



EOS AND THE YOUTH: A CASE OF INVERTED ROLES IN RAPE*

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ABSTRACT

This article examines scenes of Eos pursuing/abducting youths on 5th-century Athenian vases. Eos, the personification of Dawn, is the only woman assuming the role of a pursuer in rape. The theme strangely becomes very popular with vase painters to a degree comparable to ephebes pursuing a woman. The iconography of the scenes is systematically analysed and evaluated. All theories explaining the popularity of the theme from its presumable use as a parable for death are considered. Eos is moreover compared to other winged figures in pursuit that are popular in the same period, especially Sphinx and Eros. Conversely, it is illustrated how Eos' pursuits of youths are thoroughly coined on the same model as ephebe rape scenes. These may have been so popular because they expressed prevalent social notions about how women, like animals, would need subduing/taming by the ephebe, future citizen hunters, before they could assume their appropriate place in society. With Eos the hunter becomes the prey of a wild woman, who has transgressed the control limits set by the social system. Eos is promoted as the ultimate model of what a woman should not be.

KEYWORDS: Rape, pursuit, hunting, ephebes, bestial, role inversion, transgression

* Whenever *LIMC* appears throughout this article it refers to *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos", 747-89. All other *lemmata* are appropriately specified. All cited vases are attic red-figured, unless otherwise stated. Vases (or other monuments) are reported by the number by which they have been recorded in *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos", or alternatively, when not listed in *LIMC*, by their *ARV*² publication (when attic red-figured), or their museum catalogue number, or their record number in the databases of the Beazley Archive, Oxford. Specific reference to a photographic source is only made when no illustration is available in the corresponding *LIMC* plate volume.

“Cruel are ye, o ye gods, and quick to envy above all others, seeing that ye begrudge goddesses that they should mate with men openly, if any takes a mortal as her dear bed-fellow. Thus, when rosy-fingered Dawn took to herself Orion ye gods that live at ease begrudged her” (Hom. *Od.* 5.118-122)

INTRODUCTION: RAPE, PURSUIT AND ABDUCTION

Rape is a phenomenon of all times and of diverse societies that typically involves the sexual violation of a woman by a man. This is the standard pattern, conforming to all the notions surrounding the social subordination of women, as well as to a realistic requirement for physical supremacy.

Greek myth tells about women who fall in love and may go to great lengths to satisfy their passion. Helen, Medea, Hippodameia defy the strong bonds of family. The goddess of love herself, Aphrodite, is the model of a successful pursuer; she goes on to claim the most beautiful men to be her lovers like Adonis, Phaon and Kinyras and even tricks Anchises into succumbing to her.ⁱ She is also known to avenge herself by inspiring uncontrollable erotic passion in women, like Phaidra, in her disastrous love for her stepson Hippolytusⁱⁱ or, at its worst, the nymphomaniac Eos. Her nymphomania is actually Aphrodite's doing who punishes Eos for having bedded with her lover Ares, by making her constantly fall in love with beautiful youths (Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.4.4; Preller and Robert 1860, 441; Fontenrose 1981, 6). Eos is very special in that she actually goes beyond freely expressing her sexuality or taking the initiative and making advances. She abducts any man

that arouses her desire and in this she becomes a virtual rapist.

In their visual representations of rape the Greeks persistently avoided the sexual part and opted for the moment prior to it, the pursuit or the abduction of the victim. We find a similar preference for the moment of seizing in language as well. There is no other more specific term than *αρπαγή* or *βία*. The impression that we get is that the focus is on the manifestation of power (Cohen 1996, 119).

The abduction theme is common in various periods and contexts but it appears with emphatic frequency in the vase painting of Classical Athens, in the form of gods or heroes pursuing both named and anonymous women. It should be noted that mythological rape scenes of all kinds much more frequently take the form of pursuit rather than of abduction. Pursuit offers itself to illustrate and emphasize the resistance of the pursued.ⁱⁱⁱ

Divine pursuits start as early as the beginning of the fifth century and are a feature of its first half. We mostly find the two major gods, the notoriously licentious Zeus and Poseidon, after a young man or a young woman (figure 1a-b).

Scenes of divine rape are by far outnumbered by representations of ephebes in pursuit of a woman. These first appear in the Late Archaic period and soon become very popular with Early Classical vase painters. They remain equally popular in the High Classical period, when we do not find as many divine pursuits, but seem to be abandoned in the Late Classical period. In the mythological prototype of these scenes, the pursuer is Theseus. Although the theme was probably introduced to serve Kimon's political pur-

poses (to promote Theseus), the mythological narrative demonstrably soon faded into numerous generic representations, which expressed popular social perceptions of the time about men and especially women (Dipla 2004, 1).

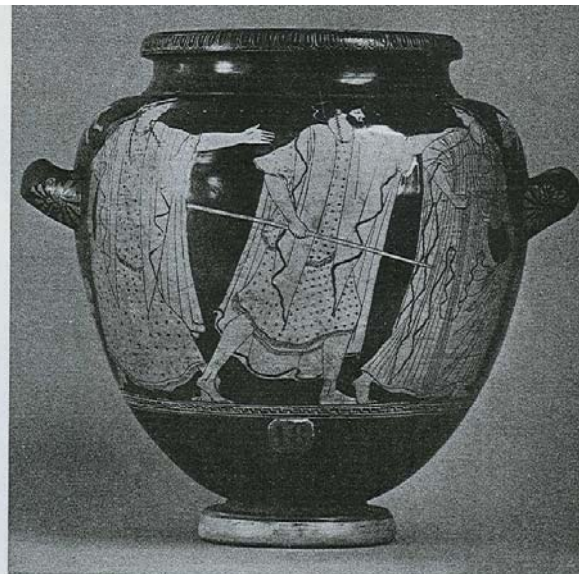
Amid all these rapes, Eos stands out for a variety of reasons. First, she is the

only woman assuming such a role. Moreover, her rapes of youths become immensely popular with vase painters of the Classical period, to a degree comparable or overall even greater than ephebe pursuits.



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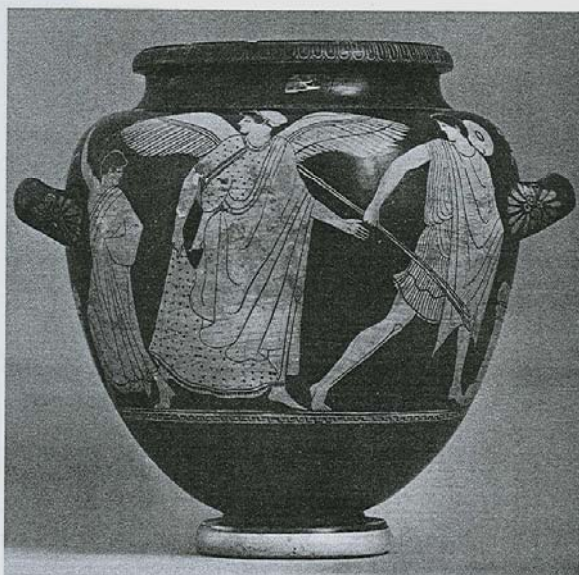


Figure 1a-d. Red-figure stamnos, Rouen, Mus. Des Ant. 18, ARV² 259.2, LIMC no. 50. Copenhagen Painter, about 480-70 B.C. Side A. Zeus pursues Aigina. Side B. Eos pursues "Kephalos". Altars, Erotes. (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 13.1-4)

EOS AND THE YOUTH: FROM TRAGIC MOTHER TO UNBRIDLED LOVER

Eos is the personification of Dawn. The daughter of the Titans Hyperion and Theia, the sister of Helios and Selene, and by Astraios the mother of the Winds and the Stars, Eos holds a prominent place in the world of celestial beings. Like Helios she flies in her chariot over Okeanos to dissolve the darkness of the night and bring the new light of each day (Preller and Robert 1860, 440-1; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2658; Weiss, *LIMC*, 748-9, 789). Representations of Eos setting off in her chariot for her daily journey across the vaults of heaven, which emphasise her cosmic persona, belong to the fifth century, especially the second half.^{iv} The archaic iconography of Eos is strongly associated with her son Memnon.



