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The Europa Network

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Classics

by

Christina Michelle Cones

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Margaret M. Miles, Irvine, Chair
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2018

DEDICATION

To

Blegen, Loring, and Brucey.

Virum Monumenta Priorum

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Europa Network

By

Christina Michelle Cones

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Irvine, 2018

Professor Margaret Miles, Chair

I examine literary and visual portrayals of Europa from the eighth to the second centuries BC. The evidence is distributed across a variety of media, genres, geographical locations, and contexts. My belief is that by exploring how ancient audiences interacted with various literary and visual representations of Europa, we will come to understand how Europa is both a source for the name of the continent Europe, as well as much that constitutes modern European identity. This includes an acute awareness of the need to integrate men, women, and people of diverse cultural backgrounds into a common cultural milieu. My approach integrates modern scholarship on the plurality of Greek religions, network theory, and audience engagement theories. I focus on individual representations of Europa in order to understand inner workings of the Europa Network, while also examining the evidence diachronically in order to understand system-wide features that persist over time. My findings reveal that Europa was a cross-cultural icon, whose myth was appropriated in times of marriage, death, war, and peace. Europa herself is a symbol of unity across divides, including those between people and gods, childhood and adulthood, even life and death. By the end, it will become clear that the ancient Greeks were more

modern than we sometimes realize or give them credit for being. They also lived in a complex, interconnected world, and, through art and literature, devised sophisticated techniques for negotiating life's transitions. They struggled with some of the same issues facing us today, and like us, they had no clear answers when it came to explaining the antagonism between sexes and cultures, but they did have tools to help, like the myth of Europa. In that sense, I hope to inspire us to activate art and literature similarly as we strive towards unity in an increasingly complex world. With immigration such a hot topic worldwide for public discourse, and the #metoo movement having brought women's rights to the forefront as never before, we must learn to appreciate how we form a collective humanity with people living on every part of the planet today, as well as with those who lived thousands of years ago.

INTRODUCTION

My primary argument is that the Europa Network has empowered women and promoted cultural diversity for more than 2,500 years. The Ancient Greeks exalted both men and women as heroes, including Europa, who served as a constant reminder of the virtuous wife and mother. Through her exemplary heroism as a woman, and mixed cultural identity as Phoenician and Cretan, Europa is millennia ahead of her time, a forerunner of the modern era, a harbinger of change to come, and an embodiment of our highest aspirations. The continent has inherited not only its name from Europa, but also some of its key values, including an awareness of the need to integrate men and women, and people of different ethnic backgrounds, into a common cultural milieu.

I explore how the myth of Europa empowered women through examination of Europa as a heroic founding figure who functioned much as Heracles, Perseus, and Theseus did for males, in endowing human lives with meaning and value. The Greeks did not just have their forefathers, but their foremothers, which even our own country has been slow to incorporate into its foundational discourse. An abundance of visual and literary evidence substantiates this claim. For example, we observe Europa's repeated placement alongside various famous heroes in sixth century BC architectural temple sculpture, sometimes even in the same body position, with one arm raised in conquest over the bull. The act of subduing a bull, especially a divine one, is, since at least as early as the epic of Gilgamesh in the third millennium BC, a kind of generic

trope and notable accomplishment for several distinguished heroes, including Heracles and Theseus. Europa is, however, the only woman to conquer a bull. She also, notably, accomplishes this feat not through force or violence, but through the power of *eros* and sexual attraction, another kind of domination to which even the king of the gods, Zeus, is subordinate.

Historians, ancient and modern, often have emphasized rigid limits, margins, and barriers when producing historical narratives, with wars and conflicts to demarcate time periods, and borders to constrain geography, neglecting the larger networks and connections that bind people together, including cultural links established through trade, migration, intermarriage, gift exchanges, and myths about heroes and heroines. This project aims to explore how the myth of Europa united people, even as it allowed them to assert their individuality, particularly people living in mixed-population settlements, like south Italy, Sicily, and the Black Sea. Even in mainland Greece, early history was in some places presented as a saga of migrations and “colonization”, such as at Thebes, allegedly founded by Cadmus while searching for his sister Europa. Through her sons Sarpedon, Minos, and Rhadamanthys, the influence of Europa also comes to be felt in Lycia, Sicily, Boeotia, and the underworld. These diverse populations employed the myth of Europa in entirely different literary and visual contexts, while tapping into her shared associations with marriage, death, and cultural diffusion.

One of the things that has made the myth of Europa so timeless and enduring, as we shall see from analyzing the literary and visual evidence, is its ability to attach itself to so many different people, places, and time periods, since Europa symbolizes, legitimizes, and even sanctifies the journey overseas to found a new home, the journey from maiden to motherhood, and even of death after life. By drawing people into the Europa network, the story has ensured its own survival. Its strength lies in its ability to attract new members. Much as with a light-switch, after it was turned on, the Europa Network took on a life of its own, radiating with energy in every direction, shining and glowing with peoples' hopes and expectations for the promise of something better beyond new horizons. And it never has gone out.

While examining the origins of Europa, it proves difficult to disentangle the many different versions of her story, determine how many different Europas existed, or ascertain whether they all derive from a common tradition. Cook (1914, i.524-526) seeks to identify Europa's origins as a kind of earth-mother goddess. Winter (1903) and Technau (1937) argue that some vase painting images we have of a female bull-rider are actually not Europa at all, but a goddess on a bull, or in some cases, a Maenad. We know, mostly from later sources, that at different times and places, people used Europa the name to refer to an earth goddess, lunar goddess, mortal princess, *Oceanid*, the mother of Dodon or Karneion, or, in a masculine form, to Zeus (*euryope*), as well as to a mortal king of Sicyon (*Euryops*).

I have resolved this identification dispute partly through postulating the Europa Network, which should not be thought of as having strict boundaries, but dissolving at the edges, so that some representations can be both Europa the maiden and Europa the goddess on a bull at the same time, depending on context. Nevertheless, I would like to clarify my intention to focus on one Europa in particular, the mortal Phoenician princess abducted by Zeus. In a certain sense, however, when I speak of the Europa Network, I restrict myself to one particular node in an even larger network. The story of Europa the princess abducted by Zeus already had a long, rich, culturally diverse legacy behind it. As we see, storytellers likely adapted elements from ancient bull and earth mother worship extending back thousands of years across Europe, Asia, and Africa. Like Greek religion, the malleable myth of Europa is much too complex to accommodate a singular reading, meaning, or interpretation.

What I mean by the Europa Network will eventually become apparent, but at the outset I should specify for the purposes of this project that I include a large sampling of literary and visual material from 750-150 BC. From this vast body of evidence, I have divided the most pertinent examples into the following chapters: Archaic literature, miscellaneous Archaic visual arts, Archaic and early Classical vase painting, miscellaneous Classical visual arts and late Classical vase painting, and Classical through Hellenistic literature. I introduce multiple examples of evidence for each chapter, while also focusing closely on a few most relevant examples.

Theory and Methodology

In *the Theologies of Ancient Greek Religion*, Eidinow, Kindt, and Osborne (eds., 2016) emphasize the polyvalent nature of Greek religions, including in how myths vary from region to region, as well as how they can be explained through several possible sets of beliefs (2-3). They discuss numerous, sometimes competing views of the gods, their diversity of representations across multiple media, and multiple elaborate techniques for approaching them (5). They emphasize continuity, heterogeneity, and multiplicity, often avoiding “theology” or “religion”, for example, in favor of “theologies” and “religions”, while examining diverse ways in which points of contact are established between human beings and gods through gift-giving, hymns, and other literary and visual media. They urge scholars to move beyond problematic sets of dualities and oppositions that have plagued Classical scholarship, including “Olympic-Chthonic”, and to appreciate the seamless continuity of Greek religion. I take these same basic notions of polyvalence and plurality and apply them to the myth of Europa, which is a myth about crossing boundaries and uniting differences, and hence a potent symbol for the unity of pluralities. The myth appears to move around rather freely from one artist, author, genre, media, period, and region to the next, finding relevance in a variety of different contextual presentations. As a myth fundamentally associated with the heroic experience of marriage and death for women, it proves remarkably versatile

in comparison to other myths about mortal women and wives of Zeus that also migrate across media.

