou 2006: 115). According to Lonsdale (1979: 151) dogs were also used in imagery and in mythology to depict vicious and hideous beasts such as Kerberos. This also meant that they were associated with the underworld and according to Mainoldi (1984: 37–59) they were, therefore, also associated with death. Liston and Rotroff (2013: 68) state that the dog had a close association with Hecate who was not only a goddess of birth but she was also associated with death.

While dogs had some negative associations in the ancient Greek world, Lonsdale (1979: 151) also mentions that at times this savage nature was in fact often looked for in a dog. Aristotle (*HA. 574a*)

---

<sup>23</sup> Charles 1868.

mentions a rare Indian breed of hunting dog which the owner tried to have mate with a tiger to increase its ferocity. Kitchell (2014: 48) takes note that the savage nature of dogs was not their only negative trait referenced as they are often used throughout the *Iliad* as insults, such as when Helen refers to herself as a dog (*Il.* 6. 344). Semonides' poem *Women* (7. 12-21)<sup>24</sup> mentions several traits which women supposedly share with dogs such as their continuous whining, even after their husbands had beaten them. The poem also mentions how women always want to stick their noses into everything and know everything. This illustrates that dogs may have been viewed as curious creatures who at times know no boundaries even when told. Both Semonides' poem (7. 12-21) and Homer's *Odyssey* (14: 30-34) make mention of Eumaios' dog continuously barking, indicating that at least some would have viewed dogs as annoying and loud.

Dogs were, however, not always viewed in a negative way and they were often celebrated and admired for their various good qualities. One of the earliest mentions of this is from Homer's *Odyssey* (*Od.* 19. 310) where Odysseus' dog, Argus, shows his loyalty to his master as he wags his tail one last time when he sees Odysseus in his disguise. This scene also references the abuse that Argus faced while Odysseus was thought dead, and how Odysseus has to turn away to avoid Eumaios seeing him tear up when confronted with his neglected companion (*Od.* 19. 310). It is here where we see not only the loyalty of the dog but also the affection that many people would have undoubtedly felt towards their dogs. Another famous dog revered for his loyalty to his master is Xanthippus' dog, who was not allowed to board the boat with Xanthippus to escape Athens; the dog jumped into the water and swam after the boat until he eventually died from exhaustion (Kitchell 2014: 48).

While dogs were associated with death, Trantalidou (2002: 109) states that "dogs were essential to the comfort and dignity of the dead in the underworld"; this shows that they were also seen as protectors. This is further highlighted by funerary stelae and vases containing dog imagery where the dog is also thought to serve as a watchful guard of the deceased (Trantalidou 2002: 109). Dogs were also at times buried with children and, as mentioned in Chapter 2, one of the theories is that children were buried with their animal companion so that it would keep the child company in the afterlife (Oakley 2003:176). The dog in this context may then serve various purposes as it may act as playmate and protector while also purifying the child. Dogs were also named in a similar manner to children, often with idealised qualities which they hoped to see in dogs such as 'Power' (Shultz 2012). Other names such Psyche (Soul), Lailaps (Whirlwind) and Chara (Joy) were also given to dogs, but as far

---

<sup>24</sup> Svarlien 1995.

as we can tell, they were never given human names. This shows a sense of personal care towards an animal while still potentially showing their inferiority in comparison to their human companion (Lonsdale 1979: 149).

### *Breeds and Their Uses*

MacKinnon (2014: 171) claims that the Athenians kept a variety of categories of dog, depending on their purpose. Most notable and relevant to this thesis are hunting dogs, guard dogs and those who were kept purely for affection and entertainment. The names of the breeds are for the most part based on the geographical location that the breed originated from (MacKinnon 2014: 52) such as the Laconian or Spartan possibly originating from Laconia. The Melitean's place of origin is, however, under debate. It is often thought that the little dog originated from Malta, however sources are varied and some claim the dog originated from what is modern day Mljet in Croatia (Busuttil 1969: 206) and others such as Lonsdale (1941: 64) claim it to be from Carthage.

### *Melitean*

The smallest breed of dog seen in this study and a favourite among the ancient Greeks is the Melitean, a Spitz-like dog. This type of dog had no actual purpose within the household other than to be 'cute' and serve as entertainment to its masters (Busuttil 1969: 205). The Romans found them to be more useful as Pliny (*Nat.* 30. 3)<sup>25</sup> claimed that to cure stomach aches one could place the Melitean on the stomach and one would feel better after a few tries. These dogs were, according to Kitchell (2014: 49), one of the favoured animal companions among women and children and were often portrayed on the grave stelae of children. Busuttil (1969: 205) mentions, however, that they were not only popular among women and children but also with men. While the literary sources may indicate that all age groups and both genders enjoyed the little dog, Kitchell (2014: 49) notes that men are not regularly portrayed with them in vase scenes. Johnson (1919: 211) states that Spitzes are not commonly, if ever, depicted on black-figure vases and only start to be depicted once red-figure vases were being produced. Their small size was mentioned by Aristotle (*HA.* 9. 612b), who compares them to a marten, a small weasel type of animal, and according to Busuttil (1969: 205) they were often referred to as 'little dwarfs'.

According to Serpell (1996: 46) the small lap dogs were such a favourite among the ancient Greeks that they took them everywhere they went, which included the gymnasium and bath house. Aesop (349, 73) mentions that taking the lap dog as companion on long trips for entertainment was a

---

<sup>25</sup> Bostock, J. (trans). 1855. Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. London. Taylor and Francis.

common occurrence. Serpell (1996: 46) also mentions that Lucian (*Merc. Cond.* 34)<sup>26</sup> had even satirized the affection that the Greeks had for the Melitean as he writes about a woman who asked her friend to take care of her precious companion as she did not trust her servants to look after it. The man is then continuously ridiculed by the other Athenians as he had to carry the little dog around with him wherever he went. This may indicate that while all genders and ages were fond of the dog, it was clearly not the norm for a man to carry a small dog everywhere he went. This suggests the connotation of a small dog was that it was perceived as unmanly.

Regardless of the gender of the owner, the Melitean dogs were in general, very spoiled, something which Aesop (91) takes note of and uses in one of his fables. The story involves a hardworking ass who is jealous of the pampered dog and in this story it is mentioned that the master of the animals continuously gives the little lap dog treats. By the end of the story the Melitean is referred to as useless by the ass, emphasising its role in the household as being nothing more than a companion, although the story also mentions that the lap dog can do tricks, which would likely have been very entertaining to the owner. Alciphron (*Letters* 3. 22)<sup>27</sup> claims that the Melitean, true to its spoiled nature, was also very greedy and tells the story of a lap dog named Plangon who took the bait in a fox trap and ended up being killed.

As mentioned previously, while this was not limited to the breed of lap dogs, the ancient Greeks and Romans had tombstones made for their dogs once their companions had passed (Busuttill 1969: 205). This was, however, by no means the norm and was limited mostly to the wealthy and those who felt affectionate enough toward their animal companions. A tombstone for a beloved pet is one of the most compassionate visual images we have of the relationships between the ancient Greeks and their dogs (see Fig. 3A). One of the things which may have gained the dogs such admiration was their loyalty, as Busuttill (1969: 205) claims that Theodorus had a Melitean who threw itself into his coffin as it could not bear to live without him. Busuttill (1969: 205) also mentions how these dogs would be waiting on their owners when they returned from their journeys and how women would cry when having to depart from them. Although these dogs are more commonly represented and associated with women and children, they clearly were adored by all their owners, who would at times spare no expense for their favourite animal companion. Although Meliteans are represented as ‘cute’ and spoiled they were also a very important status symbol which indicated the owner’s position, as MacKinnon (2014: 273) states that the little lap dogs and other rare breeds of dog were mostly kept by the wealthy. This is likely due to the cost attached to these breeds and the fact that they would

---

<sup>26</sup> Fowler 1905.

<sup>27</sup> Schodde 2013.

have been another mouth to feed within the household and did not contribute to its workings in any way.



Fig. 3A. Marble. Funerary statue of a dog. c. 375-350 BCE. Athens National Archaeology Museum: 3574

### *Laconian*

The most popular breed of hunting dog was the Laconian, a breed which according to Johnson (1919: 209) is the most referenced dog breed among ancient sources. Xenophon (*Hunt.* 10)<sup>28</sup> writes about how the only way a hunter can handle hunting a wild boar is by having a pack of dogs with him, the Laconian being one of the breeds he mentions. This breed was known for its excellent sense of smell and hunting skills, as Pollux (*Onomasticon* 5. 51–60)<sup>29</sup> makes mention of this. Sophocles also references this quality through Athena, as she states that she has observed Odysseus find the enemy with ease similar to the Laconian hunting its prey (*Soph. Aj.* 8)<sup>30</sup>. Xenophon (*Hunt.* 3)<sup>28</sup> mentions two types of Laconian namely the Castorian and the Vulpine, the latter apparently being a mix of dog and fox, again indicating the Greeks' love for the exotic. Lonsdale (1979: 151) states the ancient Greeks also believed that the Laconian had various other wild sires such as wolves, lions, tigers and even cats which may also indicate that this breed was seen as a powerful and fearless breed.

Hunting with hunting dogs was thought to be a sport for the affluent and showed off the hunter's wealth; hunting with dogs and horses added to this image (MacKinnon 2014: 172). Although these dogs were bred specifically for hunting (Kitchell 2014: 53), they are also portrayed in a variety of other scenes such as those depicting a symposium. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus asks Eumaios whether or not Argus was a hunting hound or one which was kept beside the dining table for entertainment

<sup>28</sup> Marchant & Bowersock 1925.

<sup>29</sup> Dindorf 1824.

<sup>30</sup> Jebb 1893.

(*Od.* 17. 307-310). This may mean that not all Laconians were used for hunting. Xenophon (*Hunt.* 3) makes mention of a list of traits that a Laconian must have to be a good hunting dog and claims that not all dogs, even from the same breed, hunt equally well. It could be that those who were not deemed good hunters were rather kept as ‘table dogs’. That, however, does not mean that hunting dogs were not allowed near the dining table; therefore, these portrayals of hunting dogs inside the house could be either. Arrian confirms this assumption: he was a firm believer in training dogs with their emotional well-being in mind and claims that one needs to let the puppy sleep beside the owner as physical contact is good for them (Arr. *Cyneg.* 8-13). According to Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017: 94) Arrian and Xenophon both place further emphasis on human touch, as they state that owners should massage and rub their hunting dogs (Arr. *Cyneg.* 10.4)

The timing of the appearance of Laconian dogs in Greece seems to be shrouded in uncertainty as both modern and ancient sources appear to disagree. Johnson (1919: 209) notes that Xenophon (*Hunt.* 3) and Aristotle (*HA.* 5.2) both have different descriptions of these dogs, with Xenophon claiming that they should have snubbed noses whereas Aristotle states that they have long noses. Johnson (1919: 209) further claims that the Laconian was not a greyhound and that out of the two types, the Vulpine is one of the breeds which appears frequently in ancient Greek images; it is also easier to identify than the Castorian as Xenophon’s descriptions of the Laconian are limited to the Vulpine only. Hunting dogs, regardless of their breed, were required to be agile, fast and ready for the hunt as they would at times need to show great courage depending on the prey. Hunting dogs were also perceived and used as a symbol of heroism in art, especially when used in funerary imagery, possibly due to their speed, loyalty and connotations to wealth. Trantalidou (2006: 98) states that heroes were often depicted as hunters with hunting dogs and a horse by their side, the ultimate symbol of strength and wealth, and therefore, deceased youths were at times depicted in a similar manner to highlight this hero status. This heroic status given to youths may have been either due to them dying in battle or due to parents wanting their sons to be immortalized with idealised imagery.

### *The Molossian*

This bigger breed of dog was bred and used for different purposes as it was a strong and sturdy dog. Molossians were known to be fast with a good sense of smell and thus were also found useful in a hunt (MacKinnon 2014: 273). Kitchell (2014: 53) claims that the breed of hunting dog was also selected based on the type of prey. It can therefore be assumed that the Molossian may have been used to hunt larger prey which may have required strength as well as speed. Their size also made them excellent guard dogs and it is thought that Eumaios’ dog in the *Odyssey* was probably a

Molossian. Aristotle (*HA*. 9.1) claims that the Molossians are fearless when it comes to protecting a flock of sheep from predators. According to Aubert (2009: 148), Hesiod (*op.* 604 fr.) states that farmers should take care of their guard dogs and make sure that they are fed and happy so as to make sure that when someone tries to rob the farmer, the dog would be able to fend him off. These dogs can therefore be associated with strength and ferocity and this is likely the breed which more closely resembles the vicious dogs mentioned earlier. It may even be argued that the ancient Greek connotations of this breed are similar to modern day perceptions of ‘vicious’ breeds such as the Pitbull.

### 3.1.2 Deer

Deer have a very interesting role in the lives of the ancient Greeks as they serve both as prey and companion. Although ancient Greek literary texts on the companionship between deer and humans are sparse, there are various visual media which suggest that deer were possible companions. While Greek texts are scarce, Roman sources mention a few examples of people owning deer. In Vergil’s *Aeneid*, for example, the war in Italy is sparked by Ascanius’ accidental shooting of a little girl’s pet stag (*Aen.* 7. 483–499)<sup>31</sup>. A century later Plutarch (*Sert.* 9)<sup>32</sup> writes of Sertorius who received a fawn as a gift and tamed it to the point that he could call it like one could call a dog. Lazenby (1946: 56) claims that it was the deer’s sleek and graceful build which may have been the reason why the ancient Greeks were so drawn to the animal and also why they may have wanted to have one as a companion.

Artemis was associated with deer and was, according to Werness (2007: 129), both the hunter and protector of deer; she could even take the shape of one. Werness (2007: 128) further claims that although votives of deer were dedicated to a variety of gods such as Zeus and Apollo, the number of deer votives dedicated to Artemis were unmatched and eventually the deer became solely her animal. Deer were also said to have been kept in sanctuaries and were used to pull carts, etc.; in mythological terms they were portrayed pulling Artemis’ chariot for example (Werness 2007: 128).

Various other myths also involve deer, such as the myth of Telephus, the son of Heracles, who was left to die on Mount Parthenion when he was a baby. He was, however, nurtured by a deer who offered him her milk (Patterson 2010: 139). Ovid (*Met.* 10. 136-40)<sup>33</sup> mentions another famous myth of how cypress trees became associated with graves. Apollo befriended Cyparissus who was a young hunter, one fateful day he accidentally killed his favourite companion, a stag, who was said to have antlers of

---

<sup>31</sup> Williams 1910.

<sup>32</sup> Perrin 1919.

<sup>33</sup> Reaburn 2004.

gold, his guilt eventually led to his death and Apollo turned him into a cypress tree. The deer was said to be extremely tame and lovable to everyone, especially Cypris. Therefore, while deer do represent prey they are also portrayed as gentle creatures who were also thought of as nurturing as shown in the myth of Telephus.

### 3.1.3 Goats

According to Lazenby (1949: 247) children and women are often depicted with goats and children are often shown seated in carts being pulled by goats or riding on their backs. Goats were one of the more versatile of the domesticated animals in ancient Greece and their uses include food (either meat or milk), draft animals and finally, companionship. Goats also served a religious purpose and were often sacrificed to a variety of gods by the Mycenaeans. According to Holmstrom (2014: 26-27), the Greek theatre started due to the festival of Dionysus which involved small dramatic plays and goat sacrifices. This eventually led to more dramatic and larger plays in which those involved in these presentations would wear goat skins and competitions would see the winner walking away with a goat. The word tragedy in Greek also literally means 'goat song', further highlighting their importance to the ancient Greeks (Holmstrom 2014: 26). Werness (2007: 197) claims that the goat's associations with Pan and Dionysus were also due to the wild nature of these gods, making them comparable with the animal.

