Portraying the Dog in Archaic and Classical Athens: Image versus Text

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To Ken Kitchell,
in friendship and gratitude

Abstract

There are nearly 10,000 references to the dog in ancient Greek texts, not counting inscriptions. This number alone testifies to the importance of the animal in Greek culture and life. The present paper examines the relationship between Athenians and their dogs during the Archaic and Classical periods, through the evidence provided by ancient texts, sculpture and vase-painting.

The textual evidence presents an ambivalent image of the dog. Canines are described as intelligent, faithful, brave, affectionate and noble, valued for their use in hunting, guarding flocks and households, but also for their role as pets. At the same time, they are considered to be shameless, sexually licentious, gluttonous (and notorious food thieves), as well as unpredictable. There is always some fear that the dog, descending from the wolf, might suddenly become aggressive and launch an attack. However, the positive views on dogs prevail upon the negative ones, since the dog is valuable as a working animal and its undying devotion never fails to move humans.

Dogs appear in more than 2,000 painted and sculpted scenes of Athenian art, serving a variety of roles: they are the faithful companions of departing warriors, valuable collaborators in the hunt, cherished pets, and even status symbols. They are present in the gymnasium, the symposium and in domestic scenes. They are shown playing with children, enjoying music, and participating in various aspects of everyday life. They are also depicted on funerary reliefs,

accompanying their humans in death. A discrepancy between image and text is noted, since in contrast to the textual evidence, Athenian artistic representations hardly ever present a negative image of the dog. Furthermore, Athenian art largely focuses on depicting the relationship between humans and dogs, as well as their collaboration in the hunt.

Sometime in the third quarter of the fourth century BC, a dead dog was laid to rest behind the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora. The walls and floor of the grave that was discovered during the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were lined with clay.[1] A large beef bone was placed near the dog's nose, unquestionably a fitting burial gift for every canine. A miniature squat lekythos discovered nearby may have been deposited in this grave as a funerary offering. The care with which this dog was buried indicates that it was someone's beloved canine companion, a cherished pet whose death was the cause of genuine sorrow. Was this kind of affection for one's dog a common sentiment in ancient Athens or was it a rare exception? In this paper, we will examine the relationship between Athenians and their dogs during the Archaic and Classical periods, through the evidence provided by ancient texts, sculpture and vase-painting.[2] We shall begin by exploring the textual evidence and then turn to art, so that eventually the two can be compared.[3]

[1] Thompson 1951, 52. See 'Agora Deposit: R 10:3' in the Athenian Agora Excavations Website: https://agora.ascsa.net/ (last accessed on 29.03.2024). Abbreviations follow the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and in the case of ancient authors those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. I am truly grateful to the editor of this special issue, Guen Taietti, as well as the anonymous reviewers of this article for their extremely useful feedback. Heartfelt thanks are owed to friends and colleagues whose help, advice, encouragement and moral support has proven invaluable for my ongoing research on ancient Athenian dogs: Kenneth Kitchell, Ann Merriman, Spyros Mallis, Lora Holland, Rosie Mack, Carolyn Willekes and Andrew Silverstone. For the photos illustrating this article and permission to publish them I am indebted to Leonidas Bournias and Nikolaos Petrocheilos of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens, Maria Hidiroglou, Kalliopi Bairami, and Anna Vasiliki Karapanagiotou of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Mario Iozzo, Stefano Casciu and Claudia Noferi of the National Archaeological Museum of Florence, Jeff Steward and Katie Kujala of the Harvard Art Museums.

[2] For a different take on the treatment of animals–especially dogs and birds–in ancient Greece, see Calder 2017.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the relevant ancient texts, see Franco 2014.

In Aristophanes' *Wasps*, Labes the house-dog is accused of having stolen a Sicilian cheese from the kitchen (*Vesp*. 835-994). In the mock trial that follows,[4] Bdelycleon defends the accused, even though his father Philocleon seems determined to convict the canine (*Vesp*. 952-960):

> Bdelycleon: 'He is a good dog, and he chases wolves finely'.
> Philocleon: 'He is a thief and a conspirator'.
> Bdel: 'No, he is the best of all our dogs; he is capable of guarding a whole flock'.
> Phil: 'And what good is that, if he eats the cheese?'
> Bdel: 'What? He fights for you, he guards your door; he is an excellent dog in every respect. Forgive him his larceny! He is wretchedly ignorant, he cannot play the lyre.'
> Phil: 'I wish he did not know how to write either; then the rascal would not have drawn up his pleadings'.[5]

In the end, Labes is acquitted. But is he a good dog or a bad dog? This passage by Aristophanes is indicative of the duality characterizing Athenian attitudes towards canines in the ancient texts, as we will see next.

Dogs are valued for their use in hunting, guarding flocks, houses and property. According to Xenophon, hunting dogs are possessions worthy of a man (*Ages.* 9.6.1-4). Plato quotes Solon in saying that a man who has dear children, horses, hounds, and a foreign guest is happy (*Lysis* 212e.3-4). Fine hunting dogs, henceforth referred to as hounds, were prized possessions that could only be afforded by the wealthy, thus functioning as status symbols.[6] In *Plutus*, Aristophanes speaks of honest male whores who ask their patrons for a fine horse or a pack of hounds, instead of money (157). For Aristotle, the dog is an honorable animal, since to be without one is most dishonorable (*Rh*. 1401a.20).[7] As for sheepdogs, Xenophon observes

[4] On this, Konstantakos 2021; Pütz 2023, 40-46, 51-52.
[5] Transl. O'Neill 1938.
[6] Kitchell 2004, 179, 180; 2014, 49; 2020, 10.
[7] Transl. Freese 1926.

that when a shepherd has a good sheepdog, the other shepherds keep their flocks near his, so that they may also benefit from this dog (*Mem.* 2.9.7). Plato praises the dedication of these canines to their guarding duty, by arguing that the possibility of the gods being open to bribes is as unlikely as sheepdogs being bribed by wolves in order to allow them to ravage the flocks (*Leg.* 906d). Aristophanes mentions the large and fierce Molossian dogs guarding Athenian houses in order to keep adulterers away (*Thesm*. 416-417). In Xenophon, we find a reference to savage dogs that are tied up by day and let loose by night in order to perform their guarding duties (*An.* 5.8.24). As Plato points out, the natural disposition of dogs to be friendly with the people they know, but fierce towards strangers, makes them ideal guards (*Resp.* 375e).

Xenophon (*Cyn*. 3.9.2) calls the dog φιλάνθρωπον (*philanthropon*, loving humans); Plato believes that dogs are the gentlest of animals and possess true love of wisdom (*Soph.* 231a.6; *Resp.* 375e-376a); Aristotle describes canines as 'spirited, affectionate and fawning' (*Hist. an.* 488b.21-22) and praises them for turning away from those who sit down, never attacking them, since they respect humility (*Rh*. 1380a). The dog's unwavering loyalty and devotion is greatly admired, as is indicated by the many stories of faithful canines narrated by ancient Greek authors. Among them, we find the story of an unnamed Athenian dog that belonged to Xanthippos, the father of Perikles.[8] During the evacuation of Athens taking place under the threat of the invading Persian army in 480 BC, the loyal canine refused to stay behind without its master. Jumping into the sea, it swam all the way to the island of Salamis, which lies one nautical mile away from Piraeus, following the ship on which Xanthippos was sailing. Upon reaching the island, the dog collapsed and died of exhaustion. Moved by this display of loyalty, the Athenians buried the canine. Centuries later, in the time of Plutarch, the spot was still known as 'Kynos Sema', the dog's grave. Equally touching is the story regarding Augeas, the Molossian dog of Eupolis, the Athenian poet of Old Comedy (Ael. *NA* 10.41). When Eupolis died, his dog refused to eat and pined away in grief, dying on its master's grave. A loyal canine even appears in Athenian mythology: Maera, the female dog of the maiden Erigone, who hanged herself out of despair for

[8] Plut. *Them*. 10.10 and *Cat. Mai*. 5.4; Ael. *NA* 12.35.

the murder of her father Icarios.[9] Maera followed her mistress in death and all three of them were set among the stars by the gods. This kind of love and devotion has earned dogs a unique place in the domestic life of humans, as cherished pets and faithful companions. They are members of the household (*oikos*) and the only animals that are allowed to share the food of their masters' tables (τραπεζῆες κύνες, *trapezees kynes*).[10]