The Oxford Handbook of Greek Religion (2015) also delves into the multiplicities of Greek religions across a diverse array of literary and visual genres. In Chapter 3, Emily Kearns (40-47) discusses the Greek gods as complex clusters of powers, even mentioning a “Hera network”. As part of his thinking of Greek religions across traditional geographical boundaries, Jan Bremmer examines the influence of Near Eastern myth and cult on Greek religion. He identifies transfers in style and influences from Mesopotamian, Hittite, Phoenician, and Persian cultures (7). The main point is that Greek religion, and particularly the myth of Europa for my purposes, is much too broad and complex to be confined by chronology, geography, genre, or singular interpretation. The myth of Europa differs from Greek religion as a whole, and other myths, in that Europa transcends that complexity and differentiation as a unifying force through the human experiences of marriage, death, and overseas settlement.

In *Coping with the Gods*, H.S. Versnel (2011) discusses the polytheism of Greek religion and how we might best make sense of it. His ideas are indispensable for formulating my own arguments about the malleable myth of Europa, and her diverse applications across an array of contextual presentations. Versnel argues for a more dynamic way of studying Greek religion based on its complex, multi-faceted nature. He claims that “monolithic, one-sided or universalist theories in the field of Greek theology

by their very nature tend to be misleading since they illuminate only part of a complex and kaleidoscopic religious reality, which is neither fully transparent/structured nor entirely chaotic," (10). Regarding the many different forms of the Greek gods, and their diverse means of worship, he concludes that "the different images may peacefully co-exist in the mind of the believer, ready for service whenever required in a particular circumstance," (437). My conception of the Europa Network also deemphasizes "one-sided" interpretations as I examine how people engaged with the myth for more than 600 years. I demonstrate that authors and artists emphasized multiple aspects of the myth to suit their own purposes in multiple genres and media.

Related to the plurality of Greek religions, and also critical for my interpretation of the myth of Europa, network theory stresses continuity, movement across boundaries, and de-centralization. By conceiving of the Europa myth through the image of a network that supersedes traditional chronological and geographical boundaries, with nodes, ties, flows, and data transmission, we enhance our understanding of how it comes to proliferate century after century in so many different contexts. This has the ancillary benefit of helping us resolve apparent contradictions in the application of her myth to justify both war and peace, or as a simultaneous act of abduction and consent.

In *A Small Greek World* (2011), Irad Malkin draws attention to the way that "ancient Mediterranean religions facilitated the movement of religious notions along network lines. Religion sometimes served as a common matrix by mediating between

Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, and local populations,” (8). It was a universal language that everybody could partake in, he explains. Malkin declares one of his primary tasks is “to examine the implications of the network approach for Archaic Greek history, particularly with a view to the formation of Greek identity and Greek civilization,” (25). He elaborates on the link between network theory and cultural identity formation through examination of the mixed populations in Sicily, which he claims were assimilated around the worship of *Apollo Archegetes* into a greater network he calls the “Greek-wide web”. As I demonstrate, clear evidence exists for believing the myth of Europa also was used to mediate between Greeks, Phoenicians, and others, as well as in the process of collective identity formation. The myth served as a kind of “universal language” people used to understand their own relationships with one another and the world around them.

Carla Antonaccio (in *Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. H.A. Shapiro, 2007) argues for a dynamic, interactive western Mediterranean region, in place since at least the Bronze Age, through long-term trade networks evidenced, for example, by an early Mycenaean presence in south Italy. She testifies to the cohabitation of Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, and others in and beyond south Italy and Sicily, referring to Malkin’s idea of a “Middle Ground” (316), in which different cultures cohabit and share an areas’ rich natural resources. Antonaccio discusses evidence for cultural interaction in the form of transfers of artistic styles and mythological narratives (320), an idea

substantiated also by Jonathan Hall, who points out evidence for intermarriage in the form of grave goods (606). Malkin expresses his own ideas in Chapter 19 of the same work, referring multiple times to Fernand Braudel, and his concept of a pan-Mediterranean *reseau* or network (390). Most relevant point for my own purposes, the Europa Network should be thought of as a binding force among diverse populations that transcends conventional cultural boundaries and the rise and fall of major civilizations, linking people together through works of art and literature.

In addition to relying on the plurality of Greek religions and network theory, we also must contextualize our understanding of Europa's heroism. More than 2,500 years ago, authors and artists synthesized her feats with famous Greek heroes through shared imagery, diction, and themes in order to emphasize Europa's parallel heroic status. My arguments for Europa's dynamic heroism run counter to many prevailing scholarly notions of gender in the ancient world, with women often described as objects of men to be passed around and kept domesticated. My own argument is that Europa's heroism consists in her ability to seduce Zeus and give birth to future heroes.

Indeed, some scholars have discussed the heroic nature of women in the ancient world. In *Greek Heroine Cults* (1995), Jennifer Larson examines Greek women honored with heroine cults. She includes in her discussion Semele, Helen, and others, and even briefly mentions Europa. She discusses these women's diverse impacts on multiple aspects of life, including on the political and social organization of Attica (Chapter 1), as

well as in personal relationships (Chapter 4). I approach the myth of Europa on both the micro and macro levels, in order to better understand its effects upon both individuals and communities. One of Larson's fundamental conclusions that coincides with my own is that the same language, ritual, and iconography was associated with heroes and heroines.

The myth of Europa appears to move unimpeded across media, genres, geographical boundaries, and periods of time. It also moves between artists and authors and their respective audiences, helping to infuse people's lives with meaning and value in times of crisis and transition. The myth is, in so many ways, a very poignant illustration of transcendence itself. It depicts the union of a god and mortal woman through his appearance (in most cases) as a divine bull. In that sense, it harmonizes people and gods with the natural world. In some ways, the Europa myth might even be analogized to a kind of spirit or soul occupying many different bodies simultaneously, animated by authors, artists, and audiences, whom it binds together into an ever-changing collective unity with the divine.

My own interpretation for much of the literary and visual material is influenced by Graham Zanker's *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Art and Poetry* (2004), which, at times, I apply to the Archaic and Classical periods. While explaining the parallel acts of viewing art and reading poetic visual descriptions, Zanker (citing Elsner) explains how, in the interpretive process, an object of art is fitted into the viewer's experiences, which

in turn changes the sum of the viewer's experiences, and hence the meaning of the work of art (2004, 7). That is to say, the same work of art is interpreted differently by the same person each time, or in countless ways by different people. Zanker goes on to discuss "audience supplementation" and "audience engagement," and through *enargeia* and *ekphrasis*, the ability of poetry to challenge art in conjuring up visual images (8). Zanker describes art and poetry bringing the artistic subject before the eyes of the viewer, involving the spectator in the process of artistic interpretation, and even integrating the viewer into the artistic composition itself (103). This dynamic process by which the audience comes to supplement or give meaning to a work of art coincides with the plurality of Greek religions and Network theory in that every viewing or reading includes an infinite number of interpretative possibilities fundamentally related to audience and context. My goal with the myth of Europa is to examine what some of these interpretive possibilities might have looked like, particularly given the myth's ubiquitous associations with marriage, death, and intercultural relations.

In developing my own ideas about how artists and authors used the myth of Europa to engage their audiences, I also repeatedly cite Verity Platt's *Facing the Gods* (2011). Platt discusses the related notions of epiphany and *ekphrasis*, as she examines works of art and literature that both portray and reproduce divine encounters. She describes visual and literary representations of the gods crossing the gap between human artifice and divine reality (8), and blurring the boundaries between the symbolic

and real (46), while also referring to the inherent tension between their phenomenological state as agents that act upon the audience, and their ontological state as material representations of the gods (82). Nobody has ever attempted to apply these ideas to the myth of Europa before. Doing so proves beneficial for our own understanding how the myth functioned in people's daily lives. One of the most relevant points to be extracted is that certain visual and literary portrayals recreate the divine love affair of Zeus and Europa in order to endow the human experiences of marriage and death with meaning and value. This applies especially to depictions on objects that were left as dedicatory offerings, or used at weddings and funerals, as many of these objects appear to have been.