Artemis was another god who was associated with the goat and representations depicting her with a goat have been found at many of her sanctuaries (Werness 2007: 197). Kitchell (2014: 76) claims that literary texts on goats often create one of two images, the first being the peacefulness of the countryside and the second being that of promiscuity; the latter is mostly linked to male goats. Satyrs, who were half-man and half-goat, were known for their extreme lustfulness and promiscuity which is possibly why they were portrayed as half-goat. Goats may also have been seen as nurturing animals as Zeus was said to have been looked after by the goat Amalthea, after Rhea saved baby Zeus from being eaten by Cronos (Holmstrom 2014: 25).

Goats are mostly associated with Dionysus or a festival held in his honour but they are occasionally described as sexual beings, while on the other hand are also seen as nurturing animals, as in the case with baby Zeus. This indicates that the goat is an animal which has multiple connotations attached to it and therefore requires careful considerations when interpreting imagery which contains goats.

### 3.1.4 Hares

Hares were similar to deer in their roles for the ancient Greeks as both creatures were portrayed as hunted and animal companion. This meant that the hare was also associated with Artemis. Werness (2007: 207) claims that she is often shown holding a hare by its paws, which he claims was potentially showcasing her role as protector of wildlife. During a hunt, baby hares were never killed and instead were dedicated to Artemis (Barringer 2001: 95). Homer (*Il.* 22. 310) viewed the hare as a symbol for speed but also for fear<sup>34</sup> as hares were described as timid animals (Kitchell 2014: 83) and they were also noted to be clever. However, as seen in one of Aesop's more famous fables, *The Tortoise and the Hare* (Aesop, 226), the hare's arrogance and stupidity make him lose the race; Kitchell (2014: 84) calls it the hare's weakness. The hare was also presented to potential lovers as a love gift and was therefore seen as a symbol of love. It was and still is, an animal with associations of fertility as Herodotus (3. 108) claims that they could conceive even when pregnant.

While hares may be seen as skittish animals who always remain cautious or nervous, they are also noted for their speed, fertility and aphrodisiac properties. This meant the hare was an important symbol of not only agility but also sex and love.

## 3.2 Iconography of Animals on Attic Vases

Though no scholarly work discusses the iconography of the selected animals on Attic vases, I have used the ancient and modern literature to differentiate and categorise the animals while creating my catalogue. The imagery was for the most part unproblematic, with only a few ambiguities of species, which have been noted. The types of animals found on ancient Athenian vases are easily distinguishable through the iconography as follows.

### 3.2.1 Dogs

As mentioned in the previous section there are three types of dogs found within this study with the majority of them being either the Melitean or the Laconian and only one image probably depicting the Molossian. The Melitean is the easiest to distinguish mainly because of its small size and its coat. This breed is portrayed as being tiny in comparison to the adults or youths but roughly the same size as infants who are seated on the floor. Their coat is shown to be longer than that of the Laconian, with

---

<sup>34</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, children were also thought to be fearful (Plat. *Phaedo.* 77e).

tufts of fur being depicted on its sides and tail area. The tail is shown to curl up over the dog's back and is clearly very fluffy, however, some images show the tail in a downward position as well. The Laconian hunting dog is shown with a long, tall body with no visible hair like the Melitean. They appear with a pronounced chest and a smaller waist and sometimes ribs are depicted, indicating their sleek athletic build. Their tails are long and thin and can be shown curled upwards or straight. The Laconian is often shown sitting by or under the table in symposium scenes or hunting hares or deer. In these scenes the dogs are either running after the animal or are shown to be attacking it. The Molossian dog appears only very rarely on extant vase images; for this study only one example is included. The Molossian is pictured as a big sturdy dog with long hair, which appears similar to a mane around their necks. Their size is substantially larger than the hunting hounds and their bodies are also far more fleshy than the Laconians.

### 3.2.2 Deer

Deer are shown either as small fawns or as larger adults and are shown either with or without spots on their bodies. The adults are shown either being ridden, bareback or via a cart, or they are pictured hunted while fawns are shown laying down. There are instances where deer resemble donkeys as they are also depicted with long ears and a similar body type; however, the feet indicate that they are deer as they have split hooves similar to the deer found in other images and deer also lack a mane which is found on the donkey.

### 3.2.3 Goats

Goats are portrayed with or without horns and their bodies are shown to be covered with hair. Their size varies as they are at times shown to be rather large, reaching the children under their arms, or they are shown to be very small, similar in size to an infant crawling on the floor. Goats are mostly shown to either be pulling around carts or accepting food from children. In scenes with carts they are shown to be in a running motion as their front legs are in the air, similar to those of a horse rearing.

### 3.2.4 Hares

They are shown in a variety of scenes such as in the hunt, a love scene, or just sitting with their child companion. Hares are pictured being gifted as love gifts, to older men by youths or vice versa. The hunting scenes follow a similar trend to those portraying deer: the hares are either shown during the hunt or at times a youth is shown with a dead hare's body. They are depicted with wide eyes and long ears and are usually shown to just be sitting quietly.

This survey shows that animals are often portrayed in a way that allows one to distinguish their species, even if the representations are not highly naturalistic. Some animals are portrayed interacting with children while others are shown more as a background feature. Their roles vary depending on the scene and the age group of the child or person they are paired with and can change accordingly, something which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 4: Catalogue

This catalogue was created from 203 images found on the Beazley Archive using the methodology as outlined in Chapter 1. The catalogue is categorised by animal first and then the age group of the child as this allows for an easier and better flow in Chapter 6, where the same structure is utilised. The actions of both children and animals were included as categories not only to ascertain whether or not there is any contact between the child and animal but also because all components of an image play an important role in the interpretation. For this reason the shape of the vessel and other objects found in the images were also included as categories.

	Animal	Age	Shape	Date	Action of child	Action of animal	Objects	Beazley Vase number	Identification	Scene
1	Lap dog	Infant	Chous fr.	450-400 BCE	Crawling to dog	In front of child, extended paw	Amulet on body	4198	Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., Munich, Arndt, E127	Daily
2	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	N.D	Crawling to dog	Standing in front of child, interacting with hand	Amulet on body	4199	Brussels, van Branteghem, 95.52	Daily
3	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	450-400 BCE	Held in air by woman	Looking up at child	Chous on floor, woman holding child	10227	Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 1321	Daily
4	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	400-300 BCE	Crawling to dog	Image not visible	N/A	10910	Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 389	Daily
5	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	425-375 BCE	Touching dog	Paw extended, facing away from child	N/A	11379	Munich, Antikensammlung, Karlsruhe, A. Vogell, 6156	Daily

6	Lap dog	Infant	Skyphos	425-375 BCE	Crawling to/away from dog	Walking after/away from child	Amulets	12840	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR6.1929	Daily
7	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	425-375 BCE	Crawling to dog	Front paws raised in playful manner	N/A	13435	University (MS), University Museum, Oxford (MS), Robinson Collection, 1977.3.109	Daily
8	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	400-300 BCE	Leaning on stool, reaching to dog	Standing in front of child, one paw on stool, other extended out	Stool, amulets, Leaf or feather	16138	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, T1872.37	Daily
9	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	450-400 BCE	Child trying to stand up or crawling to dog	Standing facing child	Amulet on body	16300	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1973	Daily
10	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	450-400 BCE	Crawling to table	Sitting behind child	Table with chous, amulet?	44297	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, I1956.7.5	Daily
11	Lap dog	Infant	Chous	425-375 BCE	Crawling to dog	Standing in front of child	Chous	16298	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, Hague, Scheurleer, 3345	Daily
12	Lap dog	Infant?	Chous	450-400 BCE	Kneeling, holding cake overhead away from dog	Sitting in front of child. looking up	Cake, amulets	16261	Utrecht, University, Unknown, Piot Collection, 27	Daily
13	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	425-375 BCE	Holding grapes out to dog and chous in other hand	Paw extended toward youth	Chous, Grapes, Amulets on body, Wreath?	14990	Athens, National Museum, 12140	Daily
14	Lap dog?	Toddler	Chous	425-375 BCE	Riding dog	Being ridden by child	Chous	16268	Athens, National Museum, CC133C	Daily (Play)

15	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous fr.	450-400 BCE	Standing with dog	Facing child with paw extended	Grapes on tray, Amulets, Laurel wreath?	12262	Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 350	Daily
16	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	450-400 BCE	Running from dog (play?)	Running toward child	Cake, Altar, Chous, Amulet	14989	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2425	Daily
17	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	400-300 BCE	Walking	Walking ahead of child, paw extended	Cake, Cart, Torch	15835	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2929	Daily
18	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous fr.	425-375 BCE	Holding chous	Sitting in front of child. looking up	Chous, cake	16242	Athens, Agora Museum, P12523	Daily
19	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	450-400 BCE	Extending arm out while holding amax	Front paws raised in playful manner	Cart with chous on, chous in front of dog. Amulets?	15998	Athens, National Museum, 1611	Daily
20	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	450-400 BCE	Arms extended outwards over dog	Looking up at child's hands	N/A	16283	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1941.122	Daily
21	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous fr.	400-300 BCE	One youth sitting in cart	Pulling cart	Covered cart	16514	Athens, Agora Museum, P12293	Daily
22	Lap dog	Toddler?	Chous	450-400 BCE	Squatting on stool (dancing?)	Leaping toward child	Stool, chous	16304	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2910	Daily
23	Lap dog	Toddlers	Chous	450-400 BCE	One youth walking while holding cake and oinochoe	Pulling cart	Window, cake, oinochoe, body amulets	220549	Athens, National Museum, CC1875	Daily
24	Lap dog	Toddlers	Chous	450-400 BCE	One holding cake, one with mask on holding a staff	Walking ahead of children	Cake, mask, staff	2721	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2938	Daily (Theatrical)
25	Lap dog	Toddlers (Komos)	Chous	425-375 BCE	Dancing or running	Running around with youths	Chlamys, torches, tympanon.	10225	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 06.1021.196	Komos

26	Lap dog	Toddler	Chous	450-400 BCE	Child running after bird	Chasing Bird	Amulet, bird, wreath?, part of a table, suspended oinochoe	16320	Athens, National Museum, 17753	Daily
27	Lap dogs	Toddlers (one possible prepubescent)	Chous	N.D	One youth in cart, one behind	Pulling cart	Cart, column with tripod, cake	2691	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 95.51	Daily
28	Lap dog	Prepubescent youth with two older toddlers	Chous	425-375 BCE	Older child is sitting in cart holding lyre, younger children are pulling the cart	Standing in front of children with paw extended upward	Cart, Lyre. Amulets?	9594	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, 1321	Daily
29	Lap dog	Prepubescent girl	Chous	N.D	Playing by balancing reed on finger	Running with girl	Chous, reed.	4188	Athens, National Museum, 1322	Daily
30	Lap dog	Prepubescent youth	Chous	400-300 BCE	Youth holding chous, other youth holding torch	Jumping up against youth	Torch, cake	16139	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, KAB103BB	Daily
31	Lap dog	Prepubescent youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Youth standing before altar	Standing behind youth	Altar, herm, bukranion	15934	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	Daily (Religious)
32	Lap dog, cat	Prepubescent youth	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Music lesson, youth playing lyre, youth holding lyre, youth sitting	Lying under chair	Lyre, chairs	206472	London, British Museum, 1874.10-7.85	Daily (Music Lesson)
33	Lap dog	Adolescent youth and prepubescent youth (Draped)	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Older youth seated with lyre, younger youth standing with lyre	Standing between youths	Lyres, stool	202732	Salerno, Museo Nazionale, 1132	Daily (Music Lesson?)
34	Lap dog, hare	Adolescent youths	Cup	500-450 BCE	Standing with arm extended (talking)	Standing by youth looking at hare	Staffs, spears, trees	203961	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, AST3	Daily

35	Lap dog	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Stamnos	525-475 BCE	Youth standing between youth and older man, youth looking at dog. B: Youth with cock presenting it to woman	Standing by youth looking up. B: Standing between youth and woman	Staff. B: lyre	201962	Lausanne, private	Daily (Courting)
36	Lap dog	Adolescent youths (male and Female)	Chous	400-300 BCE	Running with arm raised looking toward girl and Eros, Girl looking toward Eros while holding basket and torch	Jumping up onto girl	Eros, torch, basket, tympanon	15830	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: KAB25L	Mythical
37	Lap dog	Adolescent youths (older and younger)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Older youth seated with flower, younger youth with arm extended toward older youth	Standing by youths looking up at younger youth	Flower, chair	206481	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 56.171.43	Daily (courting)
38	Lap dog	Adolescent/ B: ephebe with younger adolescent male	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Walking ahead of man while looking back at him, holding stick/ B: Leaning on staff	Standing	Walking stick, lyre, chous, older man. B: staff, cloaks	202581	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1906.301	Daily
39	Lap dog	Adolescent youth	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Running with hoop and stick and leg of meat	Running with youth	Hoop, stick, meat	205009	Munich, Antikensammlung, 2674	Daily (Play)
40	Lap dog	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Playing with dog, hand extends outward	Jumping up towards youth's hand	Strigil and aryballos suspended	3997	Brussels, Musées Royaux, R350	Daily
41	Lap dog, bird	Adolescent youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Playing the lyre	Running ahead of youth	Chlamys, lyre	10232	London, British Museum, 1864.10-7.231	Daily
42	Lap dog	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Erotic image	Standing to the side looking at men	Staff, cloaks, aryballos	205269	Munich, Antikensammlung, 2631	Daily (Erotic)

43	Lap dog	Adolescent youth	Mug	475-425 BCE	Holding lyre, Looking at dog	Looking at youth	Lyre	211489	Copenhagen, National Museum, CHRVIII519	Daily
44	Lap dog	Ephebes	Alabastro n	500-450 BCE	Youth standing with javelin, draped youth leaning on staff	Standing	Javelin, sponge, aryballos	204196	London, British Museum, 1892.7-18.9	Daily (Gymnasium)
45	Lap dog	Ephebes (2)	Chous	500-450 BCE	One youth looking and reaching down toward the dog, other youth (draped) looking toward youth with hand extended out	Looking up at youth with front paws raised	Chlamys, strigil	202005	Munich, Antikensammlung n, J789	Daily
46	Lap dog	Ephebe	Chous	450-400 BCE	Reclining back at a symposium	Paw extended toward youth	Chous, ivy wreath	11642	Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls- Univ., Arch. Inst., Munich, Arndt, S101391	Daily (Symposium)
47	Lap dog	Ephebe	Krater, Column	500-450 BCE	Holding staff, looking back while walking	Walking along side older man	Lyre, staff, chlamys, older man with boots	10484	London, Market, Sotheby's	Daily
48	Lap dog	Ephebe	Oinochoe	N.D	Holding a cup and lyre	Standing in front of youth	Nike, lyre, Cup, chous	211488	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., Philadelphia (PA), Market, H4937	Mythical
49	Lap dog	Ephebe	Amphora, Neck	475-425 BCE	Arm extended out, holding cup in other hand	Walking beside older man	Pipes, staff, lyre	214094	London, British Museum, E315	Daily
50	Lap dog	Ephebe	Amphora	525-475 BCE	Carrying amphora following older man playing lyre	Walking beside older man	Lyre, amphora, chlamys	201836	London, British Museum, E267	Daily
51	Lap dog	Youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Running holding torch and chous	Running after youth	Torch, chous	10223	Brussels, Musées Royaux: A906	Daily