Figure 2. Black-figure lekythos, London, BM 1910.4-15.2, *LIMC* no. 331. Diosphos Painter, about 500-475 B.C. Eos carries off dead Memnon. (Photo reprinted from *LIMC*, pl. 582)

When he was engaged in a combat with Achilles during the Trojan War Thetis and Eos rushed to Zeus who weighed their destinies. We find Eos in this scene pleading for the life of her son, or rushing to the aid of Memnon on the battlefield, and after Memnon's death retrieving his body and rushing off with it in her arms (*LIMC*, 779, 785-787 nos. 293-33; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2660-2; here figure 2).

These themes are not ignored in the fifth century either, especially during the first quarter, but they are by far out shadowed by the immense new interest of the time in Eos' love adventures. We could say that as we proceed from the sixth to the fifth century, Eos transforms herself from the tragic mother to the unbridled lover. The same old scheme of the mother carrying the body of her dead son in mourning seems to have served actually as the model to depict the snatching of the boy-prey (Moret 1984, 28). This change can be partly ascribed to the general tendency of fifth century red-figure to move away from epic themes and seek for the human element in known myths. Scenes of the mother's lamentation, however, which are human in an essential way, should by the same token remain popular in the Classical period. When, on the other hand, one compares the extent of the popularity of Eos as "rapist" of youths, an aspect of her persona related to her sexuality, one suspects that this shift of emphasis goes beyond a change of taste. There must be something essentially attractive about the idea of the woman rapist which Eos exemplifies, that draws all this attention to this part of the goddess's life

In Athens representations of Eos chasing a youth number some 190 sur-

viving representations, almost all on vases.^v The youths whom she chases are unmistakably portrayed as ephebes engaged in activities associated with two fundamental areas of Athenian education; training in the countryside as hunters (Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 17-8, 62 n. 111.), when dressed in *chlamys*, *petasos* (or *pilos*) and high boots, armed with spears, club or *lagobolon* and, occasionally accompanied by a dog (figures 1 a and d, 3, 4);^{vi} attending lessons of *mousike* at school, in their *himation* only

and holding a lyre (figures 5, 6), or, exceptionally, an *aulos*, and rarely a lesson of *grammatike* (Beck 1975, 14-6, 23-4, when holding a *diptychon*.^{vii} Age is variable. Generally, however, the hunter appears to be older, a youth rather like a boy (figures 1 a and d, 4), and that has to do more with his maturity, his growth and less with his size: in some cases he may be fully grown but still depicted at a smaller scale than Eos (figure 3).^{viii}



Figure 3. Red-figure krater, Paris, Cab. Méd. 423, ARV².1055.72, LIMC no. 100. Group of Polygnotos, about 450-440 B.C. Eos (inscr. ΕΩΣ) pursues Kephalos (inscr. ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ); fleeing companion (inscr. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ). (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.5.)

The “schoolboy” can have the appearance of a grown youth likewise (figure 5), but he is often portrayed also as a little boy (figure 6).^{ix} In a small group of examples, Eos is after a youth who does not bear any attributes. His dress, however, the *himation* worn (or wrapped) alone, is traditionally that of a schoolboy (figure 7; Beck 1975, 14-6, 23-4.); or otherwise, he is normally of a maturer age, rather like the hunter.^x

Anyway, as we will see, apart from an interest to portray him distinctly as an Athenian ephebe, the particular identity of the pursued youth does not seem to be important. The moment of pursuit is given clear preference. Abduction scenes are extremely rare, chronologically scattered and they appropriately involve the more manageable schoolboy (figure 6).^{xi}



Figure 4. Red-figure krater, Bologna, Mus. Civ. D.L. 85, ARV² 537.10, LIMC no. 65. Boreas Painter, about 470-460 B.C. Eos pursues "Kephalos" who threatens her with his club; man with staff. (Photo reprinted from LIMC, pl. 566)

All three main categories (after a hunter, after a schoolboy, after a youth with no particular attributes but probably a schoolboy) have examples from the Late Archaic down to the Late Classical period but with a period of concentration in the second and third quarter of the fifth century. The Late Archaic, which marks the beginning of appearance of the scenes, has few examples and there is an impressive decline in the Late Classical period, with the exception of the hunter who still appears in a notable number of representations. The schoolboy is significantly more popular in the Early Classical period but the hunter takes over in popularity in the High Classical period and is also the one who survives into the Late Classical. The youth without attributes is the least popular in all periods.

If ephebes do identify with Theseus and, shown as pursuers, express popular social notions about male-female interaction, how can one account for the

popularity of a theme overturning so drastically these notions? Apart from their vast popularity, both themes remain popular well into the Classical period. When compared with the erotic pursuits of ephebes, the inversion of roles by Eos seems even more thorough, since it is actually an ephebe, emphatically presented as such, that Eos rapes. In a popular medium like vase painting, clarifying the reasons behind this apparently intentional contrasting parallelism, could bear interesting results.

EOS' ABDUCTEES: A MATTER OF BLURRED IDENTITY

In the literary sources Eos is reported as the abductress of four youths, all famous for their outstanding beauty: two hunters, Orion and Kephalos, the Trojan prince Tithonos, and one Kleitos of whom we know only that Eos, in love once again, took him to live among the immortals (Hom. *Od.* 15.249-51; Ath.

12.566D; Preller and Robert 1860, 441; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2665; Fontenrose 1981, 130, 140 n. 42).

Orion, however, did not have such a happy end; Eos carried him off to Delos to stay with her as her lover, but in doing so she caused the indignation of the gods until Artemis killed him. After his death Zeus placed him in the sky as a constellation (Hom. *Od.* 5.121-4; Euphorion, 103; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2662; Apollod. *Bibl.*, 1.4.3-5; Fontenrose 1981, 5-6, 12-3, 15-6, 100).

The story of the Athenian Kephalos' abduction has close similarities to that of Orion: they were both devoted hunters and most handsome among mortals, which aroused Eos' passion. Kephalos was the son of Pandion, or Hermes and Herse or Kreusa, eponymous hero of the demos Kephale and progenitor of the clan of Kephalids (*RE* 11 s.v. "Kephalos", 217-8; he is also made the son of Deion, the king of Phocis). He had already been married to Prokris, when Eos snatched him to share her bed for a while before returning him to his wife. This abduction does not result in death, at least not Kephalos' own, but has destructive consequences directly or indirectly on the trust between Kephalos and Prokris: after Kephalos' return either one attempts to try the other's fidelity with results ranging from proven would-be adultery to Prokris' accidental death. In any case, from this union with Kephalos, Eos gives birth to a son, sometimes named Phaethon, sometimes Tithonos (Hes. *Theog.*, 985-7; Eur. *Hipp.* 454-7; Xen. *Cyn.* 1.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 189; Ov. *Met.* 7.700-42; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 41; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2662-5; Fontenrose 1981, 86-9, 97-8, 100, 102; Weiss, *LIMC*, 758).

Tithonos, however, is better known as the young Trojan, brother of Priam or

his father Laomedon, whom Eos abducted "in the prime of his beauty", and took to Ethiopia or to the fringes of Okeanos. He became her husband who fathered two sons, Emathion and the aforementioned Memnon. His fate was tragic in that Eos requested immortality for him from Zeus but forgot to ask for eternal youth (all basic details of the story can be found already in *Hom Hymn Ven.*, 218-38; Hom. *Il.* 11.1, *Od.* 5.1-2 and *schol.*; Hes. *Theog.*, 984 and *schol.*, 985; Mimn. *frg.* 4; Ibyc. *Schol.* ad Apollon.R. 3.158 and *frg.* 189; Eur. *Tro.* 847-58; Pindar, *Ol.* 2.184; Apollod, *Bibl.* 3.147; Preller and Robert 1860, 441-2; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2658-9; 6, s.v. "Tithonos", 1515-8; Weiss, *LIMC*, 758).