However, one does not only find praise for dogs in the ancient texts. They are frequently accused of being gluttonous, thus resorting to food theft.[11] Let us not forget that Labes, the dog in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, is put on trial because he stole a Sicilian cheese from the kitchen. In another of Aristophanes' comedies, the *Acharnians*, the Chorus curses the poet Antimachos to crave a cuttle-fish that has just been cooked and served, but the moment he stretches his hand to help himself a dog runs off with it (*Ach.* 1156-1161). Even Kerberos, the formidable three-headed canine guarding the gates of Hades, is described by Aristophanes as a canine food thief who sneaks into the kitchen at night and licks the dishes (*Eq*. 1030-1034). Anyone who has ever owned a dog knows only too well that such references are not exaggerated in the slightest. Furthermore, dogs were considered to be shameless, impudent and sexually licentious.[12] As a result, the word κύων (*kyon*, dog) and its derivatives can be also used as insults.[13]

Sophocles and Demosthenes use the epithet *laithargos* to describe the dog as an unpredictable animal that may turn aggressive suddenly and without warning;[14] in the *Iliad*, Priam fears that his own house-dogs will devour his dead body after the fall of Troy (22.66-76). The law of Solon concerning biting dogs in Athens reflects an awareness of the dog's nature (Plut. *Sol*. 24.3) and, as Plato reminds us, 'the wolf is similar to the dog, the wildest like the most

[9] Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.191-192; Ael. *NA* 6.25.6-7.
[10] Hom. *Il*. 22.69, 23.173, *Od*. 17.309; cf. Ferrari 2002, 195; Franco 2014, 23-27; 2019, 36.
[11] Aesop 134, 136, 138, 265; Ar. *Pax* 481-483, 641; Ath. 7.55.20-21; cf. Franco 2014, 28; Pevnick 2014, 158-159; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones 2018, 180.
[12] Eust. *Il*. 2.326.7-9, 2.583.16-17; cf. Franco 2014, 9 (and notes 12-13), 80-81, 85-89; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones 2018, 180.
[13] Hom. *Il*. 1.159, 1.225, 8.299, 8.527, 13.623; Hom. *Od*. 17.248, 22.35; cf. Franco 2014, 3, 7, 10, 75-120 and note 94.
[14] Soph. *fr*. 885; Dem. *In Aristogitonem* I 40.8.

tame of animals' (*Soph.* 231a.6). He speaks of herding dogs 'that from indiscipline or hunger or some other evil condition … shall attack the sheep and injure them and be likened to wolves instead of dogs' (*Resp.* 416a.1-7).[15] Similarly, Demosthenes refers to canines devouring the sheep they are supposed to be guarding (*In Aristogitonem* I 40.8). Euripides himself was said to have been killed by a pack of dogs in Macedonia (*Schol. Eur. Vita* 4). The fact that dogs descend from the wolf is not forgotten and there is always a certain degree of anxiety regarding the wild instincts of canines. This is partly due to the fact that they are carnivore scavengers, eaters of raw flesh (ὠμησταί, *omestai*), and as such they are known to feast on the bodies of the dead in the battlefield.[16] The cruel punishment imposed on Antigone's brother Polynices by Kreon was to remain unburied, his dead body devoured by dogs and birds of prey.[17] This horror is frequently mentioned in the *Iliad* (22.66-71, 22.74-76), but it was certainly not unknown to the Athenians of the later fifth century BC, as is indicated by Thucydides' statement about dogs either not touching the corpses of the Athenians who died from the plague or dying after tasting them (2.50).

Dogs also have a special connection to women (Franco 2014): Aeschylos likens a faithful wife to a watchdog, guarding her husband's house, always remaining loyal to him, turning against his enemies (*Ag*. 606-608, 914). Female dogs are symbols of fecundity and motherhood;[18] this becomes evident in the myth of Hecuba, who has given birth to many of Priam's children: she is a fiercely protective mother who does not hesitate to blind the murderer of her son Polydoros and is finally transformed into a female dog.[19] At the same time, the epithet κυνῶπις (*kynopis*, dog-eyed or dog-faced) is employed for shameless females, such as the murderess Clytemnestra and her adulteress sister Helen.[20] In Aeschylos, the terrible Erinyes are associated

[15] Transl. Shorey 1937.
[16] Lilja 1976, 17-19, 34-35, 54, 57-58, 60-61, 64-65, 68, 126, 127; Kitchell 2004, 177-178, 181; Franco 2014, 54-67, 69-71; Kostuch 2018, 116, 118-119, 121-123, 127-129, 135.
[17] Soph. *Ant*. 205-206, 697-698, 1016-1018, 1081, 1198.
[18] Hom. *Od*. 20.14-17; *Anth. Pal*. 7.425; cf. Pippin-Burnett 1994, 154-155, 157; Franco 2014, 108-112, 151-152.
[19] Eur. *Hec*. 1265, 1273; Pippin-Burnett 1994.
[20] Hom. *Il*. 6.344, 6.356, 18.396; *Od*. 4.145, 8.319; Aesch. *Ag*. 1228; Eur. *Andr*. 630; cf. Franco 2014, 4, 102-106, 110, 125-126, 128-129, 136, 140-142.

with the dog, since they act like hounds constantly pursuing their prey, even barking (*Eum*. 131-132).

The ancient texts present us with both positive and negative views concerning dogs. Even though the positive views—especially the dogs' undying love and devotion for humans—prevail upon the negative ones, the textual evidence regarding canines can be more accurately described as dual and ambivalent. Does the same apply to canine depictions in Athenian art? This is what we shall explore next, seeking to answer this question.

Dogs appear in more than 2,000 painted and sculpted scenes of Archaic and Classical Athenian art; nearly 400 of them are hunting scenes painted on vases. Images of the hare hunt are particularly abundant, which is not surprising, since it was the type of hunting more often practiced in ancient Greece.[21] The majority of these scenes depict hounds pursuing hares without the presence of hunters (**Fig. 1**);[22] both hounds and hares are portrayed running at full speed. Despite the popularity of the so-called 'hare and hound' scenes, Athenian males hunting hares with the help of their hounds are shown on a smaller number of vases (**Fig. 2**)[23] where they are normally depicted running behind the speeding hounds, in pursuit of the hares. Given the great speed and agility of the hare, the natural speed of the hounds made them truly valuable for the hare hunt and this is clearly indicated in the iconography. The two hunters of a black-figure lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter have not yet released their hounds.[24] One of the canines is portrayed sniffing the ground, a reminder that it is not only the swiftness of the hounds, but also their ability to track their prey with their amazing sense of smell that makes them extremely useful in hunting.

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[21] MacKinnon 2014, 205; Barringer 2001, 95-97.

[22] For examples, see Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1971: *CVA*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, 39-40, Pl. 48.2.5 (BAPD 12089); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V542: *CVA*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 37, Pl. (137) 45.4 (BAPD 213117); Athens, Agora Museum P5330: Moore, *Agora* 30, no. 1154, pl. 109 (**Fig. 1**).

[23] Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum 87.AE.93: *CVA*, Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum 10, 57-64, fig. 13, Pls. (2115-2124) 564.1, 565.1, 567.1, 568.1-2, 569.1-3, 570.1-3, 571.1-4, 572.1-5, 573.1-7 (BAPD 44230 – **Fig. 2**); Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 74966: Schnapp 1984, 70, fig. 101 (BAPD 5515); London, British Museum B678: Mertens 2006, 194, no. 50 (BAPD 3566).

[24] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 194: Barringer 2001, 99, figs. 59-60 (BAPD 7480).

The second most popular type of hunting scene is the boar hunt.[25] Such scenes are more often mythological, depicting the Calydonian boar hunt.[26] The most famous example is the François vase in Florence (**Fig. 3**):[27] the boar occupies the center of the composition, surrounded by the male heroes and the single heroine, Atalante, who participated in the mythical hunt. They are accompanied by seven black and white hounds, all of them named. One hound is on the boar's back biting the beast, while another attacks the animal from the rear; on the ground beneath the boar, the corpses of a hunter and a disemboweled hound serve as reminders of Xenophon's warning regarding the perils of the boar hunt (*Cyn*. 10.21): 'Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, and the huntsmen themselves run risks'. Regardless of whether they depict the Calydonian boar hunt or simpler, non-mythical boar hunting scenes from everyday life, these vases portray the hunters and hounds fighting side by side against the attacking boar, facing the perils of the hunt together and on several occasions, dying together.