52	Lap dog	Youth	Chous	425-375 BCE	Youth holding sprig	Running with youths	Sprig, cake	10223	Athens, Agora Museum, P7685	Daily
53	Hunting dog	Prepubescent and adolescent youths	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Music lesson, prepubescent standing in front of man	Sitting looking up	Musical instruments (flute, lyre), chairs, walking stick, older male,	206471	Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 1294	Daily (Music Lesson)
54	Hunting dog, cat	Prepubescent and adolescent youth	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Music lesson	Sitting, feline on table	Musical instruments (flute, lyre), chairs, table, older male, cat.	206689	London, British Museum, 1864.10-7.84	Daily (Music Lesson)
55	Hunting dog	Prepubescent youth	Amphora	525-475 BCE	Standing between older men giving departing warrior object (liver?)	Standing between warrior and female looking up at her	Phiale, spears,	201654	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., L507	Daily (Departing)
56	Hunting dog	Prepubescent youth	Cup fr, face damaged	500-450 BCE	Standing in front of man	Crouching on floor, looking up at youth	Stool, staff, lyre	205148	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, L1975.65.14	Daily (Music Lesson)
57	Hunting dog	Prepubescent youth with ephebes	Amphora A	525-475 BCE	Prepubescent presenting ephebe with object, youth holding shield, youths talking	Standing	Shield, Helmet, spears	202097	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G46	Daily (Departing)
58	Hunting dogs, hare	Prepubescent and adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Standing, youth looking down at dog, holding hare	Standing by man looking up	Walking stick, staff, tree, aryballos, strigil and sponge suspended	203966	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16560	Daily
59	Hunting dog	Adolescent and prepubescent youths	Chous	525-475 BCE	Older youth with lyre, younger youth with staff	Walking behind older youth	Lyre, staff	202004	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 22.139.32	Daily

60	Hunting dog, cat	Adolescent and prepubescent youths	Cup	475-425 BCE	Draped youth pointing to older man, younger youth standing between older man and youth. I: Youth holding hare by ears	Both cat and dog are standing. I: hare being held by ears	Staff, table	211392	Switzerland, Private, New York (NY), market, Zurich, private	Daily
61	Hunting dog (LaiLaps)	Adolescent youths	Krater, Column	475-425 BCE	Looking down at Prokris with his hand in his hair, Prokris lying on the floor dying with a spear in her side	Dog is looking up at bird (Siren?)	Spear and older man holding a sceptre, Bird (siren?)	214741	London, British Museum, E477	Mythical
62	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth with prepubescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Adolescent has arm extended upwards, prepubescent has hand out	Lying down looking up at youths	Cloaks	204399	Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, 3240	Daily
63	Hunting dog	Adolescent females and male youth	Lekanis	400-300 BCE	Preparing for wedding	Standing	Mirror, fan, wreath, Eroses, stools, chairs, incense burners, hydria, jewellery, bird in cage, basket	230433	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Q9	Daily (Domestic, Wedding preparations)
64	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Oinochoe	475-425 BCE	Youth standing, youth holding a strigil with arm extended	Standing between youths	Strigil	207322	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 13.191	Daily (Gymnasium)
65	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Cup fr.	500-450 BCE	Athletes boxing	Sniffing ground	Stool, staff	203956	Leipzig, Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig: T533	Daily (Gymnasium)
66	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Cup fr.	500-450 BCE	Too fragmented	Sitting	Aryballos, strigil suspended	203962	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia	Daily (Gymnasium)
67	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Amphora, Neck	N.D	Youth holding walking stick, youth playing pipes	Standing by youth	Staff, pipes, pipes case	100819 0	Laon, Musée Archeologique Municipal, 37.1022	Daily

68	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Cup fr.	400-300 BCE	Prokris and Kephalos	Standing	N/A	230972	Enserune, Mouret	Mythical
69	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Amphora	525-475 BCE	Youth reaching out to dog, youth leaning against staff	Standing between youth and older man	Staff, Chlamys, lyre	201872	Mannheim, Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum, G11	Daily
70	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Playing musical instruments	Looking at ground	Pipes, stools, lyre, column, staff	275229	Amherst (MA), Amherst College, Philadelphia (PA), Market, 1962.74	Daily (Music Lesson)
71	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Aryballos	525-475 BCE	Standing	Standing behind youth	Sponges, strigil, aryballoi	275181	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 98.879	Daily (Gymnasium)
72	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Pelike	475-425 BCE	Holding strigil and lyre	Sitting between youth and older man, looking up	Lyre, staff, strigil, suspended bag	214813	London, British Museum, E354	Daily
73	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Lekythos	500-450 BCE	Holding hand over dog	Sitting looking up at hand	Cloak	203111	Warsaw, National Museum, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum, 142470	Daily
74	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Oinochoe	475-425 BCE	Standing with hand extended	Looking at youth	Stool, Cloak	208203	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 394	Daily
75	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Amphora, Neck	475-425 BCE	Standing	Standing	Flying Eros with lyre	207614	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G211	Mythical
76	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Alabastro n	500-450 BCE	Holding a bow in oriental costume	Standing	bow, quiver, palm tree, altar, eidolon	275147	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum	Daily
77	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup	475-425 BCE	Holding staff	Standing in front of youth facing away, paw extended	Staff, Strigil and cup (aryballos) suspended	9448	Aleria, Musée Archeologique, Aleria, Musée Archeologique, 2199A	Daily

78	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Facing older man	Sitting with paw extended	Older men, staff, cloaks	202868	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10789	Daily
79	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Lekythos	475-425 BCE	Holding tendril	Sitting looking up at hand	Cloak, tendril	208902	Warsaw, National Museum, Goluchow, Czartorski, 92	Daily
80	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth and woman (Draped)	Alabastro n	475-425 BCE	Leading dog on a leash with hand extended to accept wreath?	Looking toward female while being led by the male youth	Wreath, woman, fillet suspended, leash	208897	Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Z40	Daily
81	Hunting dog	Adolescent female and young male (prepubescent?)	Alabastro n	N.D	Male youth is leaning on staff, female is offering male cock	Standing beside female youth	Staff, cock	2718	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 796	Daily
82	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths with younger youth	Amphora, Neck	475-425 BCE	Youth leaning on staff, younger youth standing	Dog standing between youths	Staff, cloak	207586	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G338	Daily
83	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Arm extended, holding strigil	Looking up at youth, one paw raised	Cloth on stool, javelins, strigil	203991	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8038	Daily (Gymnasium)
84	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Krater, Bell	500-450 BCE	Playing pipes	Between youth and man with paw extended	Cup, walking stick	206277	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 2111	Daily (Komos)
85	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Lekythos, Squat	450-400 BCE	Youth holding sprig	Sitting looking up	Spear, hare, sprig, chlamys	215028	Brunswick (ME), Bowdoin College, 20.3	Daily (Return from hunt)
86	Hunting dog	Adolescent youth	Alabastro n	525-475 BCE	Standing with hand raised, looking down, youths standing looking down	Standing by youth looking up	Staffs	200892	Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, 31390	Daily
87	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Krater, volute fr.	500-450 BCE	Youths standing between men, one hiding strigil other standing	Sitting between youth and older man, looking up	Chair, strigil	202958	Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll. G33	Daily (Gymnasium?)

88	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths	Krater, Bell	400-300 BCE	Herakles seated, youth seated	Looking up at women	Women, oinochoe, quiver suspended. Athena, Hermes, Iolaos, Kantharos	218081	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1142	Mythical
89	Hunting dog	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Amphora, Neck	475-425 BCE	Youth leaning on staff, youth holding lyre	Looking at the ground	Lyre, staff	213863	Stuttgart, Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum, 4131	Daily
90	Hunting dog, hare	Adolescent youth	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Erotic image, holding hare by ears	Sitting behind youth, hare being held by youth	Staff, Chlamys	203813	Mykonos, Archaeological Museum, 7	Daily (Erotic)
91	Hunting dog, hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Man presenting youth with hare	Dog: standing between youth and man looking up at youth or hare. Hare: Being held by ears (presented to youth)	Cloaks	275939	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, Greenwich (CT), Bareiss, 86.AE.195	Daily (Courting)
92	Hunting dog, Hare	Adolescent youth (ephebe?)	Cup fr.	500-450 BCE	Presenting a hare to older male	Dog unknown, hare being held (presented)	Staff, older male	204368	Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 22141	Daily (Courting)
93	Hunting dog, hare	Adolescent youths	Lekythos	450-400 BCE	Youth holding stick and throwing stone, youth holding club	Hunting hare	Stick, rock, club, sashes, stele	216378	London, British Museum, 1876.3-28.2	Funerary (Hunting scene)
94	Hunting dog, horse, hare	Ephebe and adolescent youth	Stamnos	500-450 BCE	Standing by horse, B: Presenting ephebe with hare, ephebe taking hare	Horse being led by older man. Dog standing beside youth, B: hare being held by ears	Chlamys, pestos, staff, walking stick, spears B: Staff	204516	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Northwick, Spencer-Churchill, 1965.121	Daily B: Courting
95	Hunting dog	Ephebes and adolescent	Cup	525-475 BCE	Erotic image: Two male youths embracing one another	Standing	Aryballos, strigil suspended	200977	Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, F2279	Daily (Erotic)

96	Hunting dog, hare	Ephebe with adolescent youth	Cup	550-500 BCE	Erotic image: Male and female embracing one another	Standing behind youth, faced away. Hare sitting in cage	Cage, Aryballos, strigil, sponge, lyre	200100	Gotha, Schlossmuseum, 48	Daily (Erotic)
97	Hunting dog, bird	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Alabastro n	N.D	Youth holding staff, youth walking	Sitting between youths, looking up	Lyre, suspended wreath, staff and bird	9031730	Bochum, Ruhr Universität, Kunstsammlungen, S1206	Daily
98	Hunting dog, hare	Ephebes (3)	Kyathos	500-450 BCE	Hunting hare	Hunting hare	Clubs, chlamys	203428	Brussels, Musées Royaux, A2323	Daily (Hunting)
99	Hunting dog, feline (cheetah?), cock	Ephebe and younger youth	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Older youth presenting youth with cock, youth holding his hand out toward older youth	Dog sitting by youth, feline jumping toward youth, cock being held by older youth	Staffs, cloaks	203021	Boulogne, Musée Communale, 134	Daily (courting)
100	Hunting dog, cock	Ephebe	Alabastro n	N.D	Leaning on staff while woman offers a cock	Standing in front of youth	Staff, chlamys	788	Munich, private, Basel, market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.	Daily
101	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Krater	475-425 BCE	Standing with dog and spear in front of Sphinx	Standing by youth	Column with sphinx, chlamys, petasos, spear, sword	30555	Bowdoin College, 1913.8	Mythical?
102	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Hydria	525-475 BCE	Reclining back at a symposium, playing pipes	Paw extended on youth's leg	Pipes	200183	Market, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 1B16	Daily (Symposium)
103	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Amphora	550-500 BCE	Holding spear and shield	Lying down beside youth	Bow, shield, spears	200166	London, British Museum, 1843.1103.88	Daily (Departing)
104	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Krater, Column	500-450 BCE	Leaning on staff while courting woman	Sitting behind youth	Cloak, staff, flying Erotes, Kalathos, purse, petals	202886	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 1054	Daily (courting)

105	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Lekythos, Squat	475-425 BCE	Running with Eros flying after	Running after youth	Cloak	208182	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, J.D. Beazley, 1966.512	Mythical (Pursuit)
106	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Cup C	550-500 BCE	Reclining back at a symposium, holding lyre	Sniffing ground	Lyre, cloak, table	16042	Germany, private, Hamburg, market, Termer, 101	Daily (Symposium)
107	Hunting dog	Ephebe	Alabastro n	500-450 BCE	Holding axe	Unknown	Axe, stool	202786	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 2633	Daily
108	Hunting dog	Ephebe and younger youth	Krater	500-450 BCE	Youth reclining, youth playing pipes	Lying under table	Cups, seats, tables, pipes	206435	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G335	Daily (Symposium)
109	Hunting dog, horse	Ephebe	Krater, Calyx	450-400 BCE	Eos and Kephalos, holding spears and other object	Jumping away from youth	Spears, chariot	5967	London, British Museum, E466	Mythical
110	Hunting dog, cows, hare	Ephebe	Figure Vase: hoof	500-450 BCE	Sitting down with staff wearing animals' skin chlamys, tending to animals?	Emerging from cave	Animal skin chlamys, hat, staff	5968	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 38.11.2	Daily
111	Hunting dog, horses, deer, bird	Ephebes	Lekythos, Squat	450-400 BCE	Hunting scene	Being held back by youth	Axe, spears, trees	217907	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, P1837.2	Daily (Hunting)
112	Hunting dogs	Ephebes	Krater, Column	500-450 BCE	Youths reclining, one playing the lyre, man playing kottabos, one youth looking at dog possibly reaching to touch it	One dog is sitting looking up at youth, other dog is sniffing at floor possibly eating something	Lyre, cup, kottabos stands, tables, older man	206491	Banca Intesa, Milan, 'H. A.', Milan, Torno, 354	Daily (Symposium)
113	Hunting dog?	Ephebe	Pelike	475-425 BCE	Eos and Kephalos	Standing	N/A	206876	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G230	Mythical
114	Hunting dog, horses, deer, bird	Ephebe	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Riding horses and throwing spears at deer	Dog on the back of the deer (attacking), deer being hunted, horses around deer, bird flying	Spears, tree	203673	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Arlesheim, S. Schweizer, BS438	Daily (Hunting)

115	Hunting dogs, hare	Ephebe and younger youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Man presenting ephebe with hare, ephebe reaching out, younger youth standing	One dog is standing and the other is sitting, both looking away from the scene	Spears, staff, strigil, aryballos, wreath	205077	Lost, Dresden, Kunstgewerbemuseum	Daily (Courting)
116	Hunting dog	Youth (prepubescent?)	Lekanis	400-300 BCE	Seated	Standing by youth with paw extended	Women, boxes, sashed, plemochoai, mirror, chair lobes on a stand	230826	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T19EVP	Daily (Domestic)
117	Hunting dog	Youths	Hydria	N.D	Seated, two standing, one is tying his sandal	Lying down with one paw extended upwards	Writing tablet, staffs	902465 7	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.7	Daily (School?)
118	Unknown dog	Prepubescent youth (Draped)	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Standing, looking at older man	Jumping up against older man with lyre	Lyre, cloaks	202602	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, 1176	Daily
119	Unknown dog	Prepubescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Standing	Standing with paw raised	Tree, aryballos in tree, strigil, walking stick, sponge,	204493	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T931A	Daily (Gymnasium or exercise)
120	Unknown dog	Adolescent youth	Cup	525-475 BCE	Erotic image: Two male youths embracing one another	Standing, looking at youth and older man	Staff, sponge, strigil and aryballos	275180	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, AST705	Daily (Courting)
121	Guard dog	Prepubescent youth	Pelike	475-425 BCE	Walking	Walking beside dwarf, being held by collar	Chlamys, dwarf	214151	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, R426	Daily
122	Unknown dog	Adolescent youths	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth with lyre, man playing pipes, youth dancing	Sitting	Lyre	203330	Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, PR20	Daily
123	Unknown dog	Youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Holding chous in the air with cloak draped on other arm	Possibly attacking or playing with youth by tugging on cloak	Chous. chlamys	15903	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC7461	Daily

124	Unknown dog	Youths in oriental costume	Krater, Calyx	400-300 BCE	Seated	Standing under chair	Necklace being held by Eros, sash, men and women	217927	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, N1128	Unknown
125	Unknown dog, horse	Youth	Cup fr.	475-425 BCE	Youth by horse	Standing	Shields	211572	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10566	Daily (Departing)
126	Unknown dog	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Leaning forward toward dog, arm raised	Paw extended, looking up, backed up against wall, mouth open (aggressive?)	Stool, cloak	203994	Berkeley (CA), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology, 8.921	Daily
127	Deer	Toddler	Chous	400-300 BCE	Riding deer	Being ridden	Sprigs, Butterflies?	14785	Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design, 25.067	Daily
128	Deer	Toddler	Chous	N.D	Child standing wth hand reaching out to touch deer	Standing in front of child	Body amulets	3413	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 10.182	Daily
129	Deer	Toddler	Chous	400-300 BCE	Pushing cart	Being fed grapes by woman	Cart, body amulets, grapes and woman	16011	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2961	Daily
130	Deer	Toddler and possible adolescent child	Chous	425-375 BCE	Toddler sitting on deer's back, youth holding bag, arm stretched out to deer (either feeding or touching)	Being ridden	Bag or oinochoe	1289	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, London, market, Sotheby's, 1924.67	Daily
131	Deer	Prepubescent youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Riding deer	Being ridden	Chous	16295	Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2419	Daily
132	Deer	Toddler and two youths	Chous	450-400 BCE	Child sitting on deer, youth picking child up (holding child's arms), youth scratching deer's face	Being ridden and face being scratched by youth	Possible body amulets on child	44824	Athens, Ephoreia, A1876	Daily