I supplement this part of my analysis with Ann Steiner's *Reading Greek Vases* (2007). Steiner's techniques for reading Greek vases, including her emphasis on repetition as an enabler of communication (10), aids us in the identification of both traditional and innovative elements in red and black figure vase painting depictions of Europa, as well as in a variety of other media where we have sufficient evidence, such as architectural stone metopes. In Chapter Seven, Steiner elaborates on the relationship between repetition and paradigm by drawing attention to how stories and images of heroes were repeated in art and literature in order to establish a paradigm for human behavior. She identifies Theseus, Herakles, and Menelaus as paradigms of male virtue for young Athenian men to emulate, including in the important act of marriage (137). I

argue for Europa's parallel paradigmatic role as an ideal bride for young women to emulate by analyzing images of her on a diverse range of visual media, including certain types of vases, mirrors, jewels, and jewelry boxes, all intimately associated with the world of women.

Outline

The organization method I have employed might seem confusing. Chapter 1 is literary-oriented, Chapters 2 through 4 are visually oriented, and Chapter 5 is literary-oriented. It might appear more logical to have included all the literature together, and then all the visual evidence. My primary reason for choosing this organization is because of evidence distribution; that is to say, we have so much more visual than literary evidence, and no full literary accounts of the myth of Europa until Moschus in 150 BC. Second, in keeping with my conception of the general versatility of the Europa Network, and its ability to transcend media and genre, I hope to acclimate the reader to easier slippage between the two types of evidence since, in the case of the myth of Europa, they so often are involved with the same fundamental act of helping human beings deal with various life transitions, which is precisely why the literature so often paints a picture, and the visual evidence tells a story that unfolds over time. The analogous acts of reading and visualizing remain paramount throughout this project. Finally, by the time we reach Moschus, I wanted to have already analyzed South Italian

vase painting, since his poem shares so much in common with these earlier visual portrayals. Had I analyzed his poem beforehand, I would have caused the reader greater stress in trying to visualize these shared elements without seeing them beforehand.

I begin my literary analysis in Chapter 1 with an investigation of written evidence for the myth of Europa from the eighth through the sixth centuries BC. Most of what remains is, of course, fragmentary, but it can be reconstructed to produce a generally coherent narrative for the myth. The examples appear in a wide array of literary genres, including epic, lyric, and works of genealogy and mythography. In their diverse renderings, these various myths would have generated widespread appeal and captivated audiences in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, South Italy, and beyond.

Miscellaneous Archaic visual arts (besides vase painting) constitute my visual analysis in Chapter 2. I include works done in clay, metal, and stone. On the whole, not many examples survive, and the ones we do have are noticeably similar. Nevertheless, useful insights can be gleaned from these examples and conclusions to lay the foundation for later analyses. Grouping the evidence by material medium, I begin with works in clay and metal, before concluding with works in stone. Nearly all of these Archaic visual depictions feature Europa seated on a standing, or slowly moving, bull. Perhaps most significantly, these visual depictions of Europa almost without exception feature her alongside distinguished heroes in parallel acts of conquest.

Chapter 3, also visually oriented, provides an analysis of Archaic black figure and early red figure vase painting. Black and red figure pottery appears at archaeological sites throughout the Mediterranean, including Italy, Greece, the Greek islands, and beyond. Depictions of Europa proliferate across a range of different vessel types, revealing the myth's popularity in multiple aspects of people's public and private lives. The predominant scene is still of Europa seated on the back of the bull, although for the first time we also observe Europa off the back of the bull. We also find additional participants in the scene besides fish and marine life, including Hermes and Aphrodite, who continue to appear in numerous visual and literary depictions of Europa for several centuries afterwards. Their co-appearance, we shall see, relates in part to close associations between Europa's overseas journey and wedding and funeral processions, in which they also frequently appear.

Together, miscellaneous Classical visual arts and late Classical vase painting comprise Chapter 4. These diverse visual portrayals of Europa come from locations in and around Greece, South Italy, the Black Sea, and Crete. They include depictions on personal items like terracotta figurines, mirrors, and gems, but also on coins, which would have circulated widely. We observe increased innovation and the creation of distinct styles during this time period, which set the stage for important later innovations. The late Classical represents a peak period in vase painting depictions of Europa. As I argue, a kind of inter-ceramic dialogue takes place between all the

different potters and painters, each one re-appropriating traditional material to leave a lasting, indelible impression on this popular enduring myth. Europa appears hanging off the side of the bull in some portrayals, or playing with her friends when the bull first appears. We have multi-tiered compositions too, with divinities looking down as spectators from above on the central action of Europa and the bull, even Zeus himself. Through their ability to captivate and enthrall their audiences, these vase paintings shatter the boundaries between human beings and gods, providing unfettered access to the divine. Thus, the journey of Europa and Zeus becomes the journey of everybody, her love becomes our love, and her joy the same joy we feel during some of life's most profound moments of transition. That is to say, through Europa, we are all heroes and tamers of the bull. None of the other loves of Zeus, to my knowledge, figure so importantly in helping human beings establish meaning and value in their lives.

In Chapter 5, I resume my literary analysis, focusing on material from 480-150 BC. Europa appears in a more diverse range of literary genres during this time period. Her myth also begins to take on new meanings, as writers employ it for increasingly different aims. We have description of or significant reference to different parts of her myth in tragedy, comedy, and lyric. Poets who treat Europa include the notable authors Aeschylus, Bacchylides, and Euripides. We also find mention of her myth as an actual historical event by fifth and fourth century rationalizing authors, Herodotus most notably. During the Hellenistic, authors in diverse genres who treat her myth include

Apollonius, Callimachus, Zenodotus, Lycophron, and Antimachos. While an inherent danger exists in grouping together Classical and Hellenistic literature, these different versions of the myth of Europa contrast so strongly with one another that it is important we understand how they interrelate, particularly with my final example.

My Chapter 5 literary analysis concludes with the fullest account that survives of Europa's myth from ancient times, Moschus' 166-line *epyllion Europa*. Moschus takes us back to the mythological moment when Europa first meets the bull, while she is playing with her friends in a flower-filled meadow. He describes her ensuing overseas voyage to Crete too, another key moment in the myth, and by far the most common visual portrayal. He eventually ends his work with Europa becoming the mother of Zeus' three children on Crete. His account covers, therefore, Europa's final moments as a maiden, and the beginning of her life as a mother, or her transition from maiden to mother, which fundamentally relates to the myth's function in endowing human weddings with meaning and value.

Closing Remarks

I acknowledge the relative impossibility of systematically discussing the malleable myth of Europa. So much material from so many literary and visual genres exists, and it encompasses such a diversity of periods and locations. We are inundated by variation, and as Versnel warns about Greek religion (2011, 7), there is a real

potential for chaos. By keeping in mind the plurality of Greek religions, network theory, audience engagement theories, and the complex ways in which art and literature interact with people across diverse media, we can learn to appreciate more fully the dynamic, multi-faceted myth of Europa, and Europa herself as an exemplary bride, mother, and hero.

In the following pages, I demonstrate how the ancient Greeks devised innovative techniques for empowering women and promoting cultural diversity. I also importantly shed light on how they struggled with some of the same issues facing us today, including how to integrate women and people of different cultural backgrounds into a common cultural milieu. Like us, they had no clear answers when it came to explaining the antagonism between sexes, cultures, even life and death, but they did have tools to help them, like the myth of Europa. In that sense, I hope to inspire us to activate art and literature similarly as we strive towards unity in an increasingly complex world. We must learn to appreciate how we form a collective humanity with people living on every part of the planet today, as well as with those who lived thousands of years ago.

My conclusions should deflate our sense of a privileged modernity, and the teleological view of history as a steady march to progress and enlightenment. Quite the contrary, it is cyclical and overlapping. We must recognize and appreciate how the myth of Europa served as a symbol of unity across divides thousands of years ago, long before we approached similar divides ourselves. The Europa Network has empowered

women, promoted cultural diversity, and given people hope for nearly three thousand years. It is only in the last century or so that we have begun to recognize what has been with us all along: a vision for living in harmony with the cosmos and one another, and the ability of art and literature to illuminate the way forward.