Even though pastoral scenes are far from prominent in Athenian vase-painting, a goatherd and his two dogs are shown tending a herd of goats on a black-figure kyathos in the Louvre.[28] On a remarkable red-figure cup shaped like a cow's hoof, a young herdsman tends his cows assisted by a large dog (**Figs. 4a-b**).[29] In several vase-painting scenes depicting the Judgement of Paris, a dog accompanies the young Trojan as he tends his father's flock on Mount Ida.[30] Such images testify to the usefulness of sheepdogs whose dedication to their guarding duty was so admired by Plato.

[25] Barringer 2001, 4, 15-38, 42, 60-63, 147-161, 172-173.
[26] Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.66-71; Daltrop 1966; Schnapp 1979; *LIMC* VIII (1997), s.v. Canes, 549 (G. Berger-Doer); Barringer 2001, 147-161.
[27] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209: Shapiro, Iozzo and Lezzi-Hafter 2013 (BAPD 300000 with extensive bibliography).
[28] Paris, Louvre F69: Tonglet 2015, 211, fig. 1A-B (BAPD 301977).
[29] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 38.11.2: Richter 1938 (BAPD 5968).
[30] For example, Copenhagen National Museum 731: Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 102 (BAPD 7928); Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 1506: Moscati and Di Stefano 1991, 109, no. 125 (BAPD 217490); Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B36: *CVA*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 28-29, Pls. (320-322) 22.4-5, 23.1, 24.1-5 (BAPD 220515).

In Athenian art, dogs are not shown guarding houses, but something far more important: funerary statues of large dogs were set up over graves, functioning as tomb guards. The most famous example is the majestic Molossian from the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery, one of a pair of marble canines set up as watchful guardians at the two corners of the burial precinct of Lysimachides (**Fig. 5**).[31] Regardless of their varying sizes and poses, dogs guarding tombs are depicted alert and vigilant as eternal guards of their masters' final resting places.

Hunting dogs frequently appear in scenes related to the world of masculine aristocracy, where they function as markers of aristocratic status and wealth (see p. 50). Besides images of the hunt, hounds are also shown in warrior, chariot, symposium, and gymnasium scenes. Particularly popular among the warrior scenes of Athenian vases depicting dogs are the so-called 'warrior departure' scenes.[32] On a beautiful red-figure stamnos by the Achilles Painter, the departing warrior is portrayed in full armour, bidding his father farewell.[33] His wife or mother stands behind him, holding the phiale and oinochoe for the traditional libation; a lean hound wearing a collar stands beside the hoplite. The warrior's dog will accompany him when he leaves for war. Canines did not participate in battle, but were very useful as guards for a military camp: they provided companionship for their warrior masters, thus creating a pleasant, albeit temporary diversion from the horrors of war. Another departing warrior's hound on a red-figure amphora by the Kleophrades Painter is shown sniffing the ground—presumably sniffing the liquid that is being poured on the ground as the libation is being performed.[34] A red-figure amphora attributed to the Dikaios Painter depicts a hoplite and an archer, both of them fully armed (**Fig. 6**):[35] the young hoplite is accompanied by a large hound wearing a red collar. The

[31] Kerameikos P670: Banou and Bournias 2014, 218. For other examples, see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3574: Kaltsas 2002, 186, no. 366; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2447: Poulsen 1951, no. 238b. Depictions of Molossians in Athenian funerary art are limited to funerary statues. Since these large canines were formidable guards, they were considered ideal for guarding their masters' tombs. For the possible connections between the behaviour of dogs and their function in funerary art, see Tanganelli and Masseti 2019.

[32] For warrior departure scenes, see Matheson 2005; Seifert 2014.

[33] London, British Museum E448: *CVA*, London, British Museum 3, III.Ic.9, Pl. (187) 22.3A-C (BAPD 213886).

[34] Munich, Antikensammlungen J411: *CVA*, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 4, 17-19, Pls. (551-555, 566) 173-177, 188.7 (BAPD 201657).

[35] London, British Museum E 254: *CVA*, London, British Museum 3, III.Ic.3, Pl. (167) 2.2A-B (BAPD 200166).

dog is turned towards the warrior's father, an elderly man who is shown wiping a tear. Utterly absorbed with their final preparations before leaving for war, the warriors have not noticed the man's plight; only the canine has sensed his sorrow and is clearly affected by it. One is here inevitably reminded of Aristotle, who speaks of the affectionate and gentle nature of dogs (*Hist. an.* 488b.21-22).

Armed riders accompanied by hounds have been variously interpreted. When the horsemen are depicted wearing helmets, there is no doubt that they are warriors.[36] In the case of non-helmeted riders however, there is a controversy among scholars regarding whether they are meant to represent warriors or hunters. Such a scene decorates a black-figure white-ground hydria in the Louvre, where two hounds accompany three armed horsemen and a male figure on foot.[37] On the third example, a black-figure plate from the Athenian Kerameikos, the armed rider is identified as a hunter by the dead animals hanging from a pole carried by the male figure walking behind his horse.[38] This rider is returning home after a successful hunting expedition, accompanied by his hound. Hunting dogs appear in chariot scenes as well, albeit less frequently, but most of these scenes depict the departure of warriors (**Fig. 7**).[39] The war chariot is employed by Athenian vase-painters as a heroizing feature, since it was no longer used in warfare during the Archaic and Classical periods.[40] Whether ridden or yoked in chariots, horses were symbols of high social status and signs of wealth, for poor Athenians could not afford to buy and keep horses.[41] Consequently, the horsemen portrayed on these vases accompanied by their hounds were members of the city's elite.

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[36] For example, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologisches Institut D4: *CVA*, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 2, 47-48, fig. 26, Pls. (2132-2133) 31.1, 32.1-2 (BAPD 300758); London, British Museum B419: *CVA*, London, British Museum 2, IIIHe.4, Pl. (69) 11.4A-B (BAPD 13250); Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 383: BAPD 9032803.

[37] Paris, Louvre CA 4716: Mertens 2006, 201-202, no. 53 (BAPD 3018).

[38] Kerameikos Archaeological Museum 4692: Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, Pl. 46.10 (BAPD 7905).

[39] For instance, Paris, Louvre G 41: *CVA*, Paris, Louvre 6, III.Ic.39, Pl. (430) 51.1-5 (BAPD 200182); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.29: Mertens 2014, 135, fig. 1, pl. 16 (BAPD 302025 – **Fig. 7**); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 41.55: *CVA*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2, 28, Pl. (919) 85.2-3 (BAPD 77).

[40] Matheson 1995, 271; Sinos 1998, 75-76.

[41] Pl. *Lysis* 205c; Van Wees 2002, 64; Bell and Willekes 2014, 478.

Hounds depicted in the symposium scenes of Athenian vases and banquet reliefs are normally shown beneath the *klinai* or tables (**Figs. 8a-b**).[42] They are portrayed looking at their masters in anticipation of some food, sniffing the ground searching for anything edible the symposiasts may have dropped, or happily chewing a juicy bone. As Cristiana Franco has noted, 'the banquet is the space that both unites men and dogs and distinguishes them, by fixing a definite hierarchy' (2014: 26). Thus, dogs and humans become dining companions, but the dogs only receive what the symposiasts decide to give them, which are often bones or other undesirable parts of the food.

Dogs are occasionally depicted in gymnasium scenes. These are not only hounds, but also Melitaeans, a famous breed of small-sized dogs that served no other function than being pets and were much loved in ancient Greece (**Fig. 9**).[43] Since they were not working dogs like the hounds, the Melitaeans were typically associated with the wealthy elite and its lifestyle of leisure. The canines of these scenes have accompanied their young masters to the gymnasium, often watching them exercise, like the hound of a red-figure krater attributed to Myson, which is shown observing the three athletes with great interest.[44] On a red-figure oinochoe by the Chicago Painter, the strigil handed by a naked youth to another nude athlete indicates that they are portrayed cleansing their bodies after exercise.[45] The alert hound standing between them seems to know that their training session is over and that they will be soon leaving the gymnasium. A red-figure hydria by the Triptolemos Painter depicts a young athlete who has just finished using the strigil and is cleaning it with his finger (**Fig. 10**).[46] The Melitaean standing before him is

[42] For examples, see Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS2405: *CVA*, Schweiz, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 10, 37-42, Pl. 27-33 (BAPD 9048339); Paris, Louvre F2: *CVA*, Paris, Louvre 3, III.He.9, Pl. (147) 10.1.4 (BAPD 10707); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1501 (**Figs. 8a-b**) and 3872: Kaltsas 2002, 136 (no. 161) and 230 (no. 483).