133	Deer	Adolescent girl	Chous	450-400 BCE	Riding in a deer drawn chariot	Pulling chariot	Chariot	1291	Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., Munich, Arndt, E	Daily
134	Deer	Youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Youth standing, reaching out to deer which is lying on the floor	Deer is resting on the floor with the child in front of it	N/A	16294	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, CC1331	Daily
135	Goat	Infant	Chous	425-375 BCE	Child on knees holding a chous, touching goat with other hand	Standing in front of child	Chous, amulets around body	16107	Munich, Preyss	Daily
136	Goat	Toddler	Chous	N.D	Holding object, giving it to goat?	Standing in front of child	Object (Rattle), body amulets	3228	Prague, Charles University, 60.38	Daily
137	Goat	Toddlers	Chous	425-375 BCE	Dancing	Standing between children looking up	Plant, body amulets	16171	Athens, Agora Museum, P10018	Daily
138	Goat	Toddlers (Komos)	Oinochoe	450-400 BCE	One child looking up at older child with cup (drinking?), one with hands extended to goat (trying to catch?), one holding kantharos, one walking to goat holding chous?	Leaping towards child	Oinochoe, stool, grapes	220546	London, British Museum, 1929.10-16.2	Daily
139	Goats	Toddler	Chous fr.	450-400 BCE	Riding in cart	Pulling cart	Cart, stick	16293	Hague, Scheurleer, 326	Daily
140	Goat	Toddler	Chous	425-375 BCE	Sitting in cart	Pulling cart	Cart, grape vine	15571	Paris, Musée du Louvre, L76	Daily
141	Goats	Toddler and youth	Chous	400-300 BCE	Child sitting in cart, Child standing in front of cart with tray and cake	Pulling cart	Cart, tray with cake	10228	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, KAB103A	Daily
142	Goats	Toddlers	Chous	N.D	Child riding goat, child holding cart and grapes	Child on goat's back, running	Cart and grapes, chlamys	3414	Baltimore (MD), Walters Art Gallery, 48.95	Daily

143	Goats	Prepubescent youths, girl	Chous	N.D	Youth in cart, youth holding chous standing in front of cart	Pulling cart	Chous, cart	9024658	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 21.88.80	Daily
144	Goat	Ephebe	Cup	525-475 BCE	Reclining back at a symposium, Standing in front of youth	Rearing up beside youth	Skyphos	200528	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G262	Daily (Symposium)
145	Goat	Youths	Krater, Bell	400-300 BCE	Leading the goat, other holding cake and wreath	Standing in front of the altar being held by youth	Cake, wreath, altar, trees, burkrania, wraths.	41570	London, Market, Sotheby's	Daily (Sacrifice)
146	Goat	Youth or Maenad	Krater, Volute	N.D	Holding goat and knife at a table with a fire (Sacrifice)	Being held by youth	Table, spear, chair, basket, krater, incense burner	9036832	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2411	Mythical (Sacrifice to Dionysus)
147	Goats	Youth	Hydria	400-300 BCE	Youth holding with torch or club	Standing with leg extended	Aphrodite riding a goat, woman, Eros, club or torch	230504	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA928	Mythical
148	Goats	Youth (ephebe?) Dionysus?	Krater, Bell	400-300 BCE	Riding in a cart	Pulling cart	Cart, grapes	561	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 255	Mythical?
149	Hare	Infant	Chous	N.D	Child reaching out to hare	Hare standing on hind legs facing infant	Body amulets	4913	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 6254	Daily
150	Hare	Infant and youth	Lekythos	475-425 BCE	Youth and woman standing by tomb, Infant on steps	Unknown	Himation, tomb, stele, eidola	14391	Athens, National Museum, 17521	Daily (Funerary)
151	Hare	Toddler	Chous	450-400 BCE	Child standing and leaning forward, looking down at hare (hands on knees)	Hare looking up at child	Body amulets	16124	Munich, private	Daily
152	Hare	Toddler?	Chous	450-400 BCE	Holding chous	Standing behind child	Table, cake, chous	16175	Athens, National Museum, 1559	Daily

153	Hare	Prepubescent youth	Chous	450-400 BCE	Pulling cart with hare	Sitting on cart	Chous, cart	10234	Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst., Munich, Arndt, E129	Daily
154	Hare	Prepubescent youth (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Man leaning on staff offering youth hare, youth standing	Being held by ears	Staff, aryballos and sponge suspended, block	205287	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., L482	Daily (Courting)
155	Hare	Prepubescent youth (Draped)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Youth seated being presented hare by satyr	Being held by ears and back legs	Staff, seat	206009	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1721	Mythical
156	Hare	Prepubescent? youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Draped youths seated with men facing each one. Man offering youth hare	Being held by ears	Stool, staff, lyre, aryballoi suspended, sandals and bags	205123	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G121	Daily (Courting)
157	Hare, cock	Adolescent youth	Psykter	475-425 BCE	Flying Eros with a hare, youth holding a cock and hoop	Being held by ears by Eros	Hoop	207679	Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3407	Mythical
158	Hare, bird, cock	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth leaning on staff, youth presenting other youth with cock, youth being presented with cock, holding bag out to youth	Standing behind youth, under bird cage	Stool, bird cage with bird, bag, staff	204530	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 365	Daily (Courting?)
159	Hare	Ephebe and adolescent youth (Draped)	Hydria	500-450 BCE	Ephebe presenting youth with hare	Held by body and ears, presented as gift	N/A	201725	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50384	Daily (Courting)
160	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup fr.	525-475 BCE	Holding hare	Being held by the ears, hanging beside the youth	Draped older man or youth	200978	Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.248	Daily (Courting)

161	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth holding hare by the ears while leaning into seated man	Being held by ears	Stool	203644	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 701	Daily (Courting)
162	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth with staff holding hare	Being held by ears	Staff, Chlamys	203721	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50492	Daily
163	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth leaning on staff holding hare by ears, youth standing with hand raised, youth leaning on staff	Being held by ears	Staffs, cloaks	203852	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese	Daily (Courting?)
164	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup B	475-425 BCE	Draped man holding staff and hare, youth holding strigil	Being held by ears	Strigil, post	211537	Laon, Musée Archeologique Municipal, 37.1056	Daily (Gymnasium?)
165	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth holding hare	Being held by ears and body	Chlamys, staff	203287	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, Switzerland, Private, 1972.44	Daily
166	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Seated youth holding staff looking at man	Sitting in the lap of man	Older men, two seated one speaking to other man, suspended strigil, aryballos, bag and sponge, sprig, stools	204877	London, British Museum, London, British Museum, 1843.11-3.44	Daily
167	Hare	Adolescent youth	Lekythos	450-400 BCE	Youth sitting looking at hare	Sitting on rock looking at youth	Lyre, tomb, stele, basket with plemochoe, rock	216711	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, CC1679	Daily (Funerary)
168	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Man presenting youth with hare, youth holding lye	Being held by ears	Lyre	202578	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, CC1176	Daily (Courting)

169	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Holding hare	Being held by ears and body	Staff, strigil, suspended aryballos, javelin, pick	203376	Basel, market, Munzen und Medailen A.G., Switzerland, Private, ALG58	Daily
170	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup fr.	500-450 BCE	Holding hare	Being held by ears	Chlamys	203578	Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 104	Daily
171	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth placed between two men, holding hare by ears and running	Being held by ears	Two men one holding sprig, one holding wreath, staffs	204954	Munich, Antikensammlung n, 2658	Daily (Courting)
172	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Cup fr.	500-450 BCE	Youth standing between men, one man holding staff and hare	Being held by ears	Staffs	205163	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., 484	Daily (Courting)
173	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Amphora, Panathenaic shape	525-475 BCE	Standing with staff with Eros flying with lyre	With Eros	Pipes case, lyre	201826	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, RC163	Daily
174	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Amphora, Neck	500-450 BCE	Man presenting youth with hare	Hare being presented as a gift	Staff	202569	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50462	Daily (Courting)
175	Hare	Adolescent youth (Draped)	Pelike	500-450 BCE	Man presenting youth with hare, youth standing	Being held by ears	Staff	202580	Berlin, lost, F2171	Daily (Courting)
176	Hare	Adolescent youths	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Youth holding cloak, youth leaning forward, seated, draped youth with staff holding out hands while looking down as man offers him dead hare	Being held by man (dead)	Staff, aryballos and sponge, diskos, strigil suspended, stool, cloaks, column	203959	Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, Greifswald, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität, 112	Daily (Gymnasium?)

177	Hare	Adolescent youths	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth courting other youth with hare, other youth taking hare, youth being courted by man with spoil	Being held by ears	Staff, sprig, wreath, bag, sponge, strigil	204880	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 916	Daily (Courting)
178	Hare	Adolescent youths	Cup	500-450 BCE	Draped youth leaning on staff, youth holding hare by ears with arm extended towards bag or other youth, youth with arm extended to bag or youth with hare	Being held by ears	Staff, suspended bag	204943	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 34	Daily (Courting)
179	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Stamnos	500-450 BCE	Youth presenting other youth with hare, Other youth with staff	Hare being presented as a gift	Staff, man leaning on staff	202608	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 338	Daily (Courting)
180	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup B	500-450 BCE	One youth seated holding staff, youth holding hare by ears, holding staff, presenting hare to youth?, one youth seated	Being held by ears	Stool, staffs	203515	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 96.9.36	Daily (Courting)
181	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Youth with staff, youth holding hare, youth leaning on staff holding object	Being held by ears	Chlamys, staffs, stele	203734	Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1958.57	Daily
182	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth presenting man leaning on staff with hare, two other youths speaking to men, one man holding bag	Being held by youth (ears and body)	Staff, bag suspended	204875	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 323	Daily (Courting)

183	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	One youth seated holding lyre, one youth standing in front of seated youth holding flower, one offering youth hare, one youth holding his hand out to accept or reject hare	Being held by ears and body	Staff, lyre, stool, flower	204896	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 11268	Daily (Courting?)
184	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth holding hare and pursuing other youth, youth running	Being held by ears	N/A	205055	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G276	Daily (Courting or pursuit)
185	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Amphora, Neck	500-450 BCE	Youth leaning on staff presenting other youth with hare, other youth with hand extended	Being held by ears and back legs	Staff	206319	London, University College	Daily (Courting)
186	Hare	Adolescent youths (Draped)	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Seated youths, holding staffs, one with hare in lap, being courted by draped men	Sitting on youth's lap	Lyres, suspended bag, staffs, stools, aryballos and sponge	275972	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, Greenwich (CT), Bareiss, 86.AE.290	Daily (Courting?)
187	Hare	Ephebe	Cup	525-475 BCE	Youth is kneeling, holding a staff in one hand while holding a hare by the ears with his other	Being held by the ears, hanging beside the youth	Staff, chlamys	202142	Athens, Agora Museum, P24113	Daily
188	Hare	Ephebe	Amphora, Panathenaic shape	500-450 BCE	Holding hare and leaning on staff	Being held by youth (ears and body)	Staff	201660	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC80	Daily
189	Hare	Ephebe	Cup fr.	525-475 BCE	Youth running beside hare (trying to grab it?)	Running or hopping beside youth	N/A	203239	Leipzig, Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig, E46	Daily
190	Hare	Ephebe	Cup B	525-475 BCE	Kneeling while holding hare	Being held by youth	Chlamys	275907	Copenhagen, National Museum, 14268	Daily

191	Hare	Ephebe	Aryballos	475-425 BCE	Youth healing injured man	Being held by dwarfs to be used as possible payment	Queue of injured people waiting to be helped (draped men leaning on staffs and dwarf), basin	210078	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2183	Daily (Healing)
192	Hare	Ephebe and younger youth	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Older draped youth presenting draped youth with hare, youths being presented with hare, youth speaking to older youth, youth standing behind youth being presented with hare	Being held by ears (presented to youth)	Staffs, cloaks	204869	Munich, Antikensammlung n, J603	Daily (Courting)
193	Hare, cock	Ephebes and younger youth	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Ephebe holding hare, younger youths being courted by ephebes	Sitting in youths' arms	Staffs, cloaks	204879	Munich, Antikensammlung n, J804	Daily (Courting)
194	Hare	Youth	Pelike	450-400 BCE	Eros flying with wreath after youth, youth running while holding cloak	Running with or away from Eros	Wreath, cloak	340004	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 779	Mythical
195	Hare	Youth (Draped)	Cup fr.	N.D	Seated with hare on lap	Sitting on youth's lap	N/A	46619	Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll., B21A	Daily
196	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth seated with hare on lap, holding a staff,	Hare sitting on lap	Staff, stool	205054	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G122	Daily
197	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup B	500-450 BCE	Holding stick in one hand and hare by his ears in the other	Being held by ears	Hoop and stick	200414	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G81	Daily
198	Hare	Youth	Cup	525-475 BCE	With hare	With youth	N/A	200526	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 21.88.174	Daily

199	Hare	Youth	Hydria	525-475 BCE	Draped youths with staffs, one holding hare	Being held by youth	Aryballos suspended and staffs	201759	Salerno, Museo Nazionale, 228141	Daily
200	Hare	Youth	Cup	500-450 BCE	Youth holding hare by ears	Being held by ears	Chlamys	204945	London, British Museum, 1867.5- 8.1012	Daily
201	Hare	Youth	Cup stemless fr.	450-400 BCE	Youth sitting with hare in his hand	Sitting on youth	N/A	216984	Balcarres, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres	Daily
202	Hare	Adolescent youth	Cup	525-475 BCE	Running with lyre and hare	Being held by ears	Lyre	200549	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 361	Daily
203	Hare, hawk	Youth	Amphora C	500-450 BCE	Throwing stone at hawk	Being carried away by hawk	Stone, hawk, cloak	202707	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia	Daily

# Chapter 5:

## Children and Animals on Athenian Vases: Analysis and Results

As seen in the previous chapters, in particular Chapters 2 and 3, ancient Greek children and animals share, in several ways, a comparable place in Greek society as they share a lesser status, yet they have a part to play within society. The potential relationship between children and their personal animal companions is most evident in Attic vase imagery, where their interactions with one another also highlight their changing role and status. This chapter will consider 203 vases that appear in the catalogue in Chapter 4, and examine the pairings of animals with children of different age-groups. The chapter will be divided according to the types of personal companions as follows: Melitean dogs: vases 1-52; Laconian dogs: 53-117; Unknown dogs: 118-126; Deer: 127-134; Goats: 135-148 and Hares: 149-203.

### 5.1 Melitean Dogs (Lap Dogs)

#### 5.1.1 Overview

The total number of vases in this study that contain this type of dog, the small lap dog, is 52. Of these vases, 35 are choes, with other shapes such as hydriai, cups, and pelikai, etc. making an occasional appearance. The infants and toddlers are depicted only on the choes, with the exception of one, this vase contains an image of a crawling infant and is found on a skyphos. The age groups from prepubescent youths and older, consist of a larger variety of vessels of which, 5 are cups, 1 pelike, 1 alabastron, 1 krater, 1 oinochoe, 2 amphorae and 2 hydriai. The older age groups are also occasionally found on the choes, with 5 choes depicting the prepubescent group, 2 with the adolescent age group and 2 with figures of ephebic age. With regard to the possible age groups of the children, 12 vases show children that iconographically appear to be of infant age, 15 of toddler age, 6 of prepubescent age, 10 of adolescent age and 7 vases show boys who may be of ephebic age. 2 youths cannot be definitively grouped.