We noted that on Athenian vases Eos has either surprised a hunter or a schoolboy or a youth with no specific attributes. She usually reaches for him with outstretched arms or has already grabbed him.^{xii} The youths invariably try to avoid her embrace with reactions ranging from turning to go (figures 4, 5), to agitated walking away (figure 1 a and d), to alarmed running (figures 3, 7).^{xiii} They make a gesture of refusal, alarm or supplication, especially when Eos has already caught them, as in figure 6.^{xiv} Sometimes they resort to more drastic solutions, while always fleeing; they use their attributes, the hunters their weapons, the schoolboys their lyres, to attempt a blow at the pursuer (figures 4, 5).^{xv} Even the dog sometimes attacks the goddess.^{xvi} Resistance is even more pronounced than is normal in other scenes of amorous pursuit, especially divine pursuits. Such defence is rare, but it appears with some frequency in the Late Classical examples of the pursued hunter, and generally more often in the second half of the fifth cen-

ture.^{xvii} It recurs within the Group of Polygnotos, in scenes of pursuit of both

the hunter and the "schoolboy".



Figure 5. Red-figure skyphos, Paris, Cab. Méd. 846, ARV² 1050.1, LIMC no. 182. Pantoxena Painter, about 450-440 B.C.. Eos (inscr. ΗΩΣ) has grabbed Tithonos (inscr. ΤΙΘΩΝΟΣ) who threatens her with his lyre; two fleeing companions (inscr. ΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΣ, ΠΙΠΙΑΜΟΣ), the former is portrayed as a hunter by conflation. (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.6)

We saw above that hunter, "school-boy", and unspecified youth can be found side by side in all periods when Eos rape myths appear in Athenian art. Furthermore, a comparison of the way in which Athenian vase painters have treated the myth reveals considerable variety. With the sole exception of the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, no painters have left us surviving examples in all three variants. They may frequently have examples of two of the three, usually hunter and "schoolboy", and they also quite often have more examples in one of these two, which may reveal some sort of preference, inasmuch as the limitations of preservation entitle us to any conclusions. The schoolboy seems to be popular with the

Penthesilea Painter and his Circle, while Polygnotos and his Group seem to prefer the hunter; both groups however have scattered examples of the other variants, as well. The Achilles Painter has left us many hunter scenes, but also a good number of schoolboy scenes. The same goes for the Niobid Painter on a smaller scale. The Pan Painter and the Mannerists, earlier and later, show a sustained interest in the myth.

Apart from vases, the theme in its abduction form may have been the subject of the akroteria of both the Stoa Basileios in the Agora^{xviii} and the temple of Athena-Nike on the Acropolis;^{xix} that would give us two large-scale, official representations in Athens.

The theme also occasionally appears outside Attica. The earliest surviving Greek representation might be on a Caeretan hydria of around 520 B.C.^{xx} where a woman with three pairs of wings pursues a youth. The subject may have appeared as early, if not earlier, on an Etruscan vase and the akroterion of the Hera temple in Caere.^{xxi} Around 500 B.C. on the throne of Apollo in Amyklai we learn from Pausanias that an Ionian artist, Bathykles from Magnesia, had depicted, among other scenes of divine amorous pursuit, that of Kephalos by Eos (3.18.12; probably an abduction scene, as Pausanias notes that “Kephalos is carried off by Day for the sake of his beauty”). From the same time dates a metope from the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros in Selinus, showing a winged woman who has already grabbed the youth whom she pursues.^{xxii} It seems therefore that the theme originated in works of Ionian tradition or influence which, by contrast to the Athenian distinct preference for the pursuit, favoured the moment of abduction (Scheffold and Jung 1981, 311-2) and did not care to specify the youth with any attributes. The difference manifests itself more clearly in the fifth century when the theme attracts huge interest in Athens in the form of pursuit while scattered Ionian examples of the same time persist in depicting the abduction.^{xxiii} A series of Melian reliefs of about 470-60 B.C. depict a winged woman abducting a protesting naked little boy,^{xxiv} rarely a youth.^{xxv} The same goes for a Greco-Scythian relief scene on a golden armband from Kul-Oba^{xxvi} and for the majority of Etruscan mirrors which take up the subject,^{xxvii} all dating from the second quarter of the fifth century. With the occasional exception, we

only find the pursuit on vases that follow the Attic model, as on a Corinthian vase^{xxviii} of the end of the fifth century. Scenes of Eos gaining on or just grabbing a youth draped in his *himation* recur with notable frequency and repetitiveness in the early work of the Pisticii Painter^{xxix} which is still under heavy Attic influence (Trendall 1989, 18). At the end of the fifth century the Mesagne Painter, from the Lucanian Workshop again, seems to follow closely the Attic tradition in his emphasis upon resistance of both the pursued and his companion.^{xxx} Thereafter Eos rapes do not reappear in any surviving Greek example, except on some Apulian vases^{xxxi} in the new form of abduction by chariot, probably developed to pass a new eschatological message at the time (Metzger 1951, 413-6). The Apulian vases date from the third quarter of the fourth century but the new notion must have been introduced earlier.^{xxxii}

Among the vast number of existing examples the cases where the youth is identified by inscription are very few and even then problematic. The hunter is named Kephalos in four cases (visible in figure 3)^{xxxiii} and the schoolboy is once identified as Tithonos, appropriately given as companions Priam and the founder of Troy Dardanos (figure 5). This led Beazley to recognize the hunters as Kephalos and the schoolboys as Tithonos (Beazley 1931, vol. 2, 37-8 no. 83). Vase painters however are not so keen on keeping the distinction clear. Thus in two abduction scenes, a schoolboy (with lyre, figure 6) and a boy (no attributes)^{xxxiv} are named Kephalos. While in the aforementioned single instance that the schoolboy is named Tithonos everything else seems appropriate, Dardanos is actually a hunter.

Likewise, on a crater by the Christie Painter the companion of the schoolboy is a hunter.^{xxxv} On a pelike by the Lykaon Painter the companion of the pursued hunter is named Tithonos.^{xxxvi} On a neck-amphora by Hermonax the fleeing companion of the hunter is a schoolboy.^{xxxvii} Whether this conflation of the two types is due to their parallel appearance or whether it suggests that the identity of the pursued is the same, at least in some cases, is impossible to say.



Figure 6. Red-figure lekythos, Madrid, Mus. Arch. 11158, ARV² 649.45, LIMC no. 268. Oionokles Painter, about 470 B.C. Eos abducts a boy with lyre that is, however, named ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ. (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.5)

Eos can be identified with certainty, on the basis of both the context (a woman chasing a youth, especially when a hunter) and the occasional inscriptions which consistently name her Eos (figures. 3, 5).^{xxxviii} The identity of the pursued is more blurred. It is safe to recognise in the hunter Kephalos since he was probably known as such and due to the consistency of few inscriptions which start as early as Douris and

persist as late as the Nicias Painter. As an Athenian hero he was also a more familiar figure. The schoolboy, on the other hand, is only once named Tithonos and then by a painter of the Group of Polygnotos which has produced the greater part of our surviving inscriptions on the theme. Inscriptions naming the boy with lyre Kephalos and the occasional exchange of companions between hunter and schoolboy make it probable that vase painters also saw at least some schoolboys as Kephalos, thus highlighting different aspects of the Athenian ephebic education (Jahn 1937, 98-99; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 17-8; Schefold and Jung 1981, 316-7; Weiss, LIMC, 776-7). As the sole inscription suggests though, they also had Tithonos in mind; after all he was a famous lover of Eos as well and the only one to become her husband. To what extent they recognised Tithonos or Kephalos in the lyre-bearing or unspecified youths, we cannot say. We could not even exclude the possibility that the hunter at least reminded them at times of Orion. Athenian or not, however, it was essential that all lovers conform to the ideal of the Athenian ephebe. The focus is not on Kephalos because of his Athenian origin. The focus is on Eos and the lover, portrayed as an Athenian.

In conclusion, identifying Kephalos or Tithonos or possibly any other of the heroes that the myth holds as raped by Eos is secondary and only of importance to the extent that it helps emphasise the fact that Eos is actually after an Athenian ephebe. Kephalos is known to be a hunter and thus suitable to evoke the hunting activities that were part of the training of Athenian ephebes. When the rest of their activities need illustrating, Tithonos may also step forward as

a schoolboy *en route* to his lessons of *mousike* and *grammatike*. But the main feature of the pursued is that he is an ephebe, as the series of representations where the youth bears no attributes suggests.