CHAPTER 1 – *Maiden Who Tamed the Bull*

Archaic Literature (800-500 BC)

The first mention of Europa occurs in the poetry of Homer. Afterwards, we find references to her in the diverse works of Hesiod, Eumelos, Asios, the anonymous author of the *Batrachomyomachia*, Anacreon, Akousilaos, Stesichorus, and Pherecydes. I take up each of these authors in the ensuing pages. I structure my analysis around a few key pivot points I have devised through the detailed collection and examination of evidence. These key points support my main conclusions about Europa's heroism, wedding associations, and diverse cultural appeal.

Europa's heroism and wedding associations are linked in the sense that her marriage to Zeus is presented as a heroic victory. As we see, this has the end effect of endowing real-life human weddings with heroic value since Europa is a mortal woman. The Zeus-Europa union is formulated through imagery and diction associated with conflict, moreover, as are several other divine love affairs. It might seem unusual that scenes of marriage and sexual union would read like scenes of conflict, but the same ancient Greek verb *damazo* applies both to "overcoming" one's enemy in battle and "taming" a bride through sexual consummation. We also have evidence for ritualized

violence associated with Greek weddings. For many Greek women, marriage, and sexual consummation especially, was analogous to death and conflict.¹

We also should keep in mind the broader mythological tradition of antagonism between the sexes. Overt hostility characterizes the divine love affairs of Ouranos and Gaia, Cronos and Rhea, and Zeus and Hera. Various stories detail them bickering and plotting against one another. For many Greeks, love and war were simply unthinkable apart, as the art and literature amply demonstrate. The myth of Europa is no exception to this general rule.²

All love affairs are not the same, however, particularly with respect to the power dynamics between male and female. Sometimes, for example, we observe the rape of an unwilling female victim, and other times the clear duping of a vulnerable male. Or, in the case of the malleable myth of Europa, we observe a combination of both. In order to conquer the king of the gods, a goddess, or woman, had to possess the requisite power

¹ We know death, violence, and heroism all were associated with Greek weddings. Some wedding rituals even reenacted death and violence, with actual blood in some cases. Redfield (2003, xi, 68) discusses marriage as both heroic and violent for the bride, and involving a “release of animal instinct” (47). Redfield includes an analysis of various parallels between weddings and funerals, including in the types of material objects associated with both (i.e., 116, 328). Deacy and Pierce (eds., 1997) has relevant readings, including an essay by Robson (65-82) on “bestial myths” which contains mention of Europa (75) and other love affairs of Zeus involving animal metamorphoses. Robson emphasizes the importance of animal and hunting metaphors during female rites of passage at Brauron. Reeder (ed., 1995) has relevant essays, including by Stewart (esp. 74-79). Also, Osborne in Kampen (ed., 1996, Chapter 5).

² The castration and overthrow of Ouranos occurs during a feigned act of copulation with Gaia, and results in the birth of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. In Book 8 of the *Odyssey*, Hephaestus traps Aphrodite and Ares when they make love behind his back, another poignant encapsulation of the paradoxical union of love and war in ancient Greek thought. Consider also the role played by *Eris* at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, or the philosophy of Empedocles in which Love and Strife are the two principal organizing forces of the universe. The theme is ubiquitous, including with the Europa myth.

of *eros*. Through the all-encompassing power of sexual desire, a woman could overcome any man or god. Thus, Hera's amorous conquest of Zeus in Book 14 of the *Iliad* reads in some ways like Europa's overcoming Zeus with desire in epic poems about her. Europa's victory involves not just conquering Zeus, however, but also subduing a divine bull. This emphasizes her heroism as a distinctly human heroic feat, since she overcomes a divine bull with *eros*, while Heracles, Theseus, and other heroes must use force and violence.³

Stories about the heroine Europa circulated from a very early date, traveling from one population center to the next. At different times and places, these stories dealt with her abduction by the bull, the death of her son Sarpedon at the Trojan War, the adventures of her son Minos in Sicily, or perhaps the voyage of her brother Cadmus in his search for her after her abduction. Writers, story tellers, etc. emphasized or suppressed different elements of the Europa myth according to geographical location and genealogic ties, giving her a different father, mother, or sons. Europa's family ties remain important throughout our investigation of archaic literature, which is not surprising given the time period's general obsession with genealogy.⁴

³ I emphasize Europa's heroism not only as a bride of Zeus, but as a mother and sister of famous heroes, since for a Greek woman these also constituted her heroism. For more on the complex, multi-faceted subject of women and heroism in the ancient world, J. Larson (1995) explores the topic through a focus on Greek women honored specifically with heroine cults.

⁴ The ancient obsession with genealogy appears foreign to us today. Before heroic duels, for example, Homeric heroes often stop fighting and recite their genealogies back several generations. Hesiod emphasizes divine and human genealogy in his epic poems the *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women*. For more on the ancient genealogical obsession, consult *OCD* sv. *Genealogy*. West (1985,7) emphasizes the sheer amount of genealogical literature, while citing numerous authors besides Hesiod and Homer.

While discussing Europa's diverse cultural appeal, I argue for a significant correlation or overlap between places of literary production for the Europa myth and the extent to which intercultural relations are known to have existed there. Put succinctly, the Europa myth proliferates in areas where the descendants of Cretans, Phoenicians, and others are known to have interacted and cohabited, which are rather considerable in number given these populations' general mobility from the late Bronze Age onwards. Europa's widespread popularity in heterogeneous population centers likely relates to her marginal status as both a Phoenician and Cretan. She presented a mixed cultural identity to the ancient world, and thus was relatable to people of many different backgrounds living together in culturally-mixed communities. Had she just been a Greek woman for example who had not gone to Zeus' homeland of Crete, like, for example, Danae, her myth would have never been as well-received, or in so many different places.

Through the following analysis of Archaic Greek literary evidence, it will become clear that myth of Europa continued to evolve over time and take on new meanings. Its versatility in terms of genre, place of creation, and subject matter made it well-suited for flourishing in multiple contexts. We do not have any surviving, sustained accounts of the myth of Europa from the Archaic period, but from the many different strands woven together, we can create a coherent image of what the now lost Europa story in its entirety might have looked like. It would have included the story of Europa's abduction

by the bull, her magical overseas journey, her life as a mother, as well as the lives of her sons, brothers, and other family members, through whom her myth percolated into regional mythologies, and facilitated cultural and personal identity construction. Through various mythological narratives, Europa becomes an ancestor of people in population settlements scattered all around the Mediterranean, which makes her myth above all the other wives of Zeus so popular and prevalent.

Finally, while I refer to “the myth of Europa”, I emphasize from the outset that we are not dealing with a singular myth. We are dealing with a plurality of myths and contextual presentations, spread out across space and time, consisting of interactions between poets, authors, artists, and audiences in a complex multiplicity of fascinating ways. In that sense, we are dealing with the many myths of Europa, or with the Europa Network as I identify it. The Europa Network is a microcosm for Greek religion, which is itself polyvalent, expansive, continuous, heterogeneous, and even contradictory at times. This plurality characterizes the myth of Europa, and Greek religion both with respect to local variations and points of emphases on certain features, and also importantly to their interactions with people across a whole range of media and in numerous different contexts. Unlike Greek myth, however, Europa is not just an expression of pluralities, but she also is the embodiment of unity amidst those pluralities, through her synthesis of human and divine, west and east, life and death.

One of Many Loves

The earliest literary reference to Europa occurs during the famous *apate Dios* or “deception of Zeus” from the *Iliad* (14.153ff.). Hera determines to divert Zeus’ attention away from the battlefield by seducing him. As Janko notes, the imagery and diction used to describe Hera’s preparation for this encounter with Zeus contains formulaic parallels with scenes of combat, including warriors arming for battle.⁵ I would argue further that the Hera-Zeus encounter could be read like a combat duel between two male warriors. Even before approaching Zeus on Mt. Ida, Hera views him from a distance with enmity. He appears “hateful” (*stugeros* 158) to her, and she considers how she might “deceive” (*exapaphoito* 160) him.