### 5.1.2 Description and Analysis

The little lap dog is most commonly pictured with women and younger children although there are some representations depicting the little dog with older children as well. The dog is shown to be a playful animal as it is often portrayed in stances which show it with its paws in the air (vase 19) or jumping against the figure it is pictured with (vase 16, see fig. 5.1A). Infants are either shown seated (vases 5 & 12), crawling (vases 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11) or what appears to be the child attempting to stand up and one image which shows an infant being picked up by a female figure (vase 3). Toddlers on the other hand are visibly more mobile and are shown to be running either with or away from the dogs. Infants and toddlers are shown to be interactive with the little dogs as they are shown with outstretched hands and the dogs respond with a reaction that could either be read as sniffing the child's hand or attempting to lick it (vase 2, see fig. 5.1B). Some vase scenes show the dogs with a paw lifted up towards the child which may indicate that it is looking for attention (vases 1, 5, 13, 15, 17, 19) or wanting to play and others are shown in a running motion in front of or behind the child (vases 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12).

Young children are also shown in carts being pulled by dogs which resemble the Melitean, or riding on their backs. Although small children are depicted riding these dogs, the likelihood of children actually being able to ride the small dog is questionable. This is further emphasised through various ancient authors such as Aristotle (*HA*. 9. 612b) and modern-day ones such as Busutil (1969: 205) who comment on these dogs' small stature. It could therefore be that the artists would have depicted larger dogs, but due to the limited space on the chous shape, they depict the animal to be a similar size to the child. However, another potential and more likely explanation is that the action of riding the animal serves rather as an indicator of the playfulness of these children and their dogs and is another way to show children at play and the possible 'closeness' these children would have had with their dogs. According to van Hoorn (1951: 23) at times the chous was used as funerary vase for children who died young and therefore were never able to take part in the Anthesteria festival. These images which show children riding dogs could then also possibly be representations of deceased children who are riding dogs into or in the afterlife because, as mentioned in Chapter 3, dogs were thought to serve as a source of comfort to those in the underworld (Trantalidou 2002: 109)

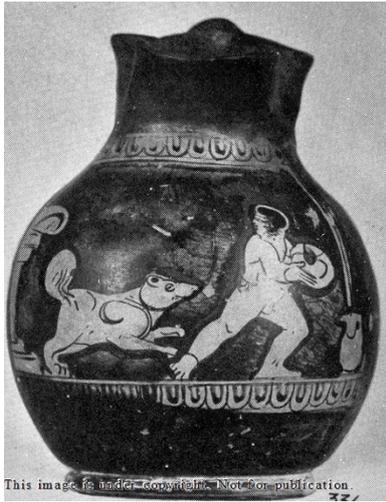


Fig. 5.1A. Attic Chous. Child playing with dog. c. 450-400 BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2425 Catalogue Number: 16



Fig. 5.1B. Attic Chous. Child playing with dog. c. n.d. Brussels, van Branteghem, 95.52 Catalogue Number: 2

The background objects in the scenes vary, with imagery involving infants including significant items such as cakes, wreaths, choes, and tables, whereas older boys can be seen with items such as a strigil and aryballos or musical instruments. Beaumont (2015: 80) states that the chous in the background of some of these images could evoke the Anthesteria festival, especially when a dog is also depicted in the image as this could be due to a dog's symbolic ties to the dead<sup>35</sup>, something which the Anthesteria festival was also connected to. She, however, also claims that this linkage to the dead is not necessarily how these images with the Melitean should be interpreted and instead mentions it more to suggest potential deeper meanings attached to these images (Beaumont 2015: 80). 8 of the vases in this study of the Melitean contain a chous in the scene's background (vases 3, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19) with only three of these (vases 3, 10, 11) being pictured with an infant and the remaining 5 (vases 13, 14, 16, 18, 19) with a toddler. This may, therefore, strengthen Beaumont's theory of these vessels having specific links to the Anthesteria festival, as toddlers would have fallen into the age group of children who would have taken part in the festival. This is because children from the age of three were given a chous filled with wine and this would have been their first official exposure to wine and signified the beginning of their paths to adulthood (Larson & Larson 2007: 130). While only some of the vases contain imagery of a chous, all except one of the vessels containing imagery with toddlers and infants on them are themselves choes, which is significant and also links these images to the festival. The exceptional vessel is a skyphos (vase 6) which shows an infant crawling and a dog following behind or ahead (depending on how you view the vase). When rotating the vessel,

<sup>35</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 3 dogs were associated with the dead due to mythical beings such as Kerberos (Lonsdale 1979: 151)

it gives the illusion that the dog is walking after the crawling baby or vice versa making it a very interactive, playful image and vessel. While this vessel was not necessarily associated with children it was used at various events and festivals to drink wine (Alesandridou 2010: 15-16).

In the vase images the compositional relationships are meaningful: the Melitean dog is always in close proximity to the figure, however never being held or picked up by the child, regardless of the age group. As mentioned in Chapter 3, animals being used as replacements for children was something which was not necessarily appreciated by the ancient Greeks, neither was treating the personal animal like a child. This reticence to treat the dog as a human is potentially echoed in these images as, while children are shown to be held by adults, the dogs are always on the ground looking up towards the human figures. Infants, however, are often shown within eye level of the dog and while this is likely due to the size of the child being similar to that of the dog it is, however, tempting to read this as a sign of the infant and animal having a similar lesser status or lowered social standing. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Plato (*Cleit.* 409de) argues that children, animals and slaves are on the same level of inferiority. However, according to Golden (2015: 6) the Athenians knew that, while children are inferior they do not necessarily remain such, and will grow out of this status into full adult citizens. Thus, as the child grows in size, his/her positioning and stature on the social hierarchy also improved, leaving behind his/her inferior baby phase, which in the images would literally be on the same level as the dog.

Some of the toddlers are shown pulling an *amax* (vase 17, 19, 21, 27) while one vase seems to depict a child and lap dog playing while chasing birds (vase 26, see fig. 5.1C). The artist here has depicted the children with far more movement and motion than the infants are shown with. Here they are more active and playful with the dogs. This is likely to reflect that the children are developing their motor skills and are now capable of more independent movement in comparison to infants, who are shown to be more immobile.

While infants are also shown to be very interactive with the dogs their gestures are far more limited, as they are often only shown with their hands reaching out to the dog and very little other movement (vase 2, fig. 5.1B). This also then illustrates the small range of gestures they are depicted with as mentioned in Chapter 2. The dogs in scenes with infants (vases 1-11) are also depicted as calmer than those with toddlers or children of older ages, as there are no vases with infants which show the dog leaping or running. They are shown sitting or standing either in front or behind the child with some images showing the dog lifting its paw. This may be another way for the artist to depict children in a

dependant state as the dogs are in some ways mimicking the limited and passive movements of the child. The same can be said for toddlers, as the dogs are also shown to be portraying similar movements to the toddler of either running or leaping (vase 26, fig. 5.1C). It can therefore be argued that the dog's actions tend to correlate with the age of the child depicted.

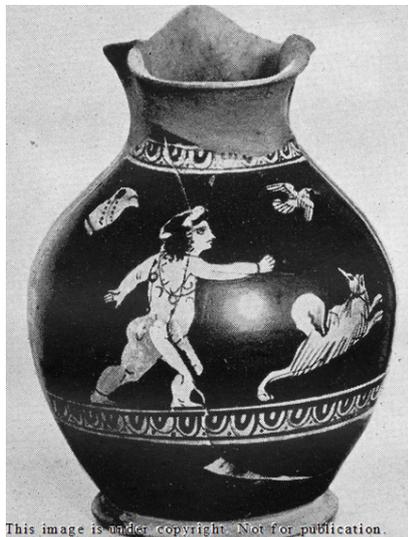


Fig. 5.1C. Chous. Child and dog chasing birds. c. 450-400 BCE. Athens, National Museum, 17753 Catalogue Number: 26

While the vases which do contain images of children from the older age groups with the lap dogs do show some interactions between the dogs and the human figures, the dogs begin to appear more as background features (vase 38, fig. 5.1D). This is in contrast to scenes containing infants and toddlers, where the dogs are far more prominent in the scene. The dogs still try to engage with the human figures and are often shown looking up at the figures or running after them (vase 43 fig. 5.1E). In contrast, the older children are far less observant of the dog with only one vase containing a prepubescent youth reaching out to a dog (vase 30), 4 with adolescents (1 reaching out to the dog and 3 looking down at the dog) (vases 35, 36, 40, 43,) and 2 ephebes engaging with dogs (vases 45, 46). These age categories also depict a variety of different scenes not seen in the younger age groups, such

as the gymnasium (vases 44, fig. 5.1F), classroom (vases 32, 33 fig. 5.1G), symposium (vase 46, fig. 5.1H) and erotic scenes (vases 35, 37, 42, fig. 5.1I).



Fig. 5.1D. Pelike. Youth and man with dog. c. 500-450 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1906.301 Catalogue Number: 38



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.1E. Cup. Youth looking at dog. c. 500-450 BCE. Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2674 Catalogue Number: 39



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.1F. Alabastron. Youth with dog. c. 500-450 BCE. London, British Museum, 1892.7-18.9 Catalogue Number: 44



Fig. 5.1G. Hydria. Symposium. c. 500-450 BCE. London, British Museum, 1874.10-7.85 Catalogue Number: 46



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.1H. Hydria. Music lesson. c. 500-450 BCE. London, British Museum, 1874.10-7.85 Catalogue Number: 32



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.1I. Cup. Erotic scene. c. 500-450 BCE. Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2631 Catalogue Number: 42

These contexts are possibly indicators that the children are moving on to the next stage of their youth which may also be why children begin to become less interactive with their companions as they are now busy with other activities. This may also be reflective of real-life scenarios as while a child is still within the domestic sphere with his/her mother, the child's main source of entertainment and stimulation may have been other children, a variety of toys and their personal animals. When the children then grow up, especially males who leave the domestic sphere to partake in more social activities, their environments change and are filled with other tasks and stimuli (Beaumont 2015: 139). Therefore, the older child's reliance on companionship and entertainment from his/her little lap dogs may diminish. The little lap dogs could also serve as a sign of wealth, something which may be emphasised by the presence of a cheetah on vase 32.

As seen in Chapter 3, the little lap dog was not necessarily the best dog to have as a man, as Athenian men were sometimes ridiculed for carrying the little lap dog around in public (Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 34). This may be another reason why the little lap dog is pictured far less (in terms of percentage) with older children and is the only breed of dog depicted with infants and toddlers. The older a boy got the less likely he would be pictured with the Melitean, potentially because he is moving away from his youth and heading towards becoming a citizen. It can also be argued that the more 'useful' a child becomes the less likely the figure is to be shown with the Melitean, as various authors make mention of the uselessness of the little dog, something which may have been compared to women and children (ergo it being associated with them).

The small lap dogs were house dogs and would thus more likely be around children of a younger age as they would still be in the care of their mothers, and the dog's small size could have also made it the ideal companion for a child of that age as they would be of similar size. These dogs are described by MacKinnon (2014: 273) as being 'cute' and were well known throughout antiquity for their small fluffy bodies. Plutarch (*De Tranq.* 472c)<sup>27</sup> claimed that one could not have the presence of a lion while also trying to maintain the appeal of a cuddly Melitean, thus illustrating their nonthreatening demeanour. The breed was also known for being energetic and very playful, something which would have suited tiny children while serving as a symbol for a more youthful, carefree time in one's life such as childhood, something which would eventually be left behind.

## 5.2 Laconian (Hunting Dogs)

### 5.2.1 Overview

The Laconian appears in a total of 65 vases, with one of the images containing only children who may fall into the prepubescent category, 33 with only adolescent children, 15 with boys who may fall into the ephebic category and two vases which contain images of a youth who cannot definitively be identified. The remaining vessels consist of 7 vases which contain images of prepubescent and adolescent youths together and 7 vases with boys of ephebic age and younger adolescent youths together. The vessel types which include images of the hunting dogs consist of 4 hydriai, 8 amphorae, 5 pelikai, 6 lekythoi, 9 kraters, 7 alabastra, 2 lekanides, 1 chous, stamnos, aryballos and kyathos and finally, 16 cups. Images with the hunting dog can be split into five main themes, namely classroom scenes (vases 53, 54, 56, 70 117), exercise/gymnasium scenes (vases 64, 65, 66, 71, 83, 87) , erotic/courting scenes (vases 91, 92, 94-96, 99, 104, 115) hunting scenes (vases 98, 111, 114) and symposium scenes (vases 102, 106, 108, 112). The remainder of the vases fit no specific theme. Only one image of a possible Molossian is found within this catalogue and therefore has been grouped together with the hunting dog.

### 5.2.2 Description and Analysis

#### *Classroom Scenes*

These scenes usually depict a music lesson and one scene may depict a more educational scene as tablets and styluses feature as background items (vases 53, 54, 56, 70 117). These scenes also feature various age groups as both the prepubescent age group as well as the adolescent groups are usually shown together in one image. As mentioned in the previous section, the older ages begin to appear less interactive with the dogs and this is even more evident with the larger hunting-type dogs as the dogs become less prominent focal points (vase 53, see fig. 5.2A). In classroom scenes the dogs are often seen sitting beside a youth or the teacher with little to no contact being made between the dog and children. Although the dogs are at times portrayed looking up at the child, there is seldom any eye contact made by the child with the dog, as the children are rather shown to be communicating with one another or playing their instruments. Vase 56 (see fig. 5.2B), however, shows the dog in a different position to the other images as it is depicted in a crouching position which may indicate that it feels frightened or is submissive towards the youth or possibly begging the youth for food or another item. The vase is damaged around the face of the youth and therefore his age and actions cannot be

known for sure but the dog's reaction to the youth may indicate that there is some interaction happening between them. The dog's response may also be an artistic way to highlight the youth's action, as the attention of both the dog and the older male in the image is directed towards the youth.



Fig. 5.2A. Hydria. Music lesson. c. 500-450 BCE. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 1294. Catalogue Number: 53



Fig. 5.2B. Cup. Youth and man. c. 450-400 BCE. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, L1975.65.14. Catalogue Number: 56

### *Exercise/Gymnasium Scenes*

Images which may be of youths exercising (see fig. 5.2D) are found exclusively among the adolescent age group and show youths with strigils and aryballoi. Similar to the classroom scenes, the dogs act as background features rather than having a prominent role. The dogs are once again shown in a very quiet and observant stance as they are depicted sitting or standing, looking up at one of the figures in the scene (vase 58, see fig. 5.2C). Interactions occur among the youths but not with the dogs, and the youths appear occupied with their own doings rather than with the dog's presence, unlike the vases which contain infants and lap dogs. One image (see fig. 5.2D vase 83) does show a lone youth with an outstretched arm in the direction of the dog, his eyes are, however, directed past the dog and appear to be looking at something out of the image's frame. This image bears resemblance to one of the vases which contains a dog of a potentially unknown breed (vase 126), where the dog is positioned up against the rim of the image with one paw slightly extended. The youth in vase 126 (see fig. 5.2E) also has a similar stance to the youth in vase 83 as they are both standing with their arms outstretched and their torsos slightly bent forward. The dogs' facial expressions differ from one another as the dog in vase 126 appears more aggressive than the one in vase 83 as his mouth appears slightly open, which may indicate a growl or snarl. Another vase (123) depicts a dog which appears to be attacking a youth and pulling on his chlamys, Beaumont (2015: 80) links this specific image to the Anthesteria festival and claims that the dog is likely a spirit who has taken the form of a dog. Although the dog on vase 126 does appear aggressive, the fact that vases 126 and 83 resemble one another so closely may instead indicate that the dog could have been startled or even simply playing with the youth as the

youth in vase 83 has a similar stance. Interestingly, the boy on vase 83 is showing his palm to the dog, a sign of supplication in many pursuit scenes. However, this is more likely that the youth is attempting to touch the dog which appears to be in contrast to vase 126 where the boy's palm is facing himself, this could indicate that the boy is pulling his hand away from the dog for fear of being bitten.