The fact that Kephalos is an Attic hero cannot really have determined the vast preference for the episode.^{xxxix} Not only does this compete but even surpasses in popularity the erotic adventures of Theseus himself,^{xl} even though the hero is the successful pursuer, not the prey of a woman, like Kephalos. Anyway, as we have seen, the identity of the pursued is not really so important.

ACCOUNTING FOR THE THEME'S VAST POPULARITY: A PARABLE FOR THE DEATH OF THE YOUNG?

The popularity of the theme has also been explained from its presumable use as a parable for the death of the young; unexpected and violent like the sudden epiphany of the goddess who seeks to abduct them (Isler-Kerenyi in Bloesch 1982, 62 no. 30; Thimme 1975, no. 43). Her appearance in the morning marks the time of the *ekphora* and the beginning of a new life after death. When young and beautiful the dead may not really have died but have been abducted by the goddess, excited by desire or love, as in other rapes of mortals by gods.^{xli} In this spirit some have even recognised in Eos a death daemon, like the Keres, the Harpies, the Erinyes, the Sirens and the Sphinx.^{xlii} However, the evidence that ascribes to Eos any funerary associations is quite late. Secondly, the essence of the goddess is certainly associated with light, life and hope rather than darkness, death and grief. She brings the light and regeneration

with every new day, she assures immortality for her son Memnon and her husband Tithonos, she brings her abductees to live with the Gods or in bright places (Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 57; Preller and Robert 1860, 441; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2667-9; Weiss, *LIMC*, 749.). Of course a symbolic reading is not unthinkable. For example, the fact that Eos is said to chase the night stars, Orion among them, into oblivion, every dawn (Eur. *Ion* 1158; *RE* 5, s.v. "Eos", 2662, 2669), could offer the basis for such an allegory, but with hope for an afterlife nevertheless, just as the stars will appear in the sky with the fall of the night again. Images tend to be polysemic, and with regard to the Greek obsession with youth (Schnapp 1989, 71), a message like this may have been intended as well, but if so, it was only secondary, as I will try to show.

There is even less evidence to support a view of Eos as a death daemon. In a number of representations Eos appears with a *kerykeion*,^{xliii} by conflation with Iris (or Nike)^{xliiv} or holding out a *tainia* or garland,^{xliv} in the manner that Nike does, acclaiming the victorious.^{xlvi} This attitude is also reminiscent of offering love presents in courting scenes (Koch-Harnack 1983, 159-61). The resemblance is so clear that some scholars have denied the identification with Eos; apart from Eos' *kerykeion* and the offered *tainia*, however, all other features in these scenes are closely related to Eos' rapes of the hunter and the schoolboy.^{xlvii} Since Eos, Nike and Iris all enjoy great popularity in the fifth century a mutual infiltration of attributes in their iconographies is perfectly understandable (so also Schauenburg, 1974, 96). All painters who have given us these conflation scenes have a liking for winged

figures, personal or shared with the Group where they belong.^{xlviii} Such contamination would not have been possible, however, if there was indeed so

deep a gap between these bright figures of the air (Kenner 1938-9, 89-90) and a dark death daemon with its heavy chthonic associations.



Figure 7. Red-figure krater, New York, MMA 1906.1021.173, ARV² 1092.75, LIMC no. 213. Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, about 450-40 B.C. Eos pursues a youth who flees to king (?). (Photo: author's own)

There is definitely a preference for a winged Eos in this particular episode.^{xlix} This feature is not so consistent in other representations of the goddess, except, and this is maybe not coincidental, when she carries the body of dead Memnon (figure 2). It should be noted nevertheless that only rarely does Eos fly after the youth, or away having abducted him (figure 6);¹ normally she runs, like the wingless pursuers. She has wings but only rarely does she use them. Wings do not seem to be a dominant feature in her portrayal. Visually however, they directly relate her to any other winged figures that attract the interest of vase painters at the same or in slightly earlier times. To illuminate the notions underlying her depiction, I have tried to see how these relate to the depictions of other winged figures in pursuit, in the vase painting of the fifth

(and, where applicable the sixth) century. First, her comparability with the Sphinx may reveal a view of Eos as a dangerous creature, being the model of a woman in desire, a woman expressing her sexuality and taking the initiative.

The Sphinx has well-established sepulchral associations (Vermeule 1979, 171) and is herself depicted pursuing, abducting (figure 8), "dominating", or attacking (when she finds resistance) the youths of Thebes.^{li} Such scenes appear on Attic vases and on gems as early as the second quarter of the sixth century and continue throughout the sixth and well into the fifth century; they become very popular with late sixth century black-figure vase painters (Carpenter 1991, 167). It is questionable whether the Sphinx is meant as a death daemon in these scenes.^{lii} Yet her encounter is all the same dangerous, and

often lethal. In these pursuit and abduction scenes we find the closest iconographic predecessor of our scenes: winged, female figures after youths. The well established tradition of the

Sphinx and the Theban youths must have invited a comparison with Eos when she appeared as a pursuer herself, less than a generation after the culmination of the popularity of the former.



Figure 8. Red-figure cup, Malibu, Getty Mus. 85.AE.377, Beazley Archive Database no. 31618. Kleomelos Painter, about 500 B.C. Sphinx carries a Theban youth over the sea.

Photo: Beazley Archive

Another winged figure, potentially dangerous, and in pursuit of both men and women in vase scenes of the fifth century,^{liii} is Eros. As a pursuer he seems to me to personify the growing feeling of love or sexual compulsion of the person pursued rather than acting as a mediator (Schefold and Jung 1981, 194-5; cf. 201), as he often does in the courting scenes, mythical and generic, of the late fifth and fourth century (Dipla 2006, 24-30; Metzger 1951, 47-50; cf. *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eros", nos 28-33). Those affected by love flee because it can have a powerful effect, ranging from unsettling to purely tormenting. In this sense we can also view scenes where one or more Erotes pursue Atalanta or a ge-

neric youth and brandish a scary whip,^{liv} or even stab mighty Zeus with a goad right in the back, while he actually pursues Ganymede.^{lv} A similar notion of Eros, who, like Hypnos and Thanatos, veils the wits, "masters men as if they were horses or women" and becomes their *dynastes*, dates already from the Homeric epic (Vermeule 1979, 155-9). Poetry and vase scenes seem to agree on this aspect of Eros: he can be paralyzing, he can be overwhelming and as dangerous as death. More than that, in his vanquishing effect he resembles natural forces like the wind and the sea.^{lvi} And indeed the winds, Boreas and possibly also Zephyros, the wild and winged, make an appearance in

fifth century vase painting in erotic pursuit (Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 15-6, 36-41). The Lewis Painter has given us two similar scenes where I believe that the iconography of rape by Eos and the Winds influence each other: a woman in *chitoniskos* and short hair but with female breast (and inscribed *kale*) flies off a rock like a wind towards the usual youth; in another instance, when clearly the wind now flies off the same rock, his victim is a hunter, like Kephalos.^{lvii}

Eos therefore has obvious affiliations with other winged pursuing figures in vase painting of the sixth and especially the fifth century, which bring forward her wild and dangerous aspect. This aspect however does not have to do with her supposed sepulchral associations. It has to do with her sexuality.^{lviii}

AN EROTIC PURSUIT WITH THE TRADITIONAL ROLES INVERTED

As we have seen, the literary sources always explain Eos' abduction of youths by her excited desire. Our scenes, moreover, have an emphatic erotic character; a comparison with scenes of erotic pursuit of women (or men) by men, gods and heroes, reveals striking similarities and illustrates the probable intention of vase painters to invert the standard roles in male-female sexual interaction.