[43] On the Melitaeans, see Aesop 75.1-2 and 93; Busuttil 1969; Merlen 1971, 44-45; Phillips 2002, 86, 94; Calder 2017, 68-69.

[44] Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum 86.AE.205: *CVA*, Malibu, J.Paul Getty Museum 10, 1-4, Pls. (2069-2071) 518-520 (BAPD 352504).

[45] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.191: Filser 2017, 385, fig. 233 (BAPD 207322).

[46] Berlin, Antikensammlung F2178: *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 9, 24-26, fig. 6, Pls. (3697, 3746) 7.1-3, 56.6 (BAPD 203815).

shown sniffing the ground, probably attracted by the smell of the *gloios*, the mixture of sweat, oil and dirt the athlete has scraped off his skin using the strigil.[47] The *gloios* cleaned off the strigil has landed on the ground, where it was instantly detected by the canine's powerful sense of smell.

The presence of canines in (mostly pederastic) courtship scenes has been variously interpreted (**Fig. 11**).[48] Scholars have suggested that it constitutes a reference to courtship as a metaphorical hunt (with the roles of hunter and hunted often becoming interchangeable), noted the association between hunting, pederasty, warfare, athletics and the symposium, pointed out that the dogs may be erotic gifts offered by the *erastai* to their *eromenoi*, and proposed that the former became role models for the latter, educating them in the art of hunting and the lifestyle of Athenian aristocracy.[49]

Above all, however, Athenian art depicts the special relationship, companionship and affection between humans and dogs. Images from the world of children decorate the small red-figured choes associated with the Anthesteria.[50] Plenty of these miniature vases portray boys and girls happily playing and interacting with their pet Melitaeans.[51] A chous from the Athenian Agora deserves special mention, as it shows a young naked boy crawling on the ground, tenderly kissing the nose of his white Melitaean (**Fig. 12**).[52] This is undoubtedly the most charming depiction of the loving relationship between a child and his dog in Athenian art. On another delightful scene decorating a chous in Erlangen, a Melitaean wearing a collar accompanies a

[47] On the *gloios*, see Potter 2012, 135-136; Pevnick 2014, 160-161.
[48] For examples, see Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 1350: CVA, Rodi, Museo Archeologico Dello Spedale Dei Cavalieri 1, III.H.E.7, Pl. (445) 13.5 (BAPD 1350); Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia: *CVA*, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.I.15, Pl. (387) 12.16 (BAPD 203960 – **Fig. 11)**; Boulogne, Musée Communale 134: Koch-Harnack 1983, 109, fig. 44 (BAPD 203021).
[49] For various theories on the subject, see Koch-Harnack 1983, 90-97; Schnapp 1989 and 1997; Barringer 2001, 70-73, 85, 88-89, 104-111, 116-117, 119-124; Lear and Cantarella 2008, 72, 105, 189-193; Haworth 2018.
[50] For the choes, see Van Hoorn 1951; Rühfel 1984; Hamilton 1992. On the Anthesteria, see *Suda* 370; Van Hoorn 1951; Burkert 1983, 213-247; Hamilton 1992, 1-62; Robertson 1993; Parker 2005, 290-316.
[51] For example, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1322: Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 306, no. 135 (BAPD 4188); Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS1941.122: *CVA*, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 68, Pls. (354, 356) 42.5-6, 44.3 (BAPD 16283); Athens, Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities A15272: Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 356, no. 389 (BAPD 9024922).
[52] Athens, Agora Museum P20090: Moore, *Agora* 30, no. 375, pl. 77 (BAPD 16255).

mother and her young boy, observing with fascination the child's attempt to reach a bunch of grapes.[53] Pet Melitaeans like this one were beloved companions of males and females, children and adults, alike. A woman feeding her pet dog appears on a red-figure lekythos by the Providence Painter:[54] the small Melitaean is raised on its hind legs, as dogs often do when they are trying to reach something. This is a timeless image, the kind of interaction between dogs and humans we still see nowadays. A similar scene decorates the tondo of a red-figure cup by the Brygos Painter, only in this case a youth is shown instead of a woman.[55] On the famous Vatican amphora by Exekias depicting the return of the Dioskouroi, Pollux is being welcomed by his hound (**Fig. 13**).[56] The dog jumps at him full of enthusiasm and joy in the familiar manner of canines greeting their humans upon returning home. Xenophon speaks of hounds that abandon the pursuit of their prey and go back because of their love and devotion to their masters (*Cyn*. 3.9.1-2). As Kenneth Kitchell has pointed out, a hound kept at home served two roles: it was employed in hunting, but inevitably became a pet as well, providing companionship and affection (2014: 53). The loving bond between Pollux and his dog is obvious; not only in the canine's excited behavior, but also through the intimacy the two of them share in the painted scene.

The special bond between humans and dogs becomes particularly evident on the funerary reliefs that marked the graves of Athenian males and females of all ages, preserving their memory through time.[57] Grave stelai commemorating prematurely lost children depict girls and boys with their toys and beloved pets, happily playing with their Melitaeans, usually by lowering their hand holding a bird towards the small canines that are trying to reach it (**Fig. 14**).[58] Such scenes

[53] Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander Universität I 321: Lewis 2002, fig. 4.18 (BAPD 10227).
[54] Rome, Accademia di Lincei 2478: Oakley 2020, 16, fig. 1.10 (BAPD 207462).
[55] Brussels, Musées Royaux R 350: *CVA*, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire) 1, III.I.C.2, Pl. (031) 4.4 (BAPD 3997).
[56] Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 344: Mackay 2010, pls. 77-78, colour plate I (BAPD 310395).
[57] See also, Woysch-Méautis 1982, 53-60; Zlotogorska 1997.
[58] For example, Harvard, Art Museums (A.M. Sackler Museum) 1961.86: CAT 0.915; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3661: CAT 0.871; Palermo, National Museum N.I. 1545: CAT 0.873a; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1980: CAT 0.870 (**Fig. 14**).

are reminiscent of the joyful carefree times of their brief lives shared with their furry friends, thus placing special emphasis on the tragedy of their early death.[59] On the grave stele once marking the tomb of a dead woman, the deceased is portrayed seated, involved in wool-working.[60] Her servant-maid standing before her holding a *pyxis* is shown with one hand raised to her face in a gesture of grief, mourning the death of her mistress. The woman's child, a toddler, is depicted seated on the ground before his mother, tenderly holding the front paws of a small Melitaean. Utterly oblivious of his mother's death, the child is absorbed in his game with the dog—a detail that is both charming and sad, but also indicative of how much children in antiquity, as today, enjoyed the company of their canine friends. In fact, if it was not for the mourning servant-maid, the scene could very well pass for a peaceful image of everyday domestic life in the *gynaikonitis* of an Athenian household.