Fig. 5.2C. Cup. Man and Youths. c. 500-450 BCE. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16560  
Catalogue Number: 58



Fig. 5.2D. Cup. Youth and dog. c. 500-450 BCE. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8038  
Catalogue Number: 83



Fig. 5.1E. Cup. Youth with dog. c. 500-450 BCE. Berkeley (CA), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology, 8.921  
Catalogue Number: 126

### *Erotic/Courting Scenes*

These scenes show adolescent boys and boys of ephebic age either courting one another, as one of the youths is often shown offering the other youth or human figure a hare or they are shown embracing one another (vases 90-92, 95, 96, 99, 104, 115, 120). Often hares are also present in the image along with other background items such as weapons, strigils or musical instruments (vases 95, 96, 115, 120). These images also show the least amount of interaction with the dogs as the youths are focused only on one another. The dogs also appear uninterested in the youths (vase 115, see fig. 5.2F) and unlike the previous scenes such as the classroom or hunting scenes, there are no vases which depict

an erotic/courting scene and show a dog looking directly up at the youths. There is, however only one vase which shows a dog with its head slightly tilted up but its gaze appears to be directed more towards the youth's hand. This may, however, be a stylistic feature as almost all of the dogs who are depicted standing seem to either have their heads pointed straight ahead or with the above-mentioned upward tilt. This could, therefore, be due to the awkwardness of the position to paint a standing dog with its head completely up, as seen with seated dogs. Regardless of this, the erotic/courting scenes do depict almost no interaction from either dog or youth, this also occurs in courting scenes with the small lap dogs (vase 37), as they also appear to be looking straight ahead.



Fig. 5.2F. Cup. Courting scene. c. 500-450 BCE. Lost, Dresden, Kunstgewerbemuseum Catalogue Number: 115

### *The Hunting Scenes*

These scenes are the 'liveliest' and show both dog and youth actively taking part in the hunt. These scenes involve either ephebes or older adolescent youths and show the youths with weapons such as clubs or spears. The Laconians are either shown to be pursuing the deer (vase 111, 114) or hare (vase 98) or are depicted on top of the deer, to indicate that it has been caught (vase 114, see fig. 5.2G). While the prey is either shown running away or in the case of vase 114, the deer has its head reared up, possibly trying to shake the dog off of its back or due to it falling to the ground. The youths are usually within close proximity and are either on foot alongside the dogs such as in vase 98 or depicted on horseback such as in vase 114. Youths are mostly depicted nude; however, some are dressed in a chlamys. All of the attention in these images appears to be on the animal being hunted by both the youths and the dog, except in vase 111 where a figure appears to be holding a dog back, possibly waiting for the deer to come closer in order to release the dog at the right time.



Fig. 5.2G. Attic Cup. Youths hunting deer. c. 500-450 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Arlesheim, S. Schweizer, BS438  
Catalogue Number: 114

## *Symposium*

In contrast to the erotic/courting scenes where dogs and youths are not attentive to one another, some of the images of a symposium show interaction between youths and the dogs. These are also not limited to a youth just looking at a dog or vice versa but seem to depict actual contact or attempts at contact between dog and youth. Vase 112 (see fig. 5.2H) shows a youth sitting on a table with both of his arms stretched towards the dog, who is reciprocating the youth's eye contact, in a position which may indicate that he is either welcoming the dog up for attention, is about to pick the dog up or possibly the youth is offering it a treat. Vase 102 shows a dog with its paw on a youth playing a flute. Not all of the vases which could be classified as a symposium scene show such interactions though and the two remaining vases show the dogs either lying under the table (vase 108) or sniffing the ground (vase 106), in both of the images the youths are not paying attention to the dogs either.



Fig. 5.2H. Attic Krater. Symposium scene. c. 500-450 BCE. n, Banca Intesa, Milan, 'H.A', Milan, Torno, 354  
Catalogue Number: 112

## *Other Scenes*

In these scenes youths are often either depicted as walking somewhere with a stick in hand or they are shown to be standing around conversing with one another (vase 86). These scenes may show

children heading off to the gymnasium or a lesson as they are also at times shown holding a lyre (vase 89, 97). The interactions between dog and youth are varied as some vases show the youth looking at the dog while others show the youths looking only at one another, likely in conversation (vase 89). Vase 121 (see fig. 5.2I) shows the only Molossian in the catalogue and involves a heavily draped prepubescent youth walking ahead a dwarf who appears to be holding the dog by a collar. The dog is depicted as far larger and more muscular than the Laconians, who are far sleeker in appearance. Dwarfs were according to Adelson (2005: 7-8) viewed in similar terms to animals and children, that is of lowered social standing. She further states that they are often depicted in ancient Greek art as either entertainers or as servants. The position of the dwarf in comparison to the youth who walks ahead likely indicates that he is a servant to the youth which may then also indicate that the youth is from a wealthy background.



Fig. 5.2I. Pelike. Youth and dwarf. c. 475-425 BCE. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, R426 Catalogue Number: 121

### *Synopsis*

The hunting dog is only found with older children and is not depicted with any children who may fall into the infant and toddler category. The lack of imagery containing the Molossian is likely due to their role as guard dog rather than household companion, as they were likely kept outside to protect the house and/or a shepherd's herd. The scenes depicted with the Laconians are also far more varied than the scenes where infants and toddlers or Meliteans are present, as they include scenes with the portrayal of classrooms, exercise, erotic/courting scenes, hunts and symposia. The hunting dogs and the Molossian are depicted as far less playful than the lap dogs and are instead shown either sitting down or standing up, with the only 'lively' scenes being those involving a hunt. Their placid depiction

could indicate that while these hunting dogs would have also been a source of companionship to their masters, their role was not purely for play like the little dogs. Instead the hunting dogs seem to play a more serious role alongside their masters, which may be symbolic of the more serious societal roles that the children would adopt once they came of age. This may also be why the dogs and youths have limited contact with one another and are instead shown to be more preoccupied with their duties or peers. It may serve as a representation of the youths taking their tasks seriously instead of being distracted by their animal companions and could also be why scenes with symposia show the dog and youth interacting, as the setting would be more relaxed.

The dogs emphasising the serious role of the youth may be further highlighted by the fact that there are no vases within the Beazley catalogue which contain a female figure or young child and a hunting dog alone, as a male figure is always present. The dog's loyalty is also evident due to its close proximity to the youths, as they are always pictured sitting, standing or lying beside or close to a youth with only a few vases showing them a distance away. As mentioned in Chapter 3, hunting dogs were seen as a symbol of heroism and strength while hunting with them was a sign of affluence. These scenes may, therefore, also be idealised images of young boys who have hopes to grow up to be wealthy or a war hero. As a Melitean dog would potentially have been symbolic of a child's more playful and childish side, it is likely that the hunting dog could be symbolic of the opposite and instead could be representative of a boy who has reached the age where he would need to start preparing for his new societal roles as a male citizen of Athens.

## 5.3 Deer

### 5.3.1 Overview

There are a total number of 10 vases for this section containing deer and children, with 5 of them showing young children who may fall into the toddler age group (vases 127-131), 1 possible adolescent girl (vase 133), 2 of ephebic age (vases 111, 114) and 1 image with a youth who cannot be definitively categorised (vase 134). All but 2 of the vases are choes. The other 2 vessels are a cup and a lekythos, and these 2 images contain the ephebes.

### 5.3.2 Description and Analysis

The deer are portrayed in four different stances with four of the images showing the deer being ridden by younger children (vases 127, 130, 131, 132), two being hunted (vases 111, 114), one pulling a

chariot (vase 133) and the remainder show them lying down or standing still (vase 128, 129, 134). In vase 127 the deer is pictured with its front legs slightly raised so as to indicate movement; they are depicted in a similar way to the lap dog when they are running. There appears to be continuous interaction between the child and the deer and they are never shown as merely background features: the children are always depicted riding or reaching out to the deer. Two of the four vases which contain children riding deer show older youths also present, with vase 132 (see fig. 5.3A) showing one youth holding the deer and scratching its neck while a second youth picks up a young child from the deer's back. Vase 130 shows a child possibly of toddler age sitting on the back of a deer with an older youth holding a small vessel, stretching his arm out towards the deer. The vessel may contain food and the youth is then offering some to the deer. The third vase (127, see fig. 5.3B) shows a child with the chubby baby body riding a deer who appears to be in a running motion. There are no older youths present in these images. The fourth is similar but the child does not have the chubby body and appears more muscular.



Fig. 5.3A. Attic Chous. Child riding deer with youths. c. 450-400 BCE. Athens, Ephoreia, A1876  
Catalogue Number: 132



Fig. 5.3B. Attic Chous. Child riding deer. c. 400-300 BCE. Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design, 25.067  
Catalogue Number: 127

Socrates (Plat. *Rep.* 5. 467d) claims that children should be taught how to ride horses as early as possible; Plato (*Laws.* 7. 794c) suggests that they should start by the age of six. These vases may represent young children learning how to ride deer first before moving on to horses, as deer are smaller than horses. The children riding alone on vase 127 and 131 may then also indicate that the individual child is older than the children on the two vases, 130 and 132, as they require the help or

supervision of older children, possibly siblings. These images also potentially show some of the family dynamics in which older siblings or other family members would care for or play with their infant siblings such as helping them ride the tame deer so that they would not get hurt. This may also be why the vases 130 and 132 also show the deer standing still, as the older youths are in control of the situation by keeping the deer steady so that the young child will not fall off.

Vase 134 shows a youth approaching a deer lying down. The youth's age cannot positively be identified, however, based on his size in comparison to that of the deer and the fact that the vessel is a chous, the child may be a youth of possibly early prepubescence. Vase 128 (see fig. 5.3C) shows a toddler with his hands stretched out to a standing deer. The other vase (133, see fig. 5.3D) contains a girl of likely older prepubescent youth or possible even adolescent youth, as while she does have long loose hair, she also has no visible breasts. This girl is depicted riding in a chariot being pulled by two deer. This image may be representative of the girl's transition into pubescence or into adulthood, as Artemis<sup>36</sup> was thought to help young girls' transition from one life stage to the next, more specifically from adolescence into adulthood. Girls were often taken to the temple of Artemis to prepare them for marriage and womanhood, by taking part in a ritual where the girls would have to dress up as bears (Budin 2016: 75). While the girl in the vase is not dressed up as a bear, as discussed in Chapter 3, deer were often kept at the sanctuaries of Artemis and were used to pull chariots (Werness 2007: 128).

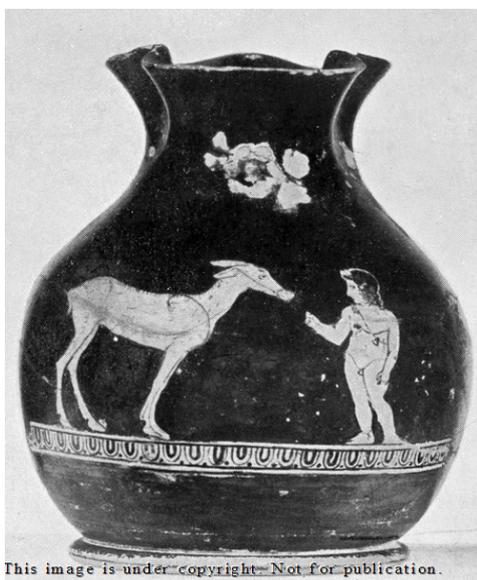


Fig. 5.3C. Attic Chous. Child playing with deer. c. n.d. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 10.182. Catalogue Number: 128

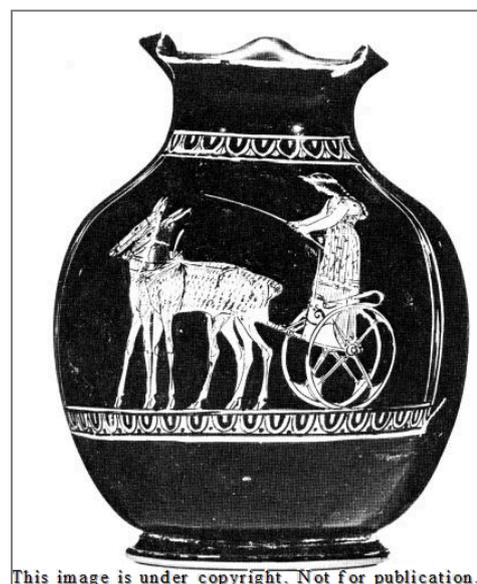


Fig. 5.3D. Attic Chous. Girl in cart pulled by deer. c. 450-400 BCE. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ. Catalogue Number: 133

<sup>36</sup> The deer was associated with Artemis due to her being viewed as both the protector and hunter of them (Werness 2007: 129).

Ephebes are only ever shown with deer when they are in a hunting scene, and, as mentioned in the hunting dog analysis, the deer are shown being chased or attacked by the dogs with the youths throwing spears or other weapons at them. This shows the role of the deer changing with the age of the child, as the younger youths are shown to be more affectionate with the deer in contrast to the ephebes who are only shown hunting them. Young children are also often shown with deer and an older youth or adult in the image, unlike the images with the lap dogs. This may indicate that while young fawns would not likely cause harm to young children, deer may have been too large for young children to play with and to ride without supervision.

## 5.4 Goats

### 5.4.1 Overview

There are 15 vases which contain images of goats and children; one vase shows a possible infant (vase 135), 5 with toddlers (vases 136-142), 1 prepubescent girl (vase 143), 1 ephebe (vase 144) and the remainder show youths who cannot be definitively categorised (vases 145-147). The vessel types within this section are 8 choes, 2 cups, 3 kraters, and 1 oinochoe, lekythos and hydria.

### 5.4.2 Description and Analysis

The images containing children and goats often show a very playful and joyous scene as the children and some of the goats are shown in a very lively manner. This is seen in either the movement of the children or the movement of the goats. There is only one image which contains a young child possibly of infant age (vase 135: see fig. 5.4A), depicting the young child on his knees in front of a small goat. The infant is holding a chous in one hand while the other hand appears to be touching the goat's face. Vases 136-142 show children of the toddler age; they are often depicted with background features such as grapes, choes or toys such as rattles, sticks or carts. Vase 138 (see fig. 5.4B) shows a very playful scene of three children (one possible toddler with body amulets and two slightly older children). The one child seems either to be playing with the goat who is rearing or is trying to prevent the goat from breaking the chous on a table, while the other child appears to be giving the toddler a drink. Vase 142 shows a young child with body amulets riding on the back of a goat with another standing in front of him holding an *amax* and grapes.

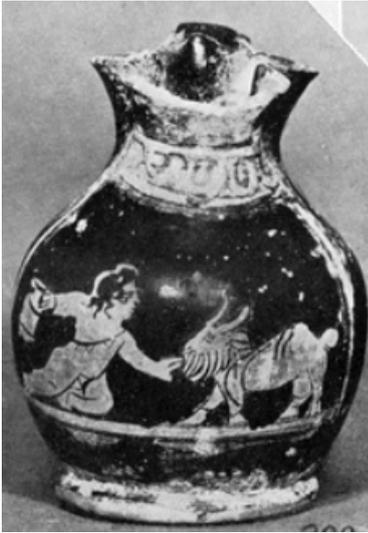


Fig. 5.4A. Attic Chous. Child playing with goat. c. 425-375 BCE. Munich, Preyss Catalogue Number: 135



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.4B. Attic Oinochoe. Children with goat. c. 450-400 BCE. London, British Museum, 1929.10-16.2 Catalogue Number: 138

These images are likely symbolic of the Anthesteria festival as the choes which appear on a number of the vases (135, 138, 143), along with grapes which appear on two of the vases (138, 140 & 142) have ties to the festival and Dionysus. As seen in Chapter 3, goats were thought to be sacred to Dionysus and were often sacrificed or present at festivals held in his honour. These images may therefore be symbolic of children who would be partaking in the festival, this may also be why the children on vase 137 (see fig. 5.4C) are dancing and why one of the children on vase 138 is possibly being offered a drink. While these images are likely linked to the Anthesteria festival, some of the vases also just show everyday play, as vases 139, 141 and 143 show children being pulled around in carts (see fig. 5.4.D). In two of these images two goats appear while on vase 142 only one goat is harnessed to a cart, however in all three images the goats have their front legs lifted up which, similar to the lap dogs and deer, indicates a running motion. The playful nature of some of the vases and the toys present may also be a way to highlight the children's youth.