The Eos theme is thoroughly coined on the same model as the rest of the scenes of erotic pursuit. Fleeing companions, the figure of the father (figures 4, 7),^{lix} who may be portrayed sometimes as a king, even the altar that places the rape in a sanctuary (figure 1a),^{lx} all are features of the typical iconography of erotic pursuits. Painters who have left us other erotic pursuits, when they treat Eos, they often make it

clear that they consider her as yet another "rapist", peculiar though her case may be, being a woman. Let us compare for example, two scenes of pursuit from the Penthesilea Painter, one by Theseus, one by Eos.^{lxi} The compositional scheme is the same (in the tondo, moving away from a half-hidden altar), the attitude of the figures is almost identical. In many instances the actual combination of Eos' pursuits on the same vase with scenes of erotic pursuit by Zeus or Poseidon and Theseus give the impression of a parallelism based on their shared erotic character.^{lxii} This is particularly obvious on a stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter in Rouen, combining Zeus pursuing Aigina with Eos pursuing "Kephalos" (figure 1 a-d). The two scenes look like mirror images of each other. Both pursuits move towards an altar. As the two scenes unfold, the companion and the pursued of each rape find themselves taking refuge at the same altar. Two Erotes hovering over them indicate the character of the pursuit (although in the case of Eos' pursuit of Kephalos Eros turns away from the scene and towards the fleeing companion of the woman whom Zeus pursues on the other side). There can be no doubt as to how related the two scenes are in the mind of the vase painter.

Sometimes Eos' approach can be a change from her usual more or less crude snatching and have even more clearly the character of an erotic advance such as we find in courting scenes. Eos offers Kephalos a *tainia*, or a garland, a usual gift to (potential) lovers, which he declines vividly.^{lxiii}

I think there is enough evidence to suggest that with Eos we have rape scenes with the traditional roles in-

verted. But as such why would they be so popular? To answer this question one should probably clarify the reasons why rape scenes are so popular on the whole (on various proposed theories, see Stewart 1995, 83-87). Ephebe rape scenes, abductions and, especially, pursuits may have been so popular because they expressed prevalent social notions about how erotic/marital union should be, in view of women's "wild" nature: like animals, they would need subduing/taming by the ephebe (future citizen) hunters, before they could assume their appropriate place in society. These notions apply in particular to the scenes of erotic pursuit of women by an ephebe on the model of the heroic ephebe *par excellence*, Theseus. Peleus is the only other hero who is depicted as an ephebe in his pursuit of Thetis as an occasional alternative to the more prominent struggle (Dipla 2004, 2-3; on women as wild animals, see Carson 1990, 143-4, 151-3, 163).

The same notions also underlie the scenes of pursuit of women by gods, who may not be so close as heroes to mortals but whose *anthropomorphism* and interaction with mortals are intensified from 500 B.C. (Schefold 1993, 26; Schefold and Jung 1981, 307; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 44-6; cf. Stewart 1995, 80). They resemble humans on the moral and emotional plane and they are likewise capable of anger, jealousy and, of course, desire (Dover 1974, 75-7). Zeus is variously cited as proof of its power, himself being subject to it (for example, *Ar. Nub.* 1080-2; *Eur. Tro.* 948-50). In the case of gods, however, there may be an additional notion alluded to by the choice of the theme: that of resistance to divine will.^{lxiv}

CONCLUSION; A WOMAN'S UNTAMED BESTIALITY CAN BE LETHAL

Let us consider how many paradoxes an inversion of the situation, as outlined above, actually involves. Here the woman takes the initiative and pursues the man, whose pronounced resistance, at times violent, seems designed to spotlight her own persistence. Besides her sex, the age factor makes this rape even more unthinkable^{lxv} and places it well into the realm of irrational: a mature woman after an ephebe, a future citizen, portrayed in basic engagements of precivil life, hunting and education. He is brutally removed from this environment, just as a woman is normally prematurely removed from the circle of her friends and childish games, by a mature man. As we noted above, the inconsistency and confusion in naming Eos' victims indicates that their identity is only auxiliary to the point that the vase painter is trying to make. Tithonos (and maybe also Kephalos) is portrayed as a schoolboy. Kephalos is conveniently known from the myth as a hunter. This is used to comment on his ephebic identity and additionally on the inversion of roles in the social practice of hunting and subduing wild women. Here the hunter becomes the prey of a wild woman. Eos is a bestial woman who has transgressed the control limits set by the social system.^{lxvi} She has broken every single rule in expressing her sexuality as only a man is allowed to do. Her being winged, and in that similar to the *androphagos* Sphinx, may after all be a comment on her bestiality. In this she is also clearly compared to Thetis: in one instance Thetis' animal metamorphoses in her struggle with Peleus appears five times in turn with Eos' abduction of a

boy.^{lxvii} It may as well be, as it has been proposed, that by adding wings the woman rapist is removed somehow from reality,^{lxviii} the danger is outlined as a possibility but not too realistically so as to act as a judgemental, safe comment and deterrent rather than as a model for female behaviour.

In any case, in these representations Eos is promoted as a model of what a woman should not be in the interest of

the essentially male social system. It is a matter of wild nature against social order threatening the future of the polis that the ephebes represent. The resistance of Eos' victims that has no match in fierceness in any other pursuit seems to be proportionate to the amount of danger this peculiar pursuit actually involves. Female sexuality out of social control is fearsome (Cohen 1991, 140-5).

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ENDNOTES

- ⁱ Preller and Robert 1860, 39-72; *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite", 147-9; for a parallelism of Eos and Aphrodite, see Fontenrose 1981, n. 30.
- ⁱⁱ Eur. *Hipp.* 21-8, 1400-6; this is Hippolytus *Stephanephoros*, Euripides' second of two tragedies on this theme and the only one surviving, in which Phaidra tries to fight her feelings and does not make any advances to Hippolytus; the detail of Phaidra's personal declaration of love to Hippolytus and attempted seduction is only found as late as Seneca and Ovid, but probably dates as early as Euripides' first *Hippolytus*, the so-called *Kalyptomenos*; Preller and Robert 1921, 742-6; *LIMC* 5, s.v. "Hippolytos I", 446; *LIMC* 7, s.v. "Phaidra" 356.
- ⁱⁱⁱ For example, in Helen's first abduction by Theseus the number of the actual abduction scenes would be very low in proportion to that of pursuit scenes, if indeed in the mythological ephebe pursuits with Theseus the pursued woman is Helen; cf. also *LIMC*, 779 and Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 41.
- ^{iv} *LIMC*, 755-7 nos. 1-43, esp. 1-8, 24-9; cf. also *LIMC*. no. 110, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 9.2-4 (117): Eos' pursuit of Kephalos forms part of a representation of celestial beings, Helios going up in his chariot chasing away the stars and Selene (almost above one handle of the krater); Schefold and Jung (1981, 294) identify the figure behind Eos and above the other handle as Endymion, which would give us another "love story", but I see rather a fleeing companion of Kephalos.
- ^v This estimate is based on entries derived mainly from the databases of the Beazley Archive, Oxford.
- ^{vi} E.g. (in all mentioned examples the hunter holds spears and wears a *chlamys*; when not mentioned, a companion has not been included in the scene.): ARV2 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979 18 fig. 3 (boots, *petasos*, dog); *LIMC* no. 63, Philippaki 1969, pl. 41.1 (*petasos*, boots); *LIMC* no. 64 (club, *petasos*, boots); *LIMC* no. 77 (*petasos*, the comp. *pilos*, both *lagobolon*); *LIMC* no. 92 (both *pilos* and boots); *LIMC* no. 95, CVA Golu-chów/Poland 1, pl. 34.1a (both *petasos*, boots); *LIMC* no. 97, CVA Madrid 2, pl. 19.1a-c, *LIMC* no. 98 (both club and boots, *petasos*, the comp. *pilos*); ARV2 1107.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.3 (boots, *petasos*, attacking dog); *LIMC* no. 118, Lezzi-Hafter 1976, pl. 101e-f (boots, *petasos*); *LIMC* no. 120, AA (1977) 216, fig.22 (both *pilos*, boots and club, and the companion also raises a stone).
- ^{vii} E.g. (in all mentioned examples the youth carries a lyre unless otherwise stated; companions are mentioned only when included in the scene; they may or may not be specified as schoolboys with attributes other than their dress): *LIMC* no. 136; *LIMC* no. 142, Bernabò-Brea, and M. Cavalier 1977, figs. 105-6 (B: companion); *LIMC* no 147, *LIMC* no. 155, BCH 98 (1974), 918-9, figs. 9-9a (companions, one with lyre); *LIMC* no. 162; *LIMC* no. 191 (the boy holds a *diaulos*); *LIMC* no. 271, Smith 1939, pl. 10.a-b (abduction; B: companions, one with *diaulos*); *LIMC* no. 169, Richter and Hall. 1936, pl. 120 (companions, one with lyre); *LIMC* no. 195, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 11.4 (holds *diptychon*, companion also with *diptychon*); *LIMC* no. 193 (holds *diptychon*, companion with lyre); *LIMC* no. 194, (holds *diptychon*; companion). On school scenes and writing implements see Neils and Oakley 2003, 244-6, 249-52.
- ^{viii} E.g. *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl.72; *LIMC* no. 85, CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 339.1c; *LIMC* no. 92; *LIMC* no. 99, Reeder-Williams 1984 178 fig.