Children are not the only ones who are portrayed playing with their pet dogs on funerary reliefs. The handsome youth and maiden of two grave stelai in Paris are shown engaged in the same kind of game we have seen on children's stelai, teasing their Melitaeans with the birds they hold.[61] The cleansing utensils (strigil and aryballos) hanging from the youth's wrist mark him as an athlete, but it is his interaction with the small canine that becomes the focus of the scene. The deceased of another stele, an unnamed youth, is depicted extending one hand towards his pet Melitaean that jumps playfully at him.[62] During the fourth century BC, boys, girls, maidens and youths are frequently portrayed playing with their pet dogs on the funerary reliefs marking their graves (**Figs. 15a-b**).[63] Such images emphasize their youthfulness and untimely death, at the same time revealing the important position their pet dogs held in their young lives. Noteworthy is the presence of dogs in family scenes. The grave stele of young Eukoline from the Kerameikos

[59] Margariti 2018a, 32, 35-36, 38, 41.
[60] Berlin, Staatliche Museum 761: CAT 1.894.
[61] Paris, Louvre Ma 807: CAT 1.278 (youth); Paris, Rodin Museum 32: CAT 1.428 (maiden). For the latter, see Margariti 2018b, 119-120 (and cat. no. 43).
[62] Paris, Louvre Ma 807: CAT 1.278.
[63] Margariti 2018b, 120 and note 181.

is a perfect example (**Figs. 16a-b**):[64] the young maiden is accompanied by members of her family; her mother who tenderly caresses the deceased girl's arm and cheek, her mourning father and grandmother in the background. Even though Eukoline is holding a bird in her raised right hand, she is not shown playing with the small Melitaean visible at her feet. Her pet dog has raised itself on its hind legs, placing its front paws on the maiden's legs, trying in vain to attract her attention. Eukoline is here surrounded by the loving members of her *oikos*, both human and canine, all of them grieving for her premature death.

The grave stele of Korallion, wife of Agathon, from the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery depicts the seated dead woman shaking hands with her husband in the presence of two family members (**Figs. 17a-b**).[65] At first, one hardly notices the small Melitaean shown beside the deceased's legs, turning its head to look at its mistress. The stele is already fairly crowded, since the seated figure of Korallion occupies nearly half of it. And yet, the sculptor did not omit the beloved pet dog of the deceased, finding a way to portray it in the very limited free space beside her feet. A grave stele in Athens depicts the deceased female in the company of her Melitaean (**Fig. 18**).[66] She is shown seated, looking at the small canine standing before her with a smile on her face. As we have already mentioned, these small dogs were normally associated with the wealthy elite who could afford to keep pets. The presence of Melitaeans on funerary reliefs is therefore indicative of the deceased persons' social status, but at the same time we cannot ignore the evident connection between human and canine, the companionship and affection they share with one another. Similarly, the hounds accompanying male figures on funerary reliefs function as symbols of the hunt and markers of high social status, since hunting is a favorite activity of the Athenian elite,[67] but they are also faithful companions of the deceased males. Thus, a youth named Aristeides is portrayed holding a bird and accompanied by his hound, which is shown

[64] Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 694 / I 281: CAT 4.420.
[65] Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 688: CAT 4.415.
[66] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 882: CAT 1.190.
[67] Rawlings 2011 (esp. 150-153); MacKinnon 2014, 205.

standing beside its young master, turning its head to look at the bird.[68] An unfortunately damaged grave stele preserves a standing young man holding a strigil that marks him as an athlete in one lowered hand and a bird in the other.[69] His hound stands next to him, fully focused on the bird. One is here reminded of the children teasing their pet Melitaeans with the birds they hold. A marble funerary lekythos bearing a family scene depicts a hound accompanying the young brother of the deceased maiden.[70] The boy extends his hand towards his dog, but it is not clear whether he is holding a bird or not. Regardless of this, the playful mood between the two is undeniable. The hound's presence in this scene is of course a sign of the family's social status, but the bond between the boy and his dog is equally obvious. On another marble funerary lekythos, two bearded men are shaking hands and a hound is portrayed raised on its hind legs behind the standing male figure (**Fig. 19**)[71]. The dog is about to jump at the man in the loving and playful way of canines greeting their humans. The mere presence of the hound is indicative of the man's social position, but the manner in which the sculptor has chosen to depict the dog reveals the relationship between human and canine.

Finally, the grave stele of Eutamia in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (**Figs. 20a-b**)[72] portrays the deceased woman seated, accompanied by a servant-maid holding a bird and what looks like a bird-cage. On top of the stele, below the name inscription and over the sculpted scene, a female hound is carved standing in profile to the right. Remarkably, the deceased's name, Eutamia, means 'good housewife'; since, as it has already been mentioned, a good wife and mother is likened to a female dog in the ancient texts, the female hound's presence on this funerary relief is an obvious symbol of Eutamia's loyalty and dedication to her *oikos*, as a good housewife.

[68] Geneva, Ortiz Coll.: CAT 1.227.
[69] Chalkis, Archaeological Museum 4758: CAT 1.348.
[70] Malibu, G.P. Getty Museum 73.AA.132.1: CAT 3.876.
[71] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1071: CAT 2.411a.
[72] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 911: CAT 1.692.

All the images we have seen so far depict dogs in a very positive light. They are shown hunting, guarding, being pets or status symbols, providing companionship and affection for humans. What about the negative aspects we find in the ancient texts? Do they also appear in Athenian art?

The ancient authors may be frequently referring to canines being gluttonous and resorting to food theft, but there are no actual depictions of such behaviour in art. Dogs are only occasionally portrayed with a bone in their mouths, chewing bones or eating pieces of meat, often in symposium scenes.[73] It is clear that these were offered to them by humans and there is no indication whatsoever that they may have been stolen by the dogs. To the extent of my knowledge, there is not a single depiction of a dog stealing food or attempting to do so in Athenian art. A black-figure olpe in Heidelberg showing two men butchering meat in the presence of two dogs, one of which is portrayed lying on the ground eating a piece of meat, has been interpreted by some scholars as depicting a dog that has just stolen some food.[74] However, there is no iconographical evidence suggesting that the dog has stolen the meat and is not just eating a piece that happened to fall on the ground by accident. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the men may have been tossing any undesirable pieces of meat such as fat or bone to the dogs, since they were useless to them.

This brings us to the canine love of raw meat, the fear of dogs suddenly turning wild and attacking humans, the corpse-eating canines and the references to the dog as *laithargos*, unpredictable.[75] There are no depictions of dogs eating corpses in Athenian art and I am not aware of any in ancient Greek art. This kind of horror was never described by ancient authors and it is not surprising that it was never shown in art, either. As a rule, wild or aggressive dogs do

[73] For example, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 86332: *CVA*, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5, 34-35, fig. 11, Pls. (3132-3133) 45.1-2, 46.1-3 (BAPD 303004); Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional L65: *CVA*, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 1, IIIHE.8, PLS. (39-40) 21.3A-B, 22.1-2 (BAPD 305509); Zurich, University: BAPD 330144; Dunedin, Otago Museum E48.226: *CVA*, New Zealand, New Zealand Collections 1, 13, Pl. 17 (BAPD 302889).
[74] Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität 253: *CVA*, Heidelberg, Universität 1: 64, Pl. (473) 39.3 (BAPD 10598). See Mitchell 2009, 57-58.
[75] *Supra* pp. 52-53 and note 14.

not appear in non-mythological scenes. Unique is the case of a red-figure chous portraying a youth and an animal that looks like a large dog, having grabbed the youth's mantle with its teeth.[76] It has been suggested that the dog is perhaps attacking the youth or even that it is not a dog, but one of the *Keres*, the spirits or souls wandering around the city during the Anthesteria, the Athenian festival with which vases like this one were associated.[77] Of course, if the creature shown on this chous is one of the *Keres*, then we are not really talking about an actual dog. We have already seen several miniature choes depicting children happily playing with their pet dogs. Thus, another possible interpretation of this unusual scene is perhaps that of a dog tugging the mantle of his young master in a playful manner. As anyone who has experience with dogs knows, most canines enjoy playing tug, but they can quickly and easily get overexcited. Clearly, we can only speculate on what the artist intended to show when painting the vase, but even if we consider this image to be a depiction of an aggressive dog attacking a youth, it still is one scene among over 1,400 images of non-aggressive, friendly dogs accompanying humans in Athenian art.