This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

Fig. 5.4C. Attic Chous. Children with goat. c. 425-375 BCE. Athens, Agora Museum, P10018 Catalogue Number: 137



Fig. 5.4D. Attic Chous. Child riding in cart. c. N.D New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, 21.88.80 Catalogue Number: 143

Vase 144 (see fig. 5.4E) shows a symposium scene, where an ephebe is reclining and accepting a cup from another male figure in the image. Here the goat appears behind the youth and is rearing. This image likely also shares symbolic ties to Dionysus as he is the god of wine and winemaking but the goat could also be present to represent sexuality, while other images which show goats and youths sometimes involve the goat being sacrificed to Dionysus. It is therefore likely that, while children may have had goats as companions too, the goat's symbolic ties to Dionysus and sexuality should not be overlooked. This may mean that the vases which contain goats with younger children imply links with the Anthesteria festival, while the vases with older youths and goats may rather have a more direct symbolic link to the god himself. This is something which Beaumont (2015: 82) also mentions as she claims that vases showing young children portrayed with goats may have been the parents' way of seeking the god's protection of their deceased child in the afterlife.

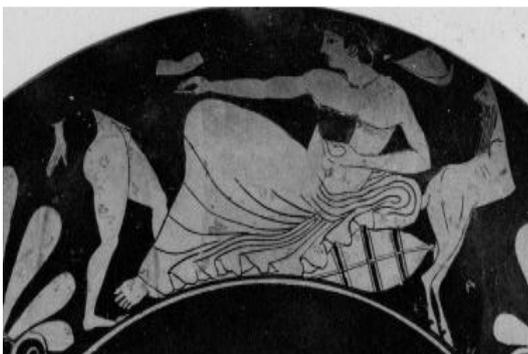


Fig. 5.4E. Attic Cup. Symposium. c. 525-475 BCE. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G262 Catalogue Number: 144

## 5.6 Hares

### 5.6.1 Overview

There are a total of 54 vases which portray hares and children and a further eight vases which depict hares, children and hunting dogs (these were catalogued with the hunting dog). 2 of the scenes show hares with infants, two with toddlers, 4 prepubescent youths, 31 adolescents, 7 epebes and seven youths who cannot definitively be categorised. 40 of the vases are cups with the remaining vessel types consisting of pelikai, choes, lekythoi, amphorae, hydriai and a stamnos. Hares are depicted in two main types of contexts: namely hunting and courting scenes, but they are also depicted in a variety of everyday scenes with no specific theme. The courting scenes mostly show youths being courted by other youths with 15 vases showing courting scenes between youths, 8 courting scenes where older men offer youths hares and only 3 vases which show youths presenting men with hares.

### 5.6.2 Description and Analysis

Hares are comparable to the lap dogs in the sense that they are the only other animal to be depicted with every age group. They are shown with infants and toddlers in a very similar way to the lap dogs as the children are also shown crawling towards or standing by the hare with their hands outstretched towards it (vase 149 see fig. 5.6A). With the younger groups, hares are depicted in two ways, either they appear completely still (vase 150 see fig. 5.6B) or their front legs are in the air which could indicate a hopping motion (see fig. 5.6A). Vase 149 shows a smaller hare in comparison to the hares in other images. While this does not necessarily indicate real life, it could possibly be a depiction of a younger hare which may imply that infants were rather given smaller animals to play with, a size which was more manageable to handle. Toddlers are shown playing with the hares by carrying them around in carts (vase 153), however, in comparison to the older children, the younger age groups are

less interactive with hares as most of the images containing the older groups have some contact or interactions with the hare.

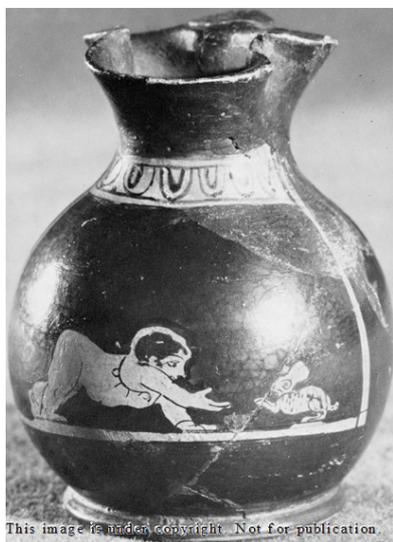


Fig. 5.6A. Attic Chous. Child reaching for hare. c. N.D  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson  
Museum, 6254  
Catalogue Number: 149

This image is under copyright. Not for publication.

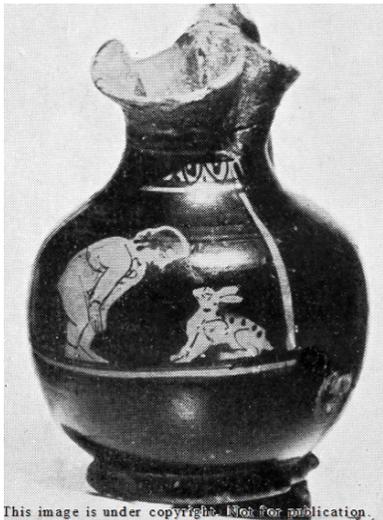


Fig. 5.6B. Attic Chous. Child leaning over hare. c. 475-425 BCE. Athens, National Museum, 17521 Catalogue Number: 150

The adolescent age group is the group which is most commonly depicted with hares with a large number of those vases showing a courting scene (vase 161, see fig. 5.6C). This is likely due to adolescent boys falling into the age group where courting from older youths or men starts, however the two images with prepubescent youths are also courting scenes and they therefore are likely late prepubescence/early adolescence. In these vases hares are often held by their ears, possibly as a way to subdue them and to avoid being kicked or scratched; as seen in Chapter 3 hares were noted to be very skittish animals. This may indicate that hares were caught wild, something which may have been done to further attract a male suitor as hares were particularly known for their speed and catching one could have indicated speed and perseverance from a youth. Some youths are shown holding the hares by their ears and bodies, while vase 186 shows a hare simply sitting on the youth's lap. Such images may show hares which have already been tamed.

Hares are also shown being hunted by older youths; these images contain hunting dogs too and were discussed in the previous section. Catching a hare was likely an accomplishment for both youth and dog as hares were known for their cunning and quick manoeuvring, which would have meant the dog was worthy of the hunt and that the youth trained the dog well. Vase 189 (see fig. 5.6D) shows a youth who appears to be trying to capture a hare that is running away from him. Other vases, such as vase 169, show a youth who is holding a hare and could represent him going to give someone a love gift or that he has himself recently received one.

These images also highlight the role of the hare changing from appearing with infant to older youth, as they follow a similar trend to deer. Both start off as companions but evolve into symbols of

adolescence through their sexual connotations as love gifts or the symbolism of manhood by being captured and conquered by ephebes on the hunt.



Fig. 5.6C. Attic Cup. Child being presented with hare. c. 500-450 BCE. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 701. Catalogue Number: 161



Fig. 5.6D. Attic Cup Fr. Youth with hare. c. 525-475 BCE. Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig, E46. Catalogue Number: 189

## 5.7 Overall Summary

Infants appear with the least number of animals as they are only pictured with the lap dog, goat and hare (see chart 5.7A), they also appear on the least number of vases. 80% of images with infants are depicted with lap dogs, while 13% with goats and 7% with hares. Artists appear to depict the animals as smaller in comparison with the child than with other age groups, as the goat (vase 134) and hare (vase 148) appear smaller than goats and hares pictured with older age groups. This may either indicate that infants were given smaller animals due to their small size i.e. baby animals, or it is due to issues of scale or possibly the style of the artist. Toddlers are pictured with similar animals to infants, but are also shown with deer. Like infants, they are more commonly depicted with the little lap dog: 51% of images with toddlers are shown with the lap dogs. While infants are most commonly depicted with the lap dog in comparison to other animals, toddlers are depicted on more vases with lap dogs in total than any other age group or with any other animal.

Prepubescents (see chart. 5.7B), adolescents (see chart. 5.7C), and ephebes (see chart. 5.7D), are depicted with the lap dog far fewer times in comparison with hunting dogs. The prepubescent youth is shown with the lap dog 26.3% of the time and with the hunting dog, 31.57%. The largest number of vases of the entire sample contain adolescents who are most commonly depicted with the hunting dog and hares: they are depicted with hunting dogs 43.9% of the time and with hares, 39% while only

12.19% of the time with the lap dog. Ephebes share a similar trend and are depicted with the hunting dog 56.7% of the time and with hares 21.62% of the time. Therefore, while there are more vases with adolescents and hunting dogs in total, ephebes are more commonly depicted with the hunting dog than with any other animal.

Vases with children and animals show that while some age groups may be paired with multiple types of animals such as the older youths who are depicted with all of the animal types, the role of the animal and the symbolism attached to it can be different when paired with a younger age group. The younger children are shown more playful and carefree, with the main focus often being on the child and the animal. These images are often depicted with few other background features, other than the occasional vessel or toy which further highlights their youthfulness or playfulness. Young children appear to have been portrayed in a caring and interactive way with their animal companions regardless of the type. They seem to be shown in scenarios of either touching, riding or being pulled in a cart by the various animals, scenes which show the very playful and innocent nature of both child and animal.

This is then in contrast to the older groups where the focus begins to shift onto the youth and his actions and, as mentioned before, is likely to illustrate the youths emerging from infant and toddler stages, towards taking one social step closer to becoming the ideal Athenian man. This is then also likely the reason why young children are never depicted with hunting dogs as they may be seen as too childish or young for this powerful and potentially dangerous animal. The shift is seen in images where animals' roles begin to change as hares become both love gifts and prey on hunts rather than just companions. Although this by no means indicates that the older a child got, the less he or she would have cared for animals, it does show a clear trend of how children did differ from adults in both responsibilities and attitudes. Older children began to partake in activities outside of the house and are thus portrayed in many different types of scenes where their attention is more divided. This is in comparison to younger children who were still in the house where an animal companion may very well have been the focal point of their lives. This shows that children were potentially not just raised as miniature adults but instead were allowed some sense of childhood, often sharing it with an animal companion.

Charts:

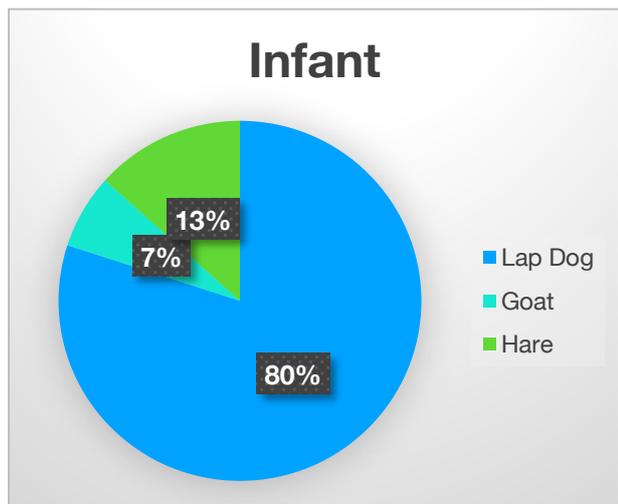


Chart 5.7A

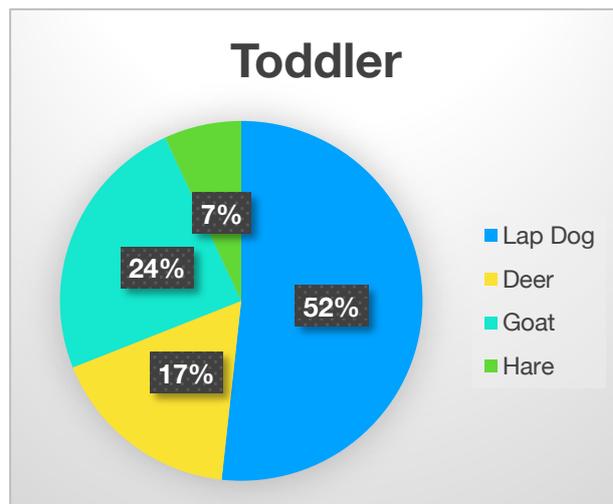


Chart 5.7B

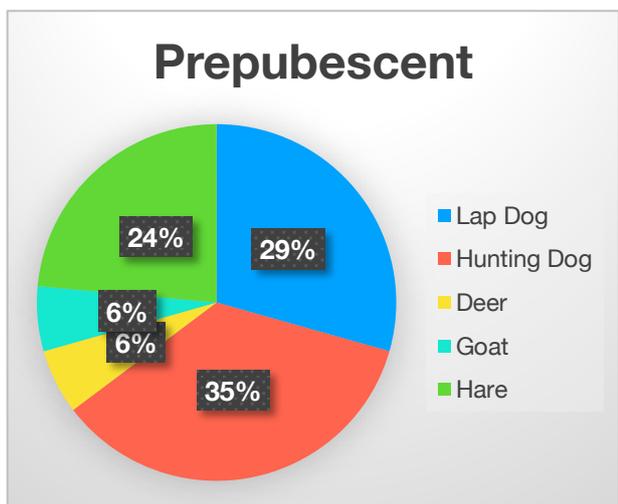


Chart 5.7C

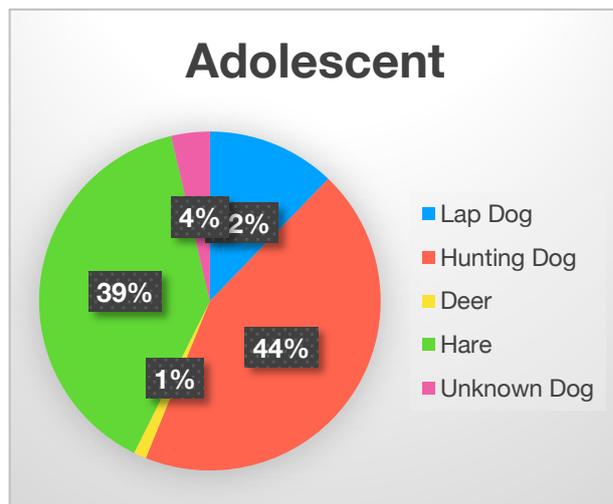


Chart 5.7D

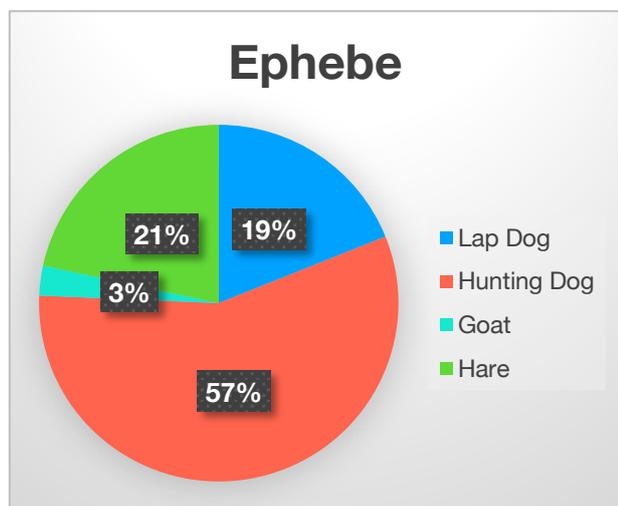


Chart 5.7E

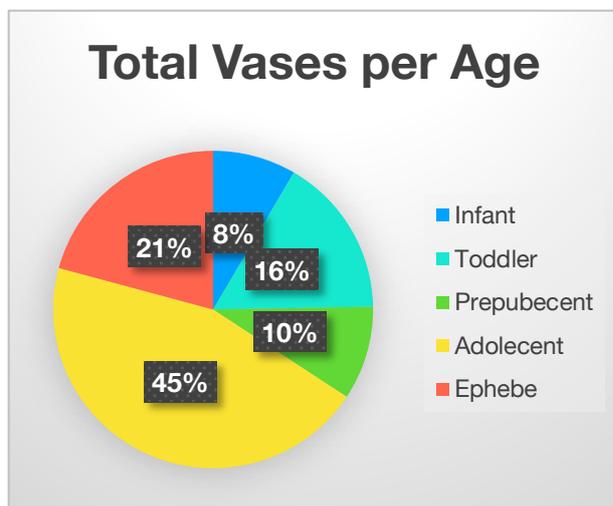


Chart 5.7F

# Chapter 6

## Conclusion

The aim of this Masters project was to explore a previously under-researched topic: the relationship between children and animals in ancient Athens, by first looking at them individually and then by researching their potential relationship through their depictions on Attic red-figured vases. Where literary sources may neglect these two categories of person/creature, the material evidence can be useful in several ways. Athenian red-figured vases of the fifth Century BCE are an excellent source of imagery of both children and their personal animals. Scholarship in these two fields – childhood and animals – has not yet taken full cognisance of the potential implications of the pairings of specific animals with children of particular age-groups on Attic vases. For this reason, the following research questions have been posed in this thesis: 1. Which animals tend to be consistently paired with children of specific age categories on classical Athenian red-figured vases? 2. To what extent do these pairings reflect real life scenarios, i.e. the type of personal animals that children would have had, or been allowed to have at different ages? 3. Is it possible to read in these differing pairings of animal and child other reflections of identity and perceptions of stages of childhood; i.e. does the symbolism associated with certain animals change in accordance with the age category of the child they are paired with?