Yet, we also identify in Hera’s preparation elements of wedding ritual. She cleanses her skin and applies perfume (170-175), arranges her hair (175-177), puts on a special robe (178-180), before fixing her jewelry, girdle, veil, and shoes (182-186). This is the same preparatory process a woman would go through on the day of her wedding. In fact, the entire *apate Dios*, in some ways, reenacts the wedding ceremony and the *hieros gamos* of Hera and Zeus, reproducing the bride’s journey to the home of the groom, even terminating at a *thalamos* (338) where marriage is consummated through copulation. Multiple overt references to weddings and marriage occur throughout this

⁵ Janko (1992, 173-174, n.166-186) associates Hera’s adornment ritual with the arming of a warrior, and in particular with the goddess Athena. By his reading, Athena’s weapon substitutes for Hera’s love charm from Aphrodite in Book 14.

scene. This includes the marriage of Oceanus and Tethys, the primal cosmic couple, whom Hera feigns she is going to visit, as well as the original union of Hera and Zeus, referred to twice.⁶ A kind of nuptial undercurrent flows throughout the *apate Dios*, I would argue, drowning out the combative nature of Hera's open conflict with Zeus.

Armed as it were for battle with Zeus, Hera visits Aphrodite and begs her for "affection and desire" with which she "conquers immortals and mortals," (198-199). I emphasize here the word "conquer" (*damnai*), used again by Zeus shortly afterwards in reference to himself at the sight of Hera.⁷ This verb, widely used in the context of vanquishing one's opponent in war, highlights the martial nature of this marital encounter. After visiting Aphrodite, Hera travels overseas to meet Sleep and secure his assistance (225-230).⁸ Finally, after a suspenseful, prolonged build-up, Hera appears to Zeus. She expresses the urgency of her voyage to Oceanus and Tethys, but his thoughts are elsewhere:

τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς:
"Ἥρη κείσε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ὕστερον ὄρμηθῆναι,
νῶϊ δ' ἄγ' ἐν φιλότῃ τραπεύομεν εὐνηθέντε.
οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν,
οὐδ' ὀπὸτ' ἠρασάμην Ἴξιονίης ἀλόχοιο,
ἦ τέκε Πειρίθοον θεόφιν μῆστωρ' ἀτάλαντον:

⁶ For the marriage of Oceanus and Tethys, cf. *Il.* 14.201 and 14.302. For that of Zeus and Hera, cf. *Il.* 14.294-296, and 327. We have additional references to the "wedding chamber" (*thalamos* 166) and "girdle" (*zosato* 181) of Hera. For physical corollaries to Hera's accoutrements here in, for example, funerary goods deposited with women, Janko (1992, 173-178).

⁷ Cf. *Il.* 14.316 (*edamassen*).

⁸ Overseas travel is a component of other important divine love affairs I consider, including, especially, Europa and Zeus. Sleep and dreams also repeatedly play an important part elsewhere, including in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ακρισιώνης,
ἢ τέκε Περσῆα πάντων ἀριδείκετον ἀνδρῶν:
οὐδ' ὅτε Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο,
ἢ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν:
οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
ἢ ῥ' Ἡρακλῆα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα:
ἢ δὲ Διώνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν:
οὐδ' ὅτε Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης,
οὐδ' ὅποτε Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος, οὐδὲ σεῦ αὐτῆς,
ὡς σέο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἰρεῖ

Zeus the Cloud-Driver answered: 'Hera, you shall go: later. But for now let us taste the joys of love; for never has such desire for goddess or mortal woman so gripped and overwhelmed my heart, not even when I was seized by love for Ixion's wife, who gave birth to Peirithous the gods' rival in wisdom; or for Acrisius' daughter, slim-ankled Danaë, who bore Perseus, greatest of warriors; **or for the far-famed daughter of Phoenix, who gave me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthus**; or for Semele mother of Dionysus, who brings men joy; or for Alcmene at Thebes, whose son was lion-hearted Heracles; or for Demeter of the lovely tresses; or for glorious Leto; or even for you yourself, as this love and sweet desire for you grips me now.'

(*Il.* 14. 312-328)⁹

In this catalogue of his mortal and divine loves, Zeus mentions Europa third, just after Danae the mother of Perseus, but before Semele, the mother of Dionysos. As Janko notes, there is a kind of chiasmic arrangement with Semele and Alcmene in the following lines.¹⁰ Semele is mentioned before Alcmene, but her son Dionysos is mentioned after

⁹ Unless otherwise noted, for all *Iliad* translations, A.S. Kline (tr., 2009).

¹⁰ Janko (1992, 201-202, n. 313-328).

Heracles, the son of Alcmena. This subtle overlap encapsulates the analogous relationship between human and divine, and the easy slippage between them.¹¹

Europa, notably, is the only one of Zeus' loves to give birth to multiple offspring. She also importantly occupies the physical center (321-322) of Zeus' long catalogue of lovers running from lines 315-328 as the third example. The third spot on a list usually is prominent although here the list continues on much further. These insights reinforce Europa's prominence and special importance to Homer, who has Zeus specifically identify her as "the daughter of far-famed Phoenix, who gave me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthys," (321-322). He refers to Europa through her father and sons, emphasizing her as a daughter and mother of famous kings. This is in keeping with epic poetry's focus on genealogy, and on women as the noble mothers of heroes.

We should consider the *apate Dios* of Book 14 alongside other divine love affair scenes. Gutzwiller, Olson, Janko, Hunter, and others have noted important points of convergence between important epic human and divine love affairs, including the *apate Dios*. For example, they have cited multiple formulaic and thematic parallels between Hera and Zeus in Book 14 of the *Iliad*, Aphrodite and Ares in Book 8 of the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite and Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, and Europa and Zeus in Hesiod's two Europa fragments, among others. In his commentary, Janko cites repeated

¹¹ That is, we have two mortal women besides Europa who copulate with Zeus. One gives birth to a god, and the other to a famous hero who, among other feats, overcomes death by returning from Hades and ascending to Olympus after dying. Two of Europa's sons, moreover, live eternally as judges of dead souls in the Underworld. This indicates a shared emphasis on sacred human weddings as producing divine offspring.

verbal and thematic parallels between the *apate Dios* and the Homeric love affairs of Aphrodite and Anchises, Ares and Aphrodite, Odysseus and Penelope, and Paris and Helen.¹² Janko also makes reference to the holy wedding (*hieros gamos*) of Zeus and Hera in relation to that of Ouranos and Gaia.¹³ He does not, however, cite the myth of Europa for parallels, which is a relevant connection I explore, following Gutzwiller.¹⁴

Each of these scholars, approaching the same material evidence from a different perspective, has arrived at a similar conclusion: that significant verbal and thematic parallels exist between different divine love affair scenes in the epic tradition. I synthesize their findings to conclude that Europa, Hera, Aphrodite, and other women and goddesses were similarly invoked, worshipped, and praised through epic poetry to help explain, facilitate, and safeguard human marriages. This is pertinent for oral poetry in that it actively seeks to reconstruct these divine love affairs through formulaic usages for live audiences. In so doing, it forges an important bridge with the audience. In the case of the myth of Europa, a mortal woman who unites with the king of the

¹² Janko (1992, 170-181, n.153-353) cites numerous points of contact with the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and other texts, while also commenting upon traditional tales of divine seduction. Olson (2012) discusses poetic affiliations of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, including the Iliadic *apate Dios* (16). He mentions Janko and Faulkner as already having noted similarities between these and other works (25). For additional points of contact, Merriam (2001, esp. 51-66).

¹³ Janko (1992, 206, n. 346-353).

¹⁴ In her work on Hellenistic *epyllion*, Gutzwiller (1981) focuses on Homeric and Hesiodic models for later epic works, including Moschus' *Europa*. She claims that Moschus based his much later version of the Europa-Zeus love affair off of older models in Homer and Hesiod (6, 63), implying that a kind of generic love scene existed in the Archaic.

gods, Zeus, this ultimately allows the poet to emphasize Europa as the mother of heroes through the story of her miraculous union with the divine.