- ix E.g. *LIMC* no. 137, CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 80.2; *LIMC*, no. 145, *MuM* Auktion 8 (1958), pl. 39 (no. 121); cf. *LIMC* no. 146, AZ 1848, pl. 21.1-2 (also by the Dresden Painter); *LIMC* no. 154; *LIMC* no. 193; *LIMC* no. 194.
- x Pursuit of a youth with lyre and, on the other side, a second pursuit of a youth without attributes are combined on *LIMC* no. 158(=211), Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 78.
- xi *LIMC* no. 271, Smith 1939, pl. 10.a-b (boy with lyre, boy companions, one with *diaulos*); *LIMC* no. 272, *LIMC* no. 269 (quite grown up youth with lyre); *LIMC* no. 267, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.3-4, *LIMC* no. 270 (boy, no attributes); *LIMC* no. 273, *BdA* 53 (1968), 117-8 figs. 52-3 (boy with lyre, boy companions); *LIMC* no. 274 (boy, no attributes, named Kephalos, cf. *LIMC* no. 268); on architectural sculpture: *LIMC* no. 280; *LIMC* no. 281; *LIMC* no. 282, *Hesperia* 39 (1970), pl. 35 (all fragmentary, restored as woman rushing, carrying on her left arm a youth, see also infra nn. 18-9).
- xii E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl.72; *LIMC* no. 61; *LIMC* no. 86, *RM* 42-43 (1927-8), 237 fig.4; *LIMC* no. 120, *AA* (1977) 216 fig.22; cf. *LIMC* no. 60, photo in Beazley Archive; *LIMC* no. 85, CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 339.1c. E.g. "Tithonos": *LIMC* no. 142, Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier 1977, figs. 105-6; *LIMC* no. 169, Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 120; *LIMC* no. 180, photo in Beazley Archive; *LIMC* no. 193; cf. *LIMC* no. 137, CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 80.2; *LIMC* no. 163; *LIMC* no. 165; *LIMC* no. 176; *LIMC* no. 194. E.g. Youth with no attributes: *LIMC* no. 199; *LIMC* no. 213, Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 133; cf. *LIMC* no. 201; *LIMC* no. 202; *LIMC* no. 205; *LIMC* no. 212, CVA Paris, Mus. Rodin, pl. 22.5.
- xiii E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl.72; *ARV2* 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 18 fig. 3; *LIMC* no. 60, photo in Beazley Archive; Beazley Archive 16656, *MuM* 70 (1986) pls. 47-48 (no. 210); *LIMC* no. 70, Aurigemma 1960, pl. 160; *LIMC* no. 86, *RM* 42-43 (1927-28), 237 fig.4; *LIMC* no. 94, photo in Beazley Archive; *LIMC* no. 116; *LIMC* no. 122; cf. *LIMC* no. 46, Bloesch 1982, 62 fig.; *LIMC* no. 61; *LIMC* no. 64; *LIMC* no. 76, Webster 1935, pl. 11b; *LIMC* no. 87, CVA Vienna 2, pl. 63.1; *LIMC* no. 95, CVA Goluchów/Poland 1, pl. 34.1a; *LIMC* no. 111, Peredolskaya 1967, pl. 150.3; *LIMC* no. 120, *AA* (1977) 216 fig.22; c.f. *LIMC* no. 89; *LIMC* no. 92; *LIMC* no. 100, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.5. E.g. "Tithonos": *LIMC* no. 137, CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 80.2; *LIMC* no. 186; *LIMC* no. 156 *Ars antiqua* 2 (1960), pl. 64; *LIMC* no. 169, Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 120; *LIMC* no. 182; cf. *LIMC* no. 136, *ARV2* 647.16, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl.11.1-2; *LIMC* no. 146, AZ 1848, pl. 21.1-2; *LIMC* no. 154; *LIMC* no. 160, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2 (the scene on A); *LIMC* no. 172; *LIMC* no. 178, Raubitschek 1969, p. 76, figs. 21.a-b; *LIMC* no. 194; cf. *ARV2* 882.40, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.1-2; *ARV2* 989.23, Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 117; *LIMC* no. 149; *LIMC* no. 160, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2 (the scene on B). E.g. Youth with no attributes: *LIMC* no. 199; *LIMC* no. 201; *LIMC* no. 202; *LIMC* no. 204, *Jdl* 69 (1954), 132-3 figs. 5-6; *LIMC* no. 208, *NSc Suppl.* (1971), p. 116, fig. 182.
- xiv Alarm (McNiven 1982,R31B9. 125-7): E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 61; *LIMC* no. 64; *LIMC* no. 85, CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 339.1c; *LIMC* no. 139, Philippaki 1967, pl. 30.1. E.g.: "Tithonos": *ARV2* 882.40, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.1-2, *LIMC* no.149; *LIMC* no. 179, CVA Genoa 1, pl. 9.1-5. E.g.: Youth without attributes: *LIMC* no. 208, *NScSuppl.* 1971, 116 fig. 182; *LIMC* no. 204, *Jdl* 69 (1954), 132-3 figs. 5-6; *LIMC* no. 210. Supplication (McNiven 1982,R11e, pp. 113-115): E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 51, CVA Bologna 4, pl. 55.3; *LIMC* no. 66, CVA Goluchów/ Poland 1, pl.22.1a-c; *LIMC* no. 111, Peredolskaya

1967, pl. 150.3; *LIMC* no. 122. E.g. "Tithonos": *LIMC* no. 135, Kurtz 1975, pl. 21.2; *LIMC* no. 137, CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 80.2; *LIMC* no. 142, Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier 1977, figs. 105-6; *LIMC* no. 143; *LIMC* no. 160, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2; *LIMC* no. 168, CVA London BM 4, 29.1a-b; ARV2 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41 no. 18; *LIMC* no. 195, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 11.4. E.g. Youth without attributes: *LIMC* no. 267, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.3-4; *LIMC* no. 210 (also a gesture of alarm); *LIMC* no. 214, CVA Univ. of California 1, pl. 46.2b.

Refusal (McNiven 1982, R21B9 pp. 115-7): E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 53, Follmann-Schulz 1968, pl. 9.4; ARV2 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 18 fig. 3; ARV2 1107.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.3; *LIMC* no. 106, though the arm more lowered, reminds me of R22E (McNiven 1982, 117-21), the arm however not extended, could also be a gesture of supplication; as such it would make more sense in the case of *LIMC* no. 198 (no attributes), since it does not address the pursuer but the supposed place or person where the youth flees; cf. also *LIMC* no. 87, CVA Vienna 2, pl. 63.1, *LIMC* no. 180 ("Tithonos"), photo in Beazley Archive, and *LIMC* no. 212 (no attributes), CVA, Paris, Mus. Rodin, pl. 22.5 (deviates from R11e, in that the elbow is bent); *LIMC* no. 215, *Sotheby's Cat.* 18-12-1980, no. 223; once the "schoolboy" also makes a protective gesture of drawing the himation off shoulder: *LIMC* no. 150 (this is a variation of the traditional womanly gesture of "veiling", McNiven 1982, N10, 103-6, esp. 1h).