### 6.1 The animals which are consistently paired with the age groups

From this study, which involved categorising the vases according to animal and noting the likely age group of the child it is paired with, it was possible to conclude that certain pairings are consistent and could even be regarded as typical. The results showed that infants and toddlers are almost exclusively depicted with the Melitean dogs (lap dogs), with infants occasionally being depicted with hares and goats, and toddlers following a similar trend but with the addition of deer. Prepubescents, adolescents and ephebes are all depicted with most of the animals included in this study with the exception of adolescents not being portrayed with the goat. The largest numbers of children in all age groups were, however, paired with the dog, and there is a clear and significant trend: infants and toddlers are only paired with lap-dogs and never with hunting dogs, and, inversely, prepubescents, adolescents and ephebes are most frequently depicted with the hunting dog and only rarely with the lap dog. The frequency of the appearance of the lap dog decreases as the age of the child increases, while the

frequency of the hunting dog takes a sharp increase with the increase of the age groups. The frequency of hares, goats and deer varies between the age groups.

## 6.2 The extent to which these pairings reflect real life scenarios

While Greek vase images cannot simply be assumed to be accurate representations of ‘real-life’, the types of animals paired with children, and perhaps, in particular, the lack of certain animals being depicted with specific age groups, may reflect the idea that certain animals are more appropriate as personal animals for certain age groups of children. This is most evident with images of infants as they are never portrayed with the Laconian dog, probably due to the size in comparison to the small Melitean, as well as the nature of the two types of dog. This smaller, fluffier dog is probably deemed more suitable as an animal companion for small children, and safer company than a larger dog trained to hunt prey. The fact that overall, the younger age groups of children appear far less frequently on vases than the older groups may also reflect that while ancient Athenians did care for their children there appears to be a distinct appreciation for, or least a greater interest in, the older age groups rather than the younger ones. Another noticeable trend is the frequency of girls depicted in the imagery: there are far fewer images that show girls than there are images showing boys. This may suggest that there is a greater interest in boys’ activities, or that they are taken more seriously. This can also be seen in the types of scenes in which girls are depicted, and their types of activities and behaviours. Girls are depicted as more playful than boys their age, their behaviour being comparable to that of younger boys in the vase imagery. Therefore, while not being ‘real-life’ snapshots into the past, these images can be seen as suggestive of the societal norms of the time.

## 6.3 Reflections of identity and perceptions of stages of childhood

The second research question leads into the third: whether the imagery, and the pairing in particular, reflects perceptions about certain age groups of children. The different pairings suggest the changes and developments through childhood, in both a physical sense (in motor skills, behaviour, extent of play) as well as socially. The roles of children would inevitably change as they reached certain milestones, they would increasingly shed their ‘childlike’ identity as they grew closer to adulthood. This includes an evolving identity towards the ideal citizen adult, whose younger, more carefree years are reflected in images that include children’s objects and toys, ‘pet hares’, riding deer and interacting with small fluffy dogs. These items and behaviours signal a more child-like, if not childish, identity. Older children, typically boys, become associated with hunting dogs and participate in social

activities, signalled by a lack of toys, interest in more social activities demonstrated through more interaction with each other, rather than with their personal animals. While some animals remained constant across the age groups, such as the deer and hare, the child's engagement with the animal differed, as did the animal's role or function in the scene. The symbolic nature of the animal then, appears to shift as the child reaches his/her new life phase. This was perhaps best demonstrated through the example the hare, which, when pictured with a small infant is likely intended as nothing more than a comforting 'animal companion', but which becomes representative of a new phase of sexual maturity when held by an adolescent and offered to an older youth or man.

While personal animals such as horses and birds were omitted from this project due to the feasibility of the size of the corpus, more work on other animals would be useful to further corroborate and elaborate on these findings. It is expected that other kinds of animal-child pairings may also suggest that ancient Athenians observed differences between the phases of childhood, and that such imagery may at the same time reflect some of these ideas, and also contribute to their social construction.

## Reference List:

Adelson, B. M. 2005. *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity towards Social Liberation*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Alesandridou, A. 2010. *The Early Black-Figured Pottery of Attika in Context (c. 630-570 BCE)*. Vol 17. Leiden: Brill.

Aubert, B. 2009. *The Shepherd-Flock Motif in the Miletus Discourse (Acts 20:17-38) Against its Historical Background*. New York: Peter Lang.

Barnes, D. R. 2015. 'Play in Historical and Cross-Cultural Contexts.' In Fromberg, D. P & Bergen, D. (eds). *Play from Birth to Twelve: Context, Perspectives and Meanings*. New York, London: Routledge. pp. 257-271.

Barringer, J.M. 2001. *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Bayer, T. I. 2006. Art as Symbolic Form: Cassirer on the Educational Value of Art. *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*. Vol. 40 (4): 51-64.

Beaumont, L. A. 2015. *Childhood in Ancient Athens*. New York: Routledge.

Bobou, O. 2015. *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bodson, L. 2000. 'Motivations for Pet-Keeping in Ancient Greece and Rome: A Preliminary Study'. In Podberscek, A. L., Paul, E. S., Serpell, J. A (ed.) *Companion Animals & Us: Exploring the Relationship Between People & Pets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 27-42.

Bostock, J. (trans). 1855. Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. London. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

Budin, S. L. 2013. *Intimate Lives of the Ancient Greeks*. California: Praeger.

- Bury, R.G. (trans). 1967 & 1968. Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vols. 10 & 11 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Busuttill, J. 1969. The Maltese Dog. *Greece & Rome*. Vol 16 (2): 205-208.
- Campbell, G. L. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cassidy, B. 1993. *Iconography at the Crossroads*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Charles, D. A. (trans). 1868. Hippocrates. *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*. New York. Dover
- Cohen, A. 2007. 'Introduction: Childhood Between Past and Present'. In Cohen, A., & Rutter, J. B. (eds.). *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*. Princeton, N.J: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. pp. 1-25.
- Cresswell, R. (trans). 1897. Aristotle. *History of Animals in Ten Books*. London: George Bell and Sons.
- Derevenski, J. S. 2005. *Children and Material Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Dindorf, W. (trans). 1824. Pollux. *Onomasticon*. Leipzig: Kuehn.
- Fowler, H. N. (trans). 1966. Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Fowler, H. N. (trans). 1925. Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 9. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Fowler, H W. (trans). 1905. Lucian. *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Godley, A. D. (trans). 1920. *Herodotus*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.
- Golden, M. 2015. *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*. 2nd ed. Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Golden, M. 2003. 'Childhood in Ancient Greece' in Neils, J., Oakley, J. H., Hart, K., & Beaumont, L. A. (eds.) *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. pp.13-31.
- Guerber, H.A. 1893. *Myths of Greece and Rome*. New York & Chicago: American Book Company.
- Hamilton, R. 1984. Sources for the Athenian Amphidromia. *Greek, Roman, Byzantine Studies*. 25: 243-251.
- Herbert. S. L. 1948. Plato's Doctrine of Metempsychosis and its Source. *The Classical Weekly*. Vol 41 (10): 149-155.
- Hillard, T. W. 2005. Children and the Onset of the Athenian 'Plague'. *Mediterranean Archaeology*. Vol 19 (20): 151-167.
- Holstrom, D. 2016. 'Goats in Mythology', in Noll, E (ed.) *Extraordinary Goats: Meetings with Remarkable Goats, Caprine Wonders and Horned Trouble Makers*. Minneapolis: Voyager Press. pp. 26-32.
- Jebb, R. (trans). 1893. Sophocles. *The Ajax of Sophocles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, H. M. 1919. The Portrayal of the Dog on Greek Vases. *The Classical Weekly*. Vol 12 (27): 209-213.
- Jordan, D. R. 2000. A Personal Letter Found in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia*. Vol 69: 91-103.
- Kitchell, Kenneth F. 2014. *Animals in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Klein, A. E. 1932. *Child Life in Greek Art*. New York, Columbia University Press.

- Korbin, J. 2003. 'A Perspective from Contemporary Childhood Studies' in Neils, J., Oakley, J. H., Hart, K., & Beaumont, L. A. (eds.) *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. pp. 7-13.
- Korhonen, T & Ruonakoski, E. 2017. *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece: Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature*. New York, London: I.B Tauris & Co. LTD.
- Lamb, W.R.M. (trans). 1925. Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 9. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Lamb, W.R.M. (trans). 1955. Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 8. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Larson, J & Larson, J. L. 2007. *Ancient Greek Cults: A Guide*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Lawton, C L. 2007. 'Children in Classical Attic Votive Reliefs'. In Cohen, A., & Rutter, J. B. (eds.). *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*. Princeton, N.J: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. pp. 41-61.
- Lazenby, F.D. 1941. Greek and Roman Household Pets. *The Classical Journal*. Vol 44 (4): 245-252.
- Lee, M. M. 2015. *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Liston, M.A & Rothoff, S.I. 2013. 'Babies in the Well: Archaeological Evidence for Newborn Disposal in Hellenistic Greece' in Grubbs, J.E., Parkin, T., Bell, R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 62-83.
- Lonsdale, S. H. 1979. Attitudes Towards Animals in Ancient Greece. *Greece and Rome*. Vol 26 (2): 146-59.

- Main, D. 06/10/2015. 450 Dead Babies Found in Athenian Well Shed Light on Ancient Greeks. <https://www.newsweek.com/2015/06/19/discovery-dead-infants-athenian-well-sheds-light-ancient-greek-society-341681.html> (15 March 2018).
- Mainoldi, C. 1984. *L'image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce ancienne (d'Homère à Platon)*. Paris: Ophrys.
- MacKinnon, M. 2014. 'Pets'. In Campbell, G. L. (ed). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 269-281
- Marchant, E. C. & Bowersock, G. W. (trans). 1925. Xenophon. *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, Vol 7. Constitution of the Athenians. Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press: William Heinemann, Ltd.
- McNiven, T. J. 2000. 'Behaving like the other: Telltale Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting'. In Cohen, B. (ed.) *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden: Brill. pp. 71-98.
- McNiven, T. J. 2007. 'Behaving like a Child: Immature Gestures in Athenian Vase Paintings'. In Cohen, A., & Rutter, J. B. (eds.). *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*. Princeton, N.J: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. pp. 85-101.
- Neils, J and Oakley, J. H. 2003. 'Introduction'. In Neils, J., Oakley, J. H., Hart, K., & Beaumont, L. A. (eds.) *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of childhood from the Classical Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. pp. 1-7.
- Newmyer, S. T. 2011. *Animals in Greek and Roman Thought: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.
- Oakley, H. 2003. 'Death and the Child'. In Neils, J., Oakley, J. H., Hart, K., & Beaumont, L. A. (eds.) *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of childhood from the Classical Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. pp. 163-195.

- Oakley, J. H. 2013. *The Greek Vase: Art of the Storyteller*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Panofsky, E. 1970. *Iconography and Iconology: an Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Panofsky, E. 1970. 'Iconography and Iconology: an Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art'. In Panofsky, E., *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. pp. 51-8.
- Papaionnou, S. 2016. 'Introduction' in Johnston, P. A., Mastrocinque, A. & Papaionnou, S. (eds.) *Animals in Greek and Roman Religion and Myth*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. pp. 1-19.
- Patterson, L. E. 2010. *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Perrin, B. (trans). 1919. Plutarch. *Plutarch's Lives*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd.
- Rabinowitz, N. S. 1993. *Feminist Theory and the Classics*. New York: Routledge.
- Rackham, H. (trans). 1934. Aristotle. *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Vol. 19. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Rackham, H. (trans). 1981. Aristotle. *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Vol. 20 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Rackham, H. (trans). 1944. Aristotle. *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Vol. 21 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press: London, William Heinemann Ltd.
- Reaburn, D. (trans). 2004. Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. London: Penguin Books.
- Rieu, E. V. (trans). 2003. Homer. *The Odyssey*. London: Penguin Classics.

Schultz, C. 09/07/2012. *How the Ancient Greeks Named their Puppies*.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/how-ancient-greeks-named-their-puppies-1154943/>  
(28 August 2018).

Schodde, C. 15/11/2013. *The Melitan Miniature Dog: The Most Popular Lapdog in Antiquity*.

<https://foundinantiquity.com/2013/11/15/the-melitan-miniature-dog/> (06 September 2018).

Serpell, J. 1996. *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shapiro, K., & DeMello, M. 2010. The State of Human-Animal Studies. *Society & Animals*, 18(3): 307-318.

Shorey, P. (trans). 1969 Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 5 & 6. Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, William Heinemann Ltd.

Sommerstein, A. H. (trans). 2012. Sophocles. *Sophocles Selected Fragmentary Plays*. Vol 2. Oxford: Oxbow.

Songe-Møller, V. 2006. 'Matter, Gender and Death in Aristotle'. In Mortensen, E. (ed.) *Sex, Breath and Force: Sexual Difference in a Post-Feminist Era*. Oxford: Lexington Books. pp. 71-81.

Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. D. 2011. *Looking at Greek Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Svarlien, D. A. (trans). 1995. Semonides. *Women (Poem 7)*. Diotima

[http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/sem\\_7.shtml](http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/sem_7.shtml)

Temple, O. & Temple, R. (trans). 1998. Aesop. *Aesop the Complete Fables*. London: Penguin Books.

Trantalidou, K. 2006. 'Companions from the Oldest Times: Dogs in Ancient Greek Literature, Iconography and Osteological Testimony.' In Snyder, L. M & Moore, E. A. (eds.) *Dogs and People in Social, Working, Economic or Symbolic Interaction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 96-120.

Van Hoorn, G. 1951. *Choes and Anthesteria*. Leiden: Brill.

Verity, A. 2012. (trans). Homer. *The Iliad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Werness, H.B. 2006. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*. New York & London: The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Williams, T. C. (trans). 1910. Vergil. *Aeneid*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co.

University of Oxford Classical Art Research Centre and the Beazley Archive.  
<http://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/searchOpen.asp>

Yonge. C.D. (trans). 1854. Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophist*. Vol 12.  
<http://www.attalus.org/old/athenaeus12a.html> (17 September 2018).

## Figures:

### Chapter 2:

Fig. 2A: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248904>

Fig. 2B-2K: University of Oxford Classical Art Research Centre and the Beazley Archive.  
<http://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/searchOpen.asp>

### Chapter 3:

Fig 3A: Michelle Sanders 2018. Funerary dog, Athens National Archaeology Museum.

### Chapter 4:

Fig 5.1A-5.6D: University of Oxford Classical Art Research Centre and the Beazley Archive.  
<http://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/searchOpen.asp>