Zeus' vulnerability to *eros* in Book 14 is striking, particularly given his prominence as the most powerful of all the gods. Zeitlin provides a compelling explanation for it by considering Zeus' submission in the traditional context of the all-encompassing power of *eros*.¹⁵ Zeus' acquiescence to Hera is worth detailing more fully, moreover, as a way of supplementing our understanding of how these different divine and human love affairs relate to one another.

Zeus' helplessness becomes apparent when he first sees Hera in Book 14, before they even have exchanged words:

ὥς δ' ἶδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρωσ πικινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
οἶον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι
εἰς εὐνήν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας

Zeus, the Cloud-Driver, saw her, and instantly his sharp mind was overwhelmed by longing, as in the days when they first found love, sleeping together without their dear parents' knowledge

(*Il.* 14.294-296)

The theme here of being conquered by love at first sight is one we find repeated with many other divine and human love affairs, including that of Zeus and Europa. Zeus' words to Hera are also remarkably similar to Paris' words with Helen in Book 3 of the

¹⁵ Zeitlin in Porter (2002, 50-72). Zeitlin's argument supports my own to the extent that she also emphasizes the antagonistic nature of erotic encounters for humans and gods, including resistance, competition, and subversion by both partners (58). She makes reference to *Eros* as a tyrant who assaults the senses (60), and to Zeus' conquest in Book 14 as evidence of his susceptibility to erotic desire and a challenge or threat to his authority (65).

Iliad.¹⁶ These passages, and others like them, clearly are formulaic variations of one another. They involve a request to go to bed, mention of the first time the two lovers met, and other notable parallels of diction, including reference to being “seized” or “captured” by “desire”.

I aim to illustrate through these different examples how Homer (and eventually Hesiod) tap into a shared tradition of the power of *eros* over mortals and gods. Zeus openly admits the heart within his breast is “overcome” (*edamassen*, 316) by *eros* in the *Iliad* passage where he references Europa, clarifying an acute self-awareness of his own state of submission.¹⁷ In this helpless state, Zeus is linked through diction and theme to Paris at the sight of Helen, Anchises at the sight of Aphrodite, and other notable lovers in the epic genre including, as we shall see, himself at first sight of Europa in Hesiod.

Curiously, Homer omits mention of Sarpedon as one of Europa’s sons. The mainstream tradition from Hesiod onwards, we see, is that Europa also is the mother of Sarpedon. Homer possibly suppresses this tradition for multiple reasons, including that Sarpedon’s death was too famous an event to deal with extensively in his work.¹⁸ Minos and Rhadamanthys, Europa’s two sons whom Homer does mention, reflect her

¹⁶ Cf. *Il.* 3.441-446: “Come to bed, and know the joy of love, for I have never desired you more than now, for love and sweet desire seize me, not even when I first took you from Lacedaemon aboard my sea-going ship, and slept with you on Cranae’s isle.”

¹⁷ Cf. *Il.* 14.353 (*dameis*) and 14.328 (*hairei*) for further evidence of Zeus’ subservience.

¹⁸ Perhaps it somehow would have detracted from the deaths of Patroclus and Hector, which are more relevant topics for the poem. Or, perhaps the poet found problematic the tradition that Europa lived a few generations before the Trojan War, and Sarpedon would have had to live for an unnatural duration of time to have fought. This had led some scholars even to postulate two different Sarpedons.

associations with transcending cultural boundaries as they are both associated with diverse locations. Legend has it that Minos, after ruling Crete, traveled to Sicily where he ruled and later died, before becoming a judge of the underworld.¹⁹ Rhadamanthys, after being exiled, according to some traditions, from Crete by his brother Minos, fled to central Boeotia, where he ruled and died, before also becoming a judge of the underworld.²⁰

Unfortunately, we cannot speak with any certainty about the life of Homer. We do not know if he ever really existed, or even if we accept that he did, when, where, or what poems he actually composed during his lifetime. This has given rise to an entire field of scholarship dealing with the so-called Homeric Question.²¹ In order to highlight a larger point that I make in this chapter, however, and indeed throughout this work, I call attention to one of the most common biographical traditions about Homer. It comes near the end of the Hellenistic-dated *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*. The imaginary poet, interjecting himself into the poem, asks his audience of Delian maidens to answer the question, “Whom think ye, girls, is the sweetest singer that comes here, and in whom do you most delight?”, with the answer, “He is a blind man, and dwells in rocky Chios: his lays are evermore supreme,” (169-173). This reference belongs to a

¹⁹ Hdt. (VII.170-171) for more on Minos’ wanderings. Gantz (sv. *Europa*). Cf. also *Hom. Od.* 11. 568 ff. and *Pl. Grg.* 523a and 524b ff. for more on Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon as judges of the dead.

²⁰ For more on Rhadamanthys’ myth, cf. *Apollod. Biblio.* (3.1.2) among ancient authors, and Davidson (1999, 247-252) among modern scholars.

²¹ For more on the elaborately discussed Homeric Question, including relevant background and bibliography, Graziosi (2002).

biographical tradition of Homer having come from the island of Chios, which seems just as likely a candidate as any other reported to be his homeland.²² The *Homeridai*, or descendants of Homer, were *rhapsodes* believed to have lived on Chios for several generations after the poet's death. Pindar and Plato, for example, both refer to them, which suggests a strong historical connection between Homer and the island did exist.²³

Chios, incidentally, does have strong traditional ties to Phoenicia and Crete, the two places most closely associated with Europa. The Europa-Zeus love affair resonated with audiences all around the general eastern Aegean region where Chios is located, we come to see, with evidence for it turning up in both the literary and archaeological record from a very early date. In relating the story of the mythological foundations of Chios, Pausanias emphasizes the role played by Cretans, including a fleet led by Oenopion.²⁴ Shortly afterwards, while focusing on the foundation of nearby Ionian colonies, he mentions the temples of Heracles Erythrae and of Athena at Priene.²⁵ He claims a statue inside the temple of Athena on the mainland across from Chios arrived

²² For the life of Homer, we have the controversial, date-indeterminable, Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*. The work portrays Homer as the child of an Argive father and a mother from Cyme in Asia Minor, who was born in Smyrna, on the central Anatolian coast. He allegedly moved to and resided in Ithaca, Colophon, and Phocaea, before eventually settling in Chios. He later traveled to Samos, and then, afterwards, died on the island of Ios.

²³ Cf. *Pind. Nem.* 2.1-3 and *Pl. Phdr.* 252b.

²⁴ "In course of time Oenopion too sailed with a fleet from Crete to Chios, accompanied by his sons Talus, Euanthes, Melas, Salagus and Athamas," (7.4.8). Unless noted otherwise, all translations of Pausanias W.H.S. Jones (1961).

²⁵ "You would be delighted too with the sanctuary of Heracles at Erythrae and with the temple of Athena at Priene, the latter because of its image and the former on account of its age. The image is like neither the Aeginetan, as they are called, nor yet the most ancient Attic images; it is absolutely Egyptian, if ever there was such. There was a wooden raft, on which the god set out from Tyre in Phoenicia. The reason for this we are not told even by the Erythraeans themselves" (7.5.5).

on a wooden raft from Tyre in Phoenicia. Tyre, or Sidon, depending on which tradition one wishes to follow, is also the birthplace of Europa.

In short, Cretan and Phoenician influence permeated the vicinity of Chios and the nearby Ionian coast and islands, likely providing fertile ground for the myth of Europa's early development. The myth might have passed between that region and mainland Greece through the Greek island of Euboea. Like the Phoenicians, the Euboeans were famous for long-distance trade and travel. They are famous as the exporters of Greek culture to places as far away as the Black Sea and Italy. Whether or not Homer really lived on Chios, or any other place in the greater eastern Aegean region, it may be significant that the oldest literary reference to Europa we have is from a legendary poet often regarded by the ancients as having resided in and travelled to places where Phoenicians, Cretans, their descendants, and others interacted and cohabited.