xv The companion is mentioned only when he also resists: "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 65 (has raised his *lagobolon*); *LIMC* no. 77 (only the companion has raised the *lagobolon*); *LIMC* no. 88, CVA Kiel 1, pl. 35.5 (a bearded man approaches the scene raising a short staff; cf. how the royal father also intervenes, though now fleeing along with the pursued, on *LIMC* no. 160, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2); *LIMC* no. 94, photo in Beazley Archive (both pursued and companion point their spears at the goddess; the pursued surprisingly makes a gesture of supplication at the same time); *LIMC* no. 97, CVA Madrid 2, pl. 19.1a-c (has raised his club); *LIMC* no. 109, *NotScSuppl.* 25 (1971), 60 fig. 85 (points a staff at her menacingly); *LIMC* no. 110, Kaempf 1979, pl. 9.2 (has raised a stone); *LIMC* no. 117 (points his spears at the goddess); *LIMC* no. 120, *AA* (1977) 216 fig. 22 (the pursued has raised a club, the companion a stone); *LIMC* no. 124 (the companion has raised a stone); "Tithonos": *LIMC* no. 169, Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 120, *LIMC* no. 172, *LIMC* no. 178, Raubitschek 1969, 76 figs. 21.a-b (has raised his lyre); *LIMC* no. 181, *LIMC* no. 183, unpublished (defends himself as in *LIMC* no. 182); cf. also some cases where the youth holds the lyre against (?) the goddess neither clearly raised nor lowered as if simply holding it; he may have intended to use it to ward her off: *LIMC* no. 151; *LIMC* no. 160, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2; *LIMC* no. 186; ARV2 882.40, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.1-2; sometimes he has also dropped his lyre; he did so in a hurry (cf., for example, how the goddess has also dropped her *kerykeion* (!) in *LIMC* no. 132, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.4) or is it the result of his unsuccessful attempt to defend himself? (so Weiss, *LIMC*, 778): *LIMC* no. 139, Philippaki 1967, pl. 30.1; *LIMC* no. 148, Philippaki 1967, pl. 48.2; *LIMC* no. 180, photo in Beazley Archive; cf. also *LIMC* no. 138, where the goddess has grabbed his lyre (the stage in between?).

xvi ARV2 1107.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.3; *LIMC*, no. 74, CVA Paris Louvre 6, pl. 46.1.4; *LIMC* no. 75, photo in Beazley Archive.

xvii If one goes by the examples of clear attack only; for other possible cases of resistance, see *supra*, n. 15.

- xviii Terracotta fragments restored as a woman rushing, holding a nude youth in her arms; *LIMC* no. 282, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 37-9 fig. 25.
- xix Fragmentary marble group ("Finlay") of a woman rushing carrying a naked youth on her left arm; *LIMC* no. 281.
- xx *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos/Thesan", no. 21; Hemelrijk (1984 12-3 no. 3, 208 n. 144) doubts whether the scene indeed depicts Eos and Kephalos; so also Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 62 n. 96; on the Ionian origin of the painter or painters of the Caeretan hydrias see Cook 1997, 152; Boardman 1980, 206.
- xxi *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos/Thesan", no. 20; no. 29, Schefold and Jung 1981, 307 fig. 443; on the problems of their interpretation as rape scenes see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979 62 n. 96; on the Ionian presence in Etruria after mid-sixth century see Boardman 1980, 203.
- xxii *LIMC* no. 225.
- xxiii An exception is, for example, a metope from the Acropolis of Selinus, *LIMC* no. 127.
- xxiv *LIMC* no. 277a, Jacobsthal 1931, pl. 7 (10); *LIMC* no. 277b, Jacobsthal 1931, pl. 7 (11); *LIMC* no. 277c; *LIMC* no. 277d, Jacobsthal 1931, pl. 6 (13); on Ionian elements in the art of the Melian reliefs see Jacobsthal 1931, 155-7.
- xxv *LIMC* no. 278, Schefold and Jung 1981, 310 fig. 446.
- xxvi Golden armband with relief decoration from a Scythian tomb in Kul-Oba, *LIMC* no. 279; on works by Ionian artists of the Black Sea designed for the Scythian market, Boardman 1980, 259-64.
- xxvii *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos/Thesan", nos. 24, 25, 30; *LIMC ibid.* no. 23 (Eos pursues a naked youth); in the last two cases only the youth bears the paraphernalia of exercising in the palaestra.
- xxviii Athens, Nat. Mus. 1668, Herbert 1977, pl. 8 (the hunter resists as on Attic vases of this period).
- xxix *LIMC* nos. 217, 218; *LIMC* no. 219, *A&A* 10 (1961), pl. 5.10; *LIMC* no. 220, Trendall 1966, pl. 2b; *LIMC* no. 221, Trendall, 1967, pl. 3.4; *LIMC* no. 223, Korzus 1984, 78 fig. 6; *LIMC* no. 266, *NotSc* (1904), 201-2 fig. 7; all from 440-30; the subject is also treated by his pupil Amykos Painter in *LIMC* no. 225 (unpublished).
- xxx *LIMC* no. 120, *NSc* 14 (1946), pl. 16.
- xxxi *LIMC* no. 283 (=21, Dareios Painter); *LIMC* no. 284; *LIMC* no. 285, (fr.), *ConvMGrecia* 14 (1974), pl. 58.2 (Circle of Patera Painter); *LIMC* no. 286 (=LIMC I, s.v. "Aphrodite", no. 1556, Baltimore Painter).
- xxxii Cf. a Faliscan vase, *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eos/Thesan", no. 22, 380-360 B.C.
- xxxiii *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver, 1995, pl.72: ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ, ΕΩΣ; present in the scene are two mythical kings of Attica, ΚΕΚΡΟΠΣ, ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝ; Pandion is sometimes recorded as Kephalos' father, Kekrops may either be the very first king or the son of Erechtheus and Praxithea and father of Prokris; there is a third bearded man, apparently also a king (could it be Pandion's son and successor Erechtheus? so Buitron-Oliver); *LIMC* no. 97, *CVA* Madrid 2, pl. 19.1a-c: ΗΕΩΣ, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ, the companion is named ΣΙΣΥΦΟΣ (!); *LIMC* no. 124: ΕΩΣ, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ.
- xxxiv *LIMC* no. 274: ΗΕΩΣ, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ.
- xxxv *LIMC* no. 179, *CVA* Genoa 1, pl. 9.1-5.
- xxxvi *LIMC* no. 98: ΗΟΣ, ΤΙΘΩΝΟΣ (the companion of the hunter); for Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979, 18) the painter might have intended to show the goddess's preference for the Athenian Kephalos.