Images of aggressive dogs in mythological scenes are typical for depictions of Aktaion on Athenian vases (**Fig. 21**). According to the well-known myth, the young Theban hunter was transformed into a stag by Artemis, as a punishment for the fact that he had seen her naked taking her bath or because he had boasted that he was more skilled in the hunt than the goddess.[78] Aktaion was killed by his very own hounds that instantly attacked the stag tearing it apart, no longer able to recognize their master. The iconography of the myth in Athenian vase-painting is fairly standardized: the hero is shown attacked and bitten by his hounds, always in the presence of Artemis.[79] Even though he is normally portrayed in human form, some vase-painters chose to

[76] Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese RC7461: Van Hoorn 1951, no. 949, fig. 27 (BAPD 15903).
[77] Van Hoorn 1951, 21-22 and 1953, 107; Beaumont 2015, 80. For the Keres, see Garthwaite 2010. On the Anthesteria, see note 50.
[78] Eur. *Bacch*. 337-340, 1291; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.30-32.
[79] For examples, see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 882: *CVA*, Athens, National Museum 6, 113-114, Pl. (850) 67.1-5 (BAPD 305378); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.185: Barringer 2001, fig. 133, fig. 74 (BAPD 206276); Paris, Louvre G 224: *CVA*, Paris, Louvre 6, III.IC.33-34, Pls. (421-423) 42.9, 43.3-5, 44.3.8.10 (BAPD 202576).

partly depict his transformation into a stag. On three red-figure vases, a calyx krater fragment and two bell kraters, the young man has sprouted a pair of antlers, as well as pointy ears (**Fig. 22**).[80] A red-figure neck-amphora in Hamburg portrays a different stage of the transformation: there are no antlers, but Aktaion is partly covered with a dappled deer skin which includes the head and legs of the animal.[81] The presence of Artemis serves as a reminder that it was the punishment of the goddess that led to Aktaion's death and the vases showing the hunter's transformation emphasize the fact that he would have never been attacked by his own hounds, had he not been transformed into a stag. In that respect, it is important to take a closer look at the red-figure bell krater by the Lykaon Painter (**Fig. 22**), as besides depicting Artemis transforming Aktaion into a deer, the painter has also provided another reason for the hounds' attack against their master: a strange female figure shown in close proximity to Aktaion is portrayed with a small canine head on top of her human head (**Fig. 23**). The name inscription 'LYSA' above the canine head allows for the identification of this unusual figure as a personification of rabies. Clearly, the Lykaon Painter wished to provide an additional explanation for the behavior of the hounds, attributing their lethal attack to canine madness caused by disease.[82] The admiration for canine loyalty and love that is revealed in the ancient texts, obviously made the idea of dogs attacking and ripping their own master apart particularly unpleasant and difficult to accept, even in the world of Greek myths where virtually anything can happen. This is reflected in Athenian depictions of the myth, reminding the viewer that it was the punishment of the goddess or even rabies that led to Aktaion's horrific death, since the notion of a canine willingly attacking its own master seems unthinkable in the post-Homeric times.

[80] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V 289: *CVA*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 22, Pl. (117) 25.6 (BAPD 213566); Atlanta, Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2000.6.1: *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. Artemis, no. 1398, pl. 561 (BAPD 15540); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346: Barringer 2001, 136, fig. 76 (BAPD 213562 – **Fig. 22**).

[81] Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1966.34: *LIMC* I (1981), s.v. Aktaion, no. 27, pl. 350 (BAPD 352495). Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.760: Digital *LIMC* no. 29973 (BAPD 206295).

[82] A similar explanation is put forth by Pausanias (9.2.4.1-2).

An exceptional scene decorating a red-figure cup by the Triptolemos Painter depicts the training of a hound on the exterior.[83] A youth is teaching his hound to give paw, while another young male is watching them with interest. The hound is portrayed obediently performing the timeless trick, which is still part of modern canine training—a simple google search can prove its popularity. One would think all is fine with this well-trained dog, but the pair appears again in the cup's interior and this time we are presented with an entirely different image: the hound is actually shown biting the youth, while at the same time defecating! And even though a biting dog is no joke, the fact that it is defecating clearly indicates that this is a humorous situation. After all, this is a drinking cup that would have been used in the symposium and when the wine was drained from the cup, the image of the unruly hound would appear. In the jovial atmosphere of the symposium, this unique scene would have seemed more entertaining than threatening.

A black-figure pelike in Florence depicts the interior of an oil merchant's shop (**Fig. 24**).[84] An array of vases is visible on the ground, consisting of a large pelike flanked by four lekythoi. Two hounds are shown fighting near the vases, having broken the foot of one lekythos and knocked over a second one. Their master is shouting and threatening them with a stick, trying to stop the dogfight before any more damage occurs to his merchandise. Fighting is a natural canine behaviour that occurs fairly often for a number of reasons. These dogs cannot be truly described as aggressive. They present no threat to the merchant or any other human. As a matter of fact, it is the man who is brandishing a stick in a menacing manner. The scene is clearly humorous and there is nothing in it to indicate a fear for the wild and unpredictable nature of dogs.

According to the ancient texts, dogs were also considered shameless, impudent and sexually licentious. The only example of a sexually licentious canine in Athenian art I am aware of is a very unusual scene of a dog and a man in an erotic position incised on a black-glaze stand from

[83] Former Hunt Collection 11: Pevnick 2014, 155-156, 162, figs. 1-3, pl.21C (BAPD 8843). The vase is unprovenanced and linked to the Geneva Seizure of 1995: *Archaeology* Online features, September 2998. https://archive.archaeology.org/online/features/geneva/ (last accessed on 29.03.2024).
[84] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 72732: Oakley 2020, 63, figs. 2.18A-B (BAPD 9458).

the Athenian Agora, discovered during the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[85] This is a unique and extraordinary depiction, since not even mating canines are being shown in Athenian sculpture and vase-painting. As for the shameless behaviour and impudence of which dogs are accused by ancient authors, the only artistic depictions that come to mind are three vases depicting defecating canines. One of them we have already seen, the Triptolemos Painter cup with the biting defecating canine. The second one, a black-figure cup attributed to the Amasis Painter, portrays two naked bearded revelers lying on their backs, masturbating.[86] A defecating dog is shown beneath each handle. Clearly, it is not the canines that would be labeled as 'shameless' or 'sexually licentious' in this particular scene. The third vase, a black-figure droop cup in Athens, is decorated with a very lively symposium scene on each side.[87] Three dogs appear on this cup, but only one of them is depicted defecating under the handle. Once again, the image is humorous and certainly not unsuitable for the liberated atmosphere of the symposium. Finally, there are no depictions of female dogs associated with Clytemnestra, Helen or other shameless female figures in Athenian art.

In conclusion, the duality of ancient views concerning canines is only observed in the texts. Ancient authors praise the usefulness, value, intelligence, good nature, and above all the undying loyalty of dogs and the powerful love they feel for their masters. At the same time, they accuse canines of being gluttonous and prone to food theft, shameless, impudent, sexually licentious, unpredictable and even potentially dangerous. Female dogs are models of motherhood and fertility symbols, but also associated with some of the most notorious females of Greek mythology. However, the positive canine aspects prevail upon the negative ones in the ancient texts. Athenian sculpture and vase-painting of the Archaic and Classical periods only depict positive images of dogs and their relationship with humans. The very small number of scenes

[85] Athens, Agora Museum P 27698: Lang, *Agora* 21, nos. C 15, M 9, pp. 13, 94, pls. 4, 61.
[86] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.651: *CVA*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2, 43-44, Pls. (934-935) 100.5, 101.1-4 (BAPD 310515).
[87] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 359: *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 3, 5051, Pls. (138-139) 40-41 (BAPD 43016).

showing aggressive or defecating dogs are either mythological or humorous. Canines are therefore portrayed as valuable collaborators in hunting and herding animals, tomb guards, symbols of high status and wealth, cherished pets, faithful and devoted companions for males and females of all ages. The examination of textual and iconographical evidence reveals that the Athenians of that time were well aware of the negative canine traits that might occasionally prove disruptive to the symbiosis between humans and dogs, but considered the advantages of keeping dogs to greatly outweigh any difficulties presented by the animal’s natural instincts. The many stories praising canine loyalty narrated by ancient authors and the very large number of scenes portraying dogs faithfully accompanying humans in so many aspects of their everyday life indicate that the affectionate relationship dogs are capable of forging with humans played an important role in the way the ancient Athenians viewed and depicted them.

Appendix

Fig. 1 - Attic red-figure askos, ca. 430 BC. Athens, Agora Museum P5330. Photo and copyright: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (http://www.agathe.gr).

Fig. 2: Detail of Attic red-figure volute krater, ca. 390-380 BC. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, 87.AE.93 Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Fig. 3: Attic black-figure volute krater (Francois vase), ca. 570-560 BC. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209. Photo: courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Florence (Regional Directorate of Tuscany Museums). Image reproduction is strictly prohibited.