Hesiod and The Boeotian Europa

We have two passages about the myth of Europa generally ascribed to Hesiod. Based on stylistic grounds, they both are included into his *Catalogue of Women*. The first comes from the *scholia* of Homer, and the second from a papyrus uncovered at Oxyrhynchus. For the reason of it not having been left in the sand for centuries, the first, predictably, is much better preserved than the second. The translator, Evelyn White,

moreover, has taken a great deal of liberty in textual reconstruction of the latter. This does not necessarily imply that the first fragment is more informative, particularly given the second fragment's greater length and broader scope, which includes, importantly, Sarpedon's legendary death at Troy. Here are the two passages:

Εὐρώπην τὴν Φοῖνικος Ζεὺς θεασάμενος ἔν τινι λειμῶνι μετὰ νυμφῶν ἄνθη ἀναλέγουσαν ἤρασθη, καὶ κατελθὼν ἤλλαξεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει· οὕτως τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπατήσας ἔβάστασε, καὶ διαπορθμεύσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐμίγη αὐτῇ. εἰθ' οὕτως συνώικισεν αὐτὴν Ἀστερίωνι τῷ Κρητῶν βασιλεῖ. γενομένη δὲ ἔγκυος ἐκείνη τρεῖς παῖδας ἐγέννησε Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡ ἱστορία παρ' Ἑσιόδωι καὶ Βακχυλίδηι (fr. 10 Snell).

As soon as Zeus saw Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, picking flowers in a meadow with her girlfriends, he fell in love. So, coming down, he changed himself into a bull and breathed a crocus from his mouth. Thus, deceiving Europa, he carried her off, and after crossing the sea to Crete, he had intercourse with her. Then in this way, he made her live with Asterion, king of the Cretans. After completing pregnancy there, she bore three sons, Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys. This is the story according to Hesiod and Bacchylides.²⁶

.....]πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ἄλμυρον ὕδωρ
.....] Διὸς δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι.
τῇ δὲ μίγη φιλότῃ] πατῆρ καὶ δῶρον ἔδωκεν
ὄρμον χρύσειον, τόν ῥ' Ἑφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης
..... ἰδυίηισιν προπίδεσσι 5
..... πα]τρὶ φέρων ὃ δὲ δέξατο δῶρο[ν
..... κού]ρ[η]ι Φοῖνικος ἀγαυοῦ.
..... ἔμ]ελλε τανισφύρωι Εὐρωπείηι,
.....] πατῆρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
..... νύ]μφης πάρα καλλικόμοιο. 10
ἠ δ' ἄρα παῖδ]ας [ἔτικτ]εν ὑπερμενεί Κρονίωι
..... πο]λέων ἡγήτορας ἀνδρῶν,
Μίνω τε κρείοντα] δίκαιόν τε Ῥαδάμανθυν
καὶ Σαρπηδόνα διον] ἀμύμονά τε κρατερ[όν τε.

²⁶ (MW fr. 140 = schol. Hom. Il. 12.292 = Bacchylides 10). Translation my own.

]εδάσσατο μητίετα Ζ[εύς Λυκίης εὐρ]εΐης ἴφι ἄνασσε πό]λεις εὖ ναιεταώσα[ς πολ]λὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή μεγαλή]τορι ποιμένι λαῶν.]ν μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἐφί]λατο μητίετα Ζεύς. πολ]ὺν δ' ἐκρίνατο λαόν. Τρ]ώεσσ' ἐπικούρους] πολέμοιο δαήμων. ἀριστ]ερά σήματα φαίνων Ζεὺς] ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς.]ατοὶ ἀμφιβαλοῦσαι] Διόθεν τέρας ἦεν. Ἔκτ]ορος ἀνδροφόνοιο]δὲ κήδε' ἔθηκε.]ς Ἀργεῖ[ο]ισι]κε[15 20 25 30
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So she (Europa) crossed the briny water from afar to Crete, beguiled by the wiles of Zeus. Secretly did the Father snatch her away and gave her a gift, the golden necklace, the toy which Hephaestus the famed craftsman once made by his cunning skill and brought and gave it to his father for a possession. And Zeus received the gift, and gave it in turn to the daughter of proud Phoenix. But when the Father of men and of gods had mated so far off with trim-ankled Europa, then he departed back again from the rich-haired girl. So she bare sons to the almighty Son of Cronos, glorious leaders of wealthy men -- Minos the ruler, and just Rhadamanthys and noble Sarpedon the blameless and strong. To these did wise Zeus give each a share of his honour. Verily Sarpedon reigned mightily over wide Lycia and ruled very many cities filled with people, wielding the sceptre of Zeus: and great honour followed him, which his father gave him, the great-hearted shepherd of the people. For wise Zeus ordained that he should live for three generations of mortal men and not waste away with old age. He sent him to Troy; and Sarpedon gathered a great host, men chosen out of Lycia to be allies to the Trojans. These men did Sarpedon lead, skilled in bitter war. And Zeus, whose wisdom is everlasting, sent him forth from heaven a star, showing tokens for the return of his dear son . . . for well he (Sarpedon) knew in his heart that the sign was indeed from Zeus. Very

greatly did he excel in war together with man-slaying Hector and brake down the wall, bringing woes upon the Danaans. But so soon as Patroclus had inspired the Argives with hard courage...²⁷

Fortunately, these are more detailed and elaborate than the two-line Homeric reference, and hence reveal much more about the Europa myth as it was conceived of at the time. Europa is not mentioned in passing, but she is the main subject of the passages, which makes them the earliest surviving examples of their type. They confirm that from a very early date in the seventh century BC, most of the stock elements of her myth were already in place: Europa was playing with her girlfriends in a meadow when Zeus appeared as a bull, gave her a gift, deceived her, and abducted her to Crete, where she became the mother of three famous heroes.

As noted above, Hesiod's version of the Europa-Zeus encounter shares notable similarities with other important divine love affair scenes. These shared elements include seduction, deception, exchange of (or offering of) a divine gift, love at first sight, the power of *eros*, an overseas journey, and an emphasis on noble heroic offspring, all evident in this passage. Scholars including Gutzwiller, Janko, and Olson collectively have laid the groundwork for an analysis along these lines.²⁸

²⁷ MW fr. 141, P. Oxy. 1358 fr. 1. (Grenfell-Hunt, ed., 1; Reinach, ed., 1; Jouguet, ed., l. 2.) E. White (tr., 1914). For a more literal translation, Hunter (2005, 254).

²⁸ Gutzwiller (1981, 6), for example, elaborates on the generic god's love affair told in Homer and Hesiod, including Hesiod *Fragment* 140 (63). Janko (1992) focuses mostly on the Iliad Book 14 in relation to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, claiming they both likely elaborate on a shared tradition (170). Olson (2012, esp. 16-26) relates the Iliad Book 14 to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and Moschus' much later poem *Europa*, without, however, referring to Hesiod's two fragments.

When I say divine love affairs, I stress that in many cases (and all cases involving Europa) one party is mortal. This is important for understanding how human beings and gods are linked into a common family through heroes and heroines. It also sheds light on the dynamic, multifaceted nature of Greek religion in which there are no real boundaries or stopping points. Especially during the visual portion of my analysis beginning in Chapter Two, I make several references to the polyvalent nature of Greek religion, and different visual techniques employed to unite human beings and gods across a wide array of media. Oral poets and writers in essence often adopted similar techniques for synthesizing human beings and gods.

The first fragment provides a concise summary of Hesiod's (and apparently Bacchylides') version of the Europa-Zeus love affair. In it, significantly, Zeus "desires" (*erasthe* 2) Europa "at first sight" (*theasamenos* 1), when he spies her playing with nymphs in a meadow. The one-time, immediate nature of his reaction is emphasized by use of the aorist participle and main verb. This reaction, recall, is the same one Zeus has, Anchises, Paris, and Ares, when they see their respective lovers in scenes mentioned during the previous section. Zeus changes himself (*ellaxen heauton* 2) into a bull here. As we shall observe in other Archaic versions, there is a conflicting account that Zeus sends a bull rather than assuming the form of the bull himself.²⁹

²⁹ This is important because it means Hesiod's version included an epiphany of Zeus as the bull. The physical appearance of a god in an epic poem marked a moment of grave significance. Epiphanies enhanced the *enargeia* or vividness of the scene, bringing it to life before the audience's eyes.