- xxxvii *LIMC* no. 60, photo in Beazley Archive; the companion on the reverse.
- xxxviii In addition to the aforementioned examples, Eos is also the only figure named on *LIMC* no. 95, CVA Goluchów/Poland 1, pl. 34.1a (HEOΣ).
- xxxix Or even have introduced the subject; as we have seen all three variants of rape appear as early and, at least in some cases, the "schoolboy" or the youth without attributes can be identified with Tithonos.
- xl The theme numbers some 170 representations; this estimate is derived from the databases of the Beazley Archive, with the occasional addition of supplementary examples.
- xli Vermeule 1979, 162-164; Heraclitus (*All.* 68.5-6), records a custom (he claims it dates from Homer) that when a young and beautiful youth dies, they euphemistically describe the early morning funeral as an abduction by Day because he aroused her desire; some sepulchral epigrams also call the death of young people an abduction by Eos or the Nymphs, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 57, 75 n. 520.
- xlii Kenner 1938-9, 88-90; for Vermeule (1979, 164-5) Eos assumes in the older centre of the myth (the abduction of the boy) the role of a kindly Ker, mothering the infant dead.
- xliii *LIMC* no. 132, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.4; *LIMC* no. 186; *LIMC* no. 187. Trias de Aribas 1968, pl. 57.6.
- xliv *LIMC* 5, s.v. "Iris", 743.
- xlv *LIMC* no. 146, AZ 1848, pl. 21.1-2; *LIMC* no. 168, CVA London BM 4, 29.1a-b; ARV2 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 18 fig. 3; ARV2 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 18; ARV2 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 19; *LIMC* no. 210.
- xlvi E.g.: *LIMC* 6, s.v. "Nike", nos. 310, 315-7, 321.
- xlvii For a different view, see Schwartz 1976-7, 1-10: Iris pursuing Ganymed on behalf of Zeus (in place of Hermes); see also Beazley, e.g. in ARV 2 573.15: "Nike (or Iris); Eos one would have said but the goddess holds a caduceus".
- xlviii The Dresden Painter, for example, has given us several Nikes by an altar; especially close to his Eos is the Nike on ARV2 655.2 (holding a sash); also similar are stock figures of women with an arm extended, often holding a sash or a piece of wool, that we often find on the reverse side of his vases; a fleeing youth with lyre recurs very often in the work of this painter, normally combined with the stock women, once (ARV2 656.28) as part of a courting scene (bearded man offers the youth a pouch); the impression that we get is that, for the Dresden Painter, Eos, Nike and a plain woman are interchangeable in their association with the fleeing youth; the Agrigento Painter has also left us some Nike figures, but none holds a *kerykeion*; the wider Circle of the Earlier Mannerists where this painter belongs shows, with the exception of the Pig Painter, a common liking for Nike figures (some could probably be identified with Iris, when associated with Zeus/Hera, e.g. ARV2 580.3 or 588.4), as well as for our Eos scenes: Nikes are especially popular with the Oinante Painter, at libations, or the Leningrad Painter, adorning the victorious; again no Nike or Iris ever appears with *kerykeion*.
- xliv Cf. *LIMC* no. 198 (Eos wingless).
- 1 *LIMC* no 87?, CVA Vienna 2, pl. 63.1; *LIMC* no. 90 (unpublished); *LIMC* no. 106; *LIMC* no 132, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.4; more often when after a schoolboy: *LIMC* no. 154 (just taking off); *LIMC* no. 160?, CVA Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2; *LIMC* no. 168, CVA London BM 4, 29.1a-b; *LIMC* no. 172; *LIMC* no. 189? CVA London BM 4, pl. 40.a-d (two winged women flying, one Eos and one Nike?); *LIMC* no. 267, Kaempf-

- Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.3-4 (she could be simply running, but the gesture of the boy, hands turned downwards towards the earth, suggests that she may as well be flying); *ARV2* 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 18; *ARV2* 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 19.
- li Moret 1984, pls. 2-4 (pursuit); pls. 2, 6, 15-16 (abduction); pls. 6-10 ("domination"); 18, fig. 3, pls. 12-14 (attack).
- lii Moret 1984, 11-2, 21-2: along with other hybrid creatures (griffin, siren) the Sphinx symbolises the uncontrollable natural forces that can dominate and overwhelm humans; for a different view, see Hampe 1960, 64: in the earlier representations we should rather recognise the Homeric Keres.
- liii *LIMC* 3; s.v. "Eros", nos 600-5, (after a man); nos 615-6 (after a woman).
- liv Atalanta: *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Atalante" no. 90, *CVA* Cleveland 1, pls. 32-5 (one of the Erotes originally held a whip in his right hand, falsely restored as a sprig, a wreath in his left); Youth: *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eros", no. 365a, Greifenhagen 1957, figs. 43-5; *LIMC* *ibid.* no. 365b, Greifenhagen 1957, 60, fig. 46; cf. also a peculiar scene by Douris, *LIMC* *ibid.*, no. 600, Olshausen, 1979, 18-9 figs. 1-4: Eros pursues a youth threatening him with an object which might be a knife or a sandal; Olshausen 1979, 17-24, is perhaps right in pointing out that the shape recalls more a knife than a sandal; so also Kilmer 1993, 130; contra: Greifenhagen 1957, 57; Boardman 1976, 287.
- lv Zeus: *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Eros", no. 362, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 7 fig. 1; Youth: *LIMC* *ibid.* no. 363 (it looks like a stick, I cannot discern the leather part of a whip, yet it is perhaps too short for a goad).
- lvi Ibyc, 286P. "(Eros)...flashes in madness like the north wind flaming under lightning...". Sapph. 47, "...Love shook my heart like a wind falling on oaks on a mountain ..."; Vermeule 1979, 157, 168.
- lvii *ARV2* 974.23, Smith 1939, pl. 13a-b; cf. *ARV2* 974.24, Smith 1939, pl. 13.c-d.
- lviii For the sexual connotations of wings, see Henderson 1975, 128-9 (nos. 96, 97); cf. how Paris gave Helen "wings for flight"; Hdt. 2.115.4.
- lix E.g. "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl.72 (Pandion); *LIMC* no. 51, *CVA* Bologna 4, pl. 55.3; *LIMC* no. 63, Phillippaki 1967, pl.41.1; *LIMC* no. 96; *ARV2* 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 18 fig. 3.
E.g. "Tithonos": *ARV2* 647.16, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl.11.1-2 (the *paidagogos*?); *LIMC* no. 160, *CVA* Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2 (kings on both sides who may be actively involved); *LIMC* no. 182 (here fig. 5, side B); *ARV2* 882.40, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.1-2.
E.g. Youth without attributes: *LIMC* no. 202.
- lx *LIMC* no. 143; *LIMC* no. 163; *LIMC* no. 198 (altar, Ionian column, pillar).
- lxi *LIMC* no. 163; cf. *ARV2* 880.3, *AJA* 13 (1909), 145 fig. 4 and *Beazley Archive* no. 10076, Hornbostel 1986, 128 fig.
- lxii "Kephalos": *LIMC* no. 48, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl.72 (Zeus pursues Ganymede); *LIMC* no. 64 (Boreas abducts Oreithyia); *LIMC* no. 96 (Poseidon pursues Amymone); *Beazley Archive* no. 16656, *MuM* 70 (1986) pls. 47-8 (no. 210) (Poseidon pursues Amymone or Aithra or Amphitrite); *LIMC* no. 132, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 8.4 (ephebe with drawn sword pursues a woman).
"Tithonos": *LIMC* no. 155, *BCH* 98 (1974), 918-9 figs. 9-9a (ephebe with spear pursues a woman); *LIMC* no. 160, *CVA* Vienna 1, pls. 18, 19.1-2 (Zeus pursues Aegina?); *LIMC*

no. 162 (Zeus pursues Aegina?; Recovery of Helen, the “pursuit before the reversal” type; this is not exactly an erotic pursuit but it involves another dangerous woman who can inspire such passion, and without any effort, so as so instantly transform Menelaos’ original decision to slay her, more obviously in the variant “during the reversal”; Dipla 1997, 121, 123-4).

Youth without attributes: *LIMC* no. 213, Richter and Hall 1936, vol. 2, pl. 133, (here fig. 7), side B: ephebe with spear pursues a woman). *LIMC* no. 267, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 10.3-4 (satyr pursues a maenad).

- lxiii ‘Kephalos’: ARV2 580.1, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 18 fig. 3; “Tithonos”: *LIMC* no. 146, AZ 1848, pl. 21.1-2; *LIMC* no. 168, CVA London BM 4, 29.1a-b; ARV2 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 18; ARV2 975, *Para* 436, *Apollo* 2 (1962) 41, no. 19; Youth without attributes: *LIMC* no. 210 (a garland); cf. Eros offering a garland to an athlete in *LIMC* 3, s.v. “Eros”, no. 611.
- lxiv Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 41; Weiss, *LIMC*, 779; cf. Arafat 1990, 64, 78-9, 173-4: he sees possible political connotations in Aigina's pursuit by Zeus and a certain amount of triviality in the treatment of Zeus' pursuit of women and of the other divine pursuits, which were simply suitable to serve the popular compositional scheme of the time on certain shapes, such as the Nolan amphora.
- lxv Osborne 1996, 67-8; cf. Lissarrague 1991-2, 250: “images miroir ou contre-modèles”.
- lxvi On tribes of women likewise “transgressantes l’ordre masculin”, maenads, Amazons and the Thracian murderesses of Orpheus, see Lissarrague 1991-2, 242-50; see also Stewart 1995, 86-7.
- lxvii Though in a non-Attic example, an armband from a Scythian tomb, *supra*, n. 26.
- lxviii Osborne 1996, 68-70; cf. how satyrs in their bestial appearance and extra-ordinary sexual behaviour open up to the male viewer a world of fantasy to explore and amuse oneself with, while keeping clear its distance from real life; Lissarrague 1990, 54-6, 66.