Fig. 4a: Attic red-figure vase shaped like a cow's hoof, ca. 470-460 BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fletcher Fund, 1938), inv. no. 38.11.2. Photo: www.metmuseum.org.

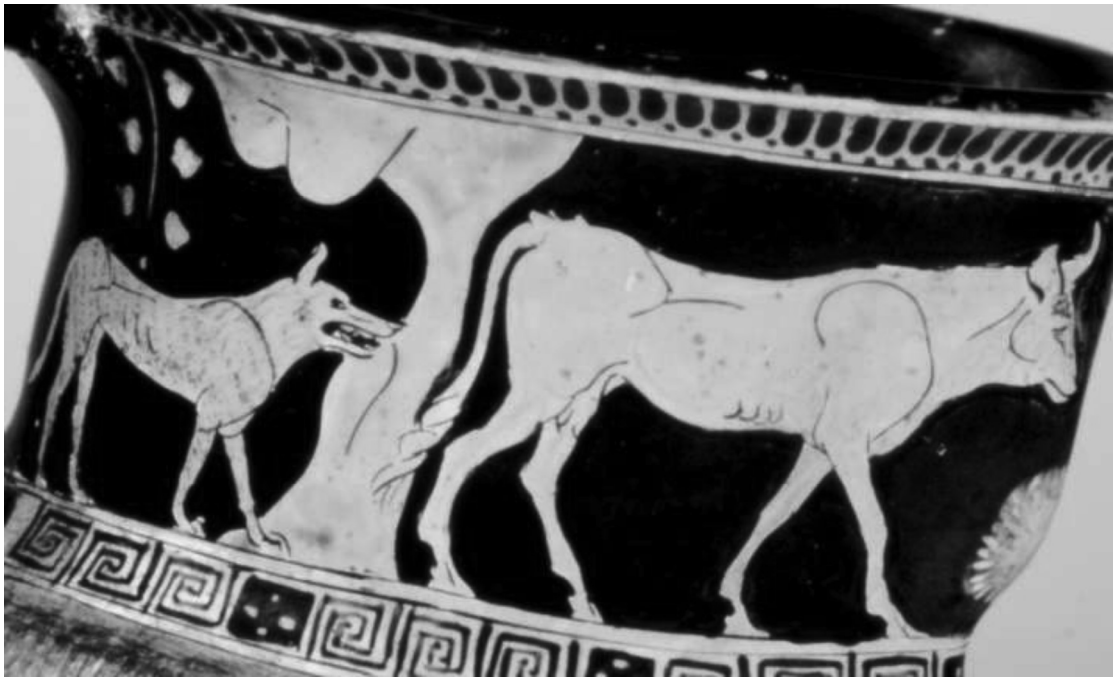


Fig. 4b: Detail of Attic red-figure vase shaped like a cow's hoof, ca. 470-460 BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fletcher Fund, 1938), inv. no. 38.11.2. Photo: www.metmuseum.org.

Fig. 5: Funerary statue of a Molossian from the Kerameikos cemetery, second half of the 4th cent. BC. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P670. Photo: Ephorate of the Antiquities of the City of Athens, Ministry of Culture.

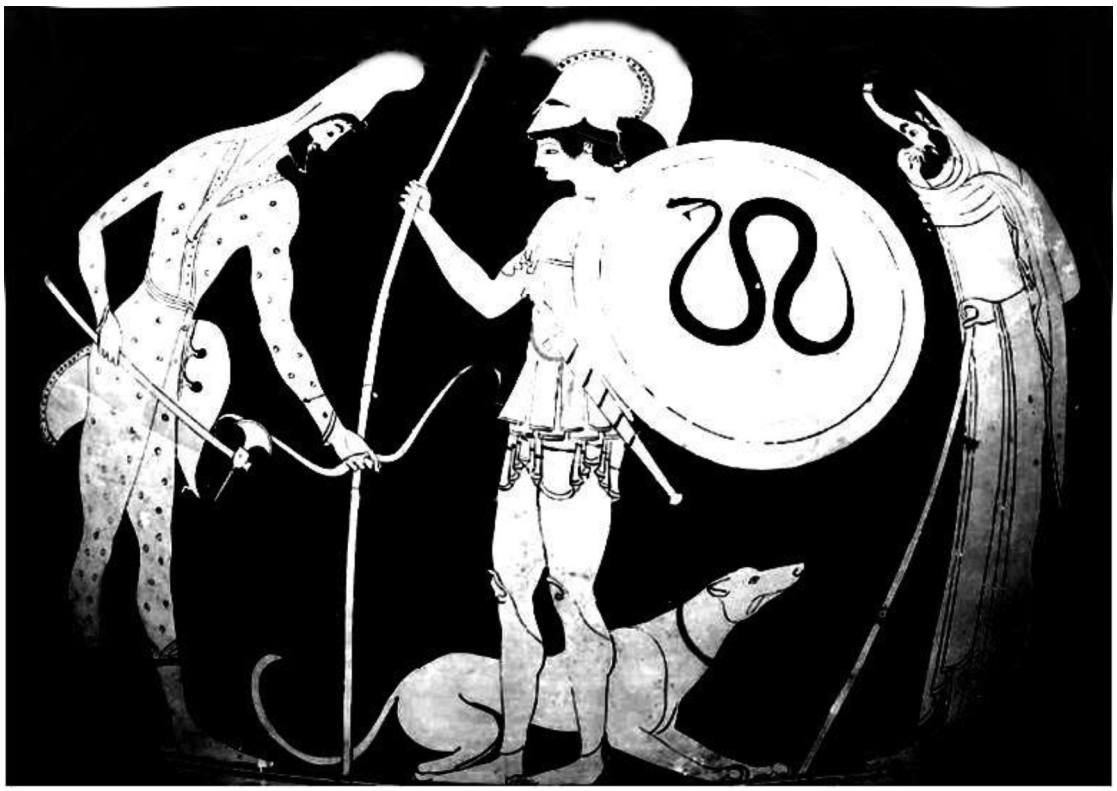


Fig. 6: Attic red-figure amphora, ca. 510-500 BC. London, British Museum E448. Sketch: Katia Margariti.

Fig. 7: Attic black-figure hydria, ca. 510 BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fletcher Fund, 1956), inv. no. 56.171.29. Photo: www.metmuseum.org.

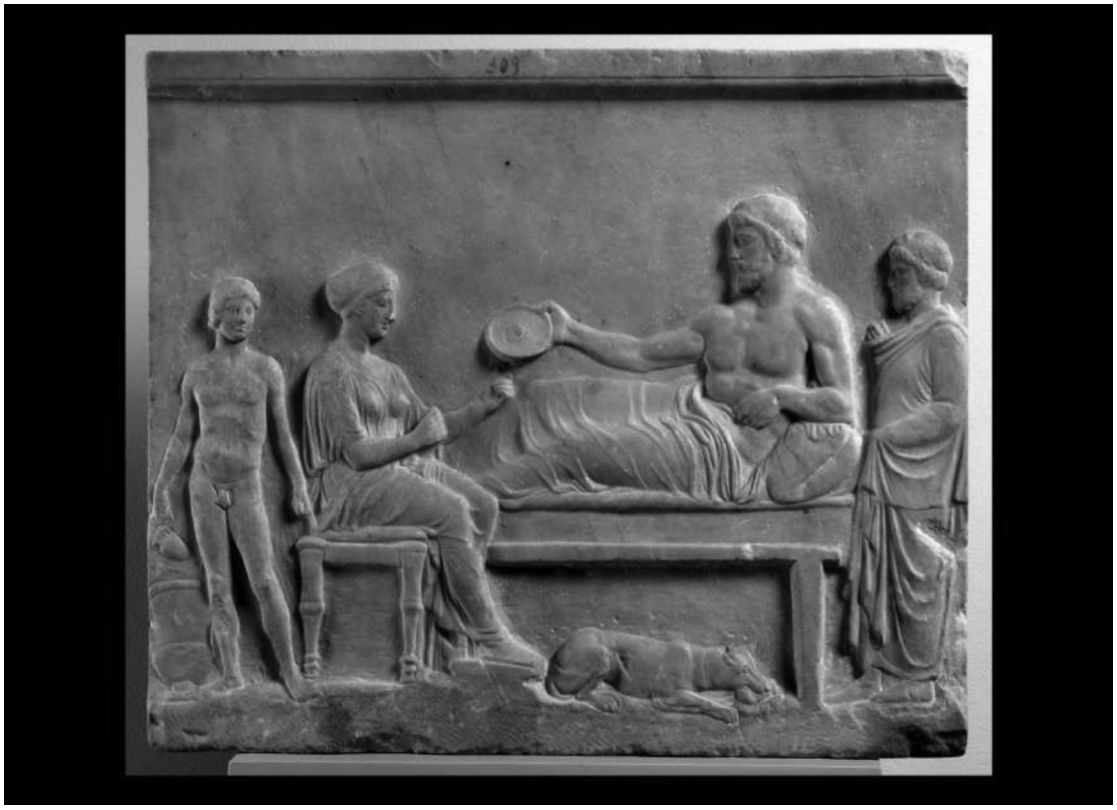


Fig. 8a: Banquet relief, late 5th cent. BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1501. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Kostas Xenikakis).

Fig. 8b: Detail of banquet relief, late 5th cent. BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1501. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Kostas Xenikakis).

Fig. 9: Melitaean. Detail from Attic grave stele, second half of the 4th cent. BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3249. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSUEUM (photo: Katia Margariti).

Fig. 10: Attic red-figure hydria, ca. 480 BC. Berlin, Antikensammlung F2178. Sketch: Katia Margariti.

Fig. 11: Attic red-figure cup, 500-450 BC. Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia (BAPD 203960). Drawing after Gerhard, E. (1858), *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*: *hauptsächlich Etruskischen Fundorts*, Vol. 4, Berlin.

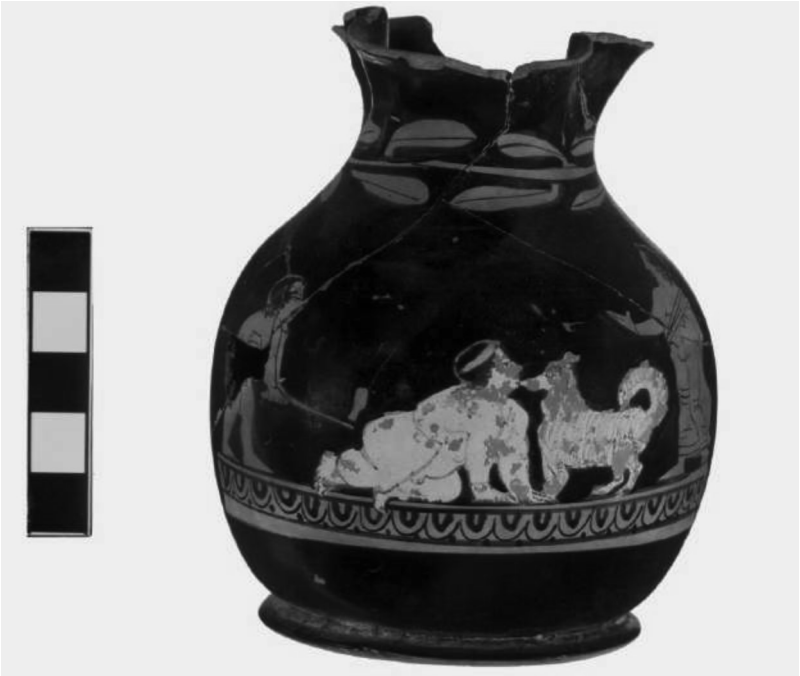


Fig. 12: Attic red-figure chous, end of 5th cent. BC. Athens, Agora Museum P 20090. Photo and copyright: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (http://www.agathe.gr).

Fig. 13: Attic black-figure amphora, ca. 540-530 BC. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 344. Drawing after Furtwängler, A. and K. Reichhold (1932), *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich.

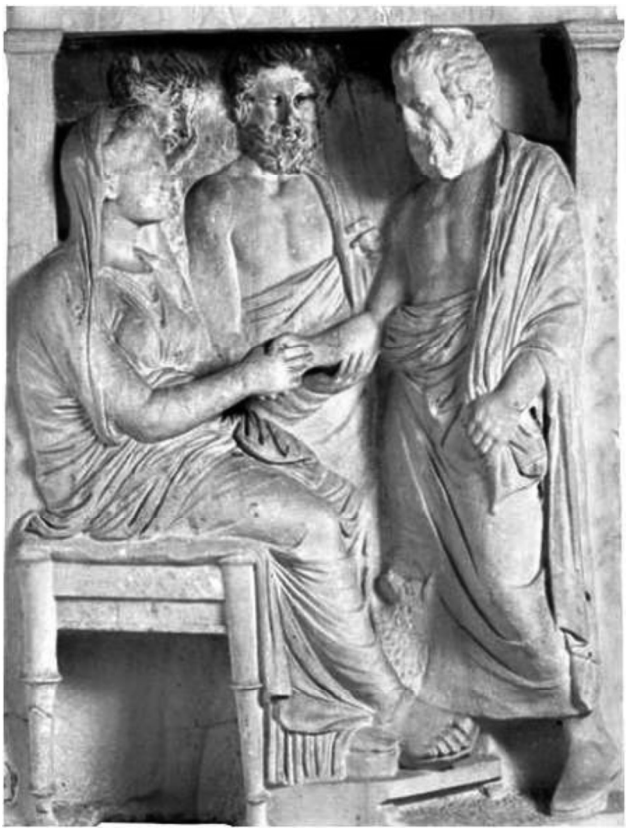
Fig. 14: Attic grave stele of Pamphilos, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1980. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Dimitrios Gialouris).

Figs. 15a-b: Attic grave stele of a young girl, 'Melisto', 350-320 B.C. Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Sackler Art Museum 1961.86. Photo: Harvard Art Museums / Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing and Gifts for Special Uses Funds in memory of Katherine Brewster Taylor, as a tribute to her many years at the Fogg Museum, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Detail of Attic grave stele of a young girl, 'Melisto' (above).

Figs. 16a-b: Attic grave stele of Eukoline, second half of the 4th cent BC. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 694 / I 281. Photo: Ephorate of the Antiquities of the City of Athens, Ministry of Culture.

Detail of Attic grave stele of Eukoline



Figs. 17a-b: Attic grave stele of Korallion, third quarter of the 4th cent. BC. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 688. Photo: Ephorate of the Antiquities of the City of Athens, Ministry of Culture.

Detail of Attic grave stele of Korallion

Fig. 18: Attic grave stele of a woman, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 882. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Tasos Vrettos).

Fig. 19: Attic marble lekythos, second half of the 4th cent. BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1071. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

Figs. 20a-b: Attic grave stele of Eutamia, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 911. Photo: National Archaeological Museum. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Tasos Vrettos).

Detail of Attic grave stele of Eutamia

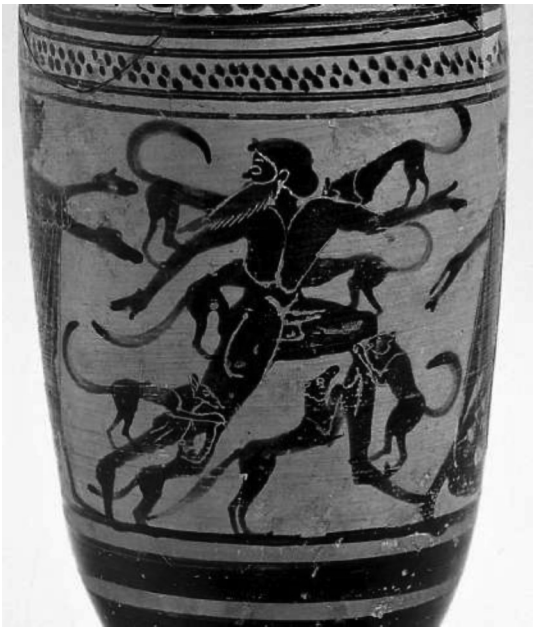


Fig. 21: Attic black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 883. MINISTRY OF CULTURE - © NATIONAL ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (photo: Kostas Xenikakis).

Fig. 22: Attic red-figure bell krater, ca. 440 BC. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346. Sketch: Katia Margariti.

Fig. 23: Detail of Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346 (Fig. 21). Sketch: Katia Margariti.

Fig. 24: Attic black-figure pelike, ca. 520-500 BC. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 72732. Sketch: Katia Margariti.

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