Significantly, Zeus breathes “a crocus flower from his mouth” (3) in this Hesiod passage. The crocus flower itself must be of special significance. It springs up, recall, along with lotus and hyacinth flowers from the earth beneath Zeus and Hera as they lay on Mt. Ida in Book 14 of the *Iliad*.³⁰ This suggests its possible associations with the *hieros gamos*. The *Phrasikleia Kore* by Aristion of Paros ca. 550 BC, a funerary statue of a young woman holding a crocus, possibly indicates the crocus flower’s associations with hopes for a prosperous afterlife. Crocus also is associated closely with its byproduct saffron. We have late Bronze Age Minoan wall paintings from Crete showing the harvest of saffron, which was of special importance on the island, and generally associated with fertility rituals.³¹ We also find saffron in close association with the Phoenicians, who are credited with having established networks for its trade throughout the eastern and western Mediterranean.³² It was an expensive, exotic spice. As the title of Willard’s work on saffron suggests, the crocus itself was widely associated with international trade and commerce. The word crocus (*krokos*) also quite possibly is Semitic in origin, which would link it with Europa’s original eastern Mediterranean homeland. Flowers are also universally a symbol of life and fertility. Perhaps the crocus flower holds special importance here for one of these reasons. It is culturally linked to Europa’s own

³⁰ Cf. *Il.* 14.348. The crocus also appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (5) in a similar list of flowers in the meadow where Persephone is playing when Hades abducts her.

³¹ Hood (1992, 48–49).

³² Willard (2002, 58).

cultural self-identity, or to fertility rituals and the *hieros gamos*, with which she also is associated closely as a bride of Zeus.

By breathing the crocus from his mouth, Zeus successfully “deceives” (*apatesas* 3) Europa. We already have observed the primacy of deception in the encounter of Hera and Zeus. We observe its crucial importance again here with the myth of Europa, only Zeus, this time, does the deceiving. The word used to describe Zeus “snatching up” (*ebastase* 4) Europa is rare, moreover, and restricted to a few limited epic cases, including with Sisyphus taking hold of his rock, and Odysseus taking up his bow against the suitors.³³ This suggests the word was reserved for a very specific, perhaps even climatic moment of handling something important in epic poetry. This implies the moment of Europa on the bull likely was of primary significance, which its visual ubiquity appears to confirm. In addition, the word used for Europa’s overseas voyage (*diaporthmeusas* 4) derives from a rare epic word associated especially with ferries and crossing narrow straits of water.³⁴

After Zeus copulates with Europa, he goes away, “making her live” with (*sunoikisen* 5) Asterion, king of the Cretans. The verb *sunoikisen* most often occurs in the context of settlement formation. Europa’s myth, as we shall see in my analysis of Archaic visual material, becomes a fitting metaphor for overseas settlement formation

³³ Cf. *Od.* 11.594 and 21.405.

³⁴ *LSJ*, sv. *porthmos* (“a narrow strip of water”) and *porthmeus* (“ferryman”).

especially during the sixth century BC. This Hesiodic passage appears to imply the literary metaphor of Europa's myth for settlement formation already was in place a century or so earlier. In this way, the overseas journey of Europa functioned similarly to other travel and foundation myths, including those of Heracles, Theseus, Jason, and others. It served to promote a common cultural identity through a professed genealogical connection to a heroic ancestor.³⁵ Zeus and Europa are credited with the *synoikismos* of Crete.

Finally, it is worth noting that Europa gives birth to three sons in this first Hesiodic reference, including Sarpedon, who is not mentioned at all in Homer. Sarpedon, we know, becomes a famous king of the Trojan-allied Lycians in Anatolia, which likely helps explain the Europa myth's popularity in the general area of Asia Minor.³⁶ None of Zeus' other loves besides Europa, to my knowledge, gives birth to three heroes. Surely this attribute, as well as the subsequent diaspora of her sons across South Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor, help to explain her widespread regional popularity from a very early date.

Hesiod Fragment 141, unfortunately, is damaged badly, and we should remain cautious about its reconstruction, as, for example, in the translation by Evelyn White I have given. Still, even if only in bits and pieces, it does continue for 32 lines, and thus is

³⁵ Theseus, of course, is credited with the *synoikismos* of Athens.

³⁶ This is evidenced, for example, on the visual side by important architectural sculpture at Assos and Pergamon.

capable of contributing significantly to our understanding of how Hesiod treated the Europa myth. It seems entirely compatible with Fragment 140 in that it presents no overt contradictions to the general plot or outline, although it does also provide new insights.

First, I draw attention to the terminology for Europa's overseas journey. Like a hero, she "traversed the salty deep" (*perese ar' halmuron hudor* 1). Overseas travel also figures prominently in the Hera-Zeus love affair in the *Iliad* Book 14, where Hera travels over land and sea to visit Zeus on Mt. Ida.³⁷ The Anchises-Aphrodite love affair in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* also includes the overseas voyage of Aphrodite to visit Anchises on Mt. Ida.³⁸ Overseas travel appears to have been a common motif with epic divine love affairs, perhaps, in part, as a way of building up suspense, or emphasizing the physical and emotional distance between two parties.

In addition, we observe the primacy of deception here. In line 2 we have reference to Europa "conquered by the tricks of Zeus" (*Dios dmetheisa doloisi* 2). This is the same word used to refer to the "tricks" of Gaia against Ouranos in the *Theogony* (*dolien* 160, *dolon* 175), as well as of Rhea against Cronos (*dolothois* 494). This strengthens my argument for a verbal and thematic connection between the Europa myth and these other divine love affairs via the fundamental primacy of deception, although here the

³⁷ Cf. *Il.* 14.229.

³⁸ Cf. *Hom. Hymn Aphro.* 67-70, where Aphrodite crosses from Cyprus to Troy.

female is the one being deceived, not the male. Of course, those other myths are different in that the deception results in an act of violence, while with Europa, it leads to her sexual union with Zeus. However, given the close overlap of love and war in Greek thought, and marriage and death for a woman, these distinct situations and acts of deception still share a great deal in common.

Afterwards, we read that Zeus gave Europa a special “gift” (*doron* 6) made by Hephaestus, which some scholars and translators have sought to identify with the necklace later given by Cadmus to Harmonia at their wedding.³⁹ Their conclusions are uncertain, but seem better than any other offered thus far. The main point for my purposes is that the divine gift is a repeated motif including, for example, the love charm of Aphrodite given to Hera in Book 14 of the *Iliad*.

In line 7, we have the tradition of Phoenix (*Phoinikos*) as Europa’s father, which also was the case, recall, with Homer. Later traditions will put Agenor in this role. After perceptibly transitioning to Zeus’ sexual union with Europa, the badly preserved fragment apparently mentions the children of Europa, although only “just Rhadamanthys” (*dikaion Hradamanthun* 13) is preserved by name. Scholars have restored, based, in part, on the previous fragment, the names Sarpedon and Minos here, assuming three children for Europa is the standard Hesiodic version. This idea is supported by the fact that, as the passage continues, the subject matter seems to shift to

³⁹ I discuss this in connection with Pherecydes later in this chapter.

the Trojan War death of Sarpedon. Additionally, the repetition of ἀμύμονά τε
κροατερόν τε (14-15) likely suggests the parallel placement of two nouns here, and
probably the names of sons, since Rhadamanthys is mentioned immediately before.

The death of Sarpedon was, of course, a noteworthy event, attested to in both
literary and visual accounts from this time period.⁴⁰ Indeed, it might have been the most
famous event associated with any of Europa's sons. Based on this popularity in other
media, it likely formed an integral part of many versions of Europa's myth, even if we
do not have any surviving accounts. We know Europa was commonly referred to
through her male relatives. This particular passage apparently elaborated Sarpedon's
death in considerable detail. We find in association with it the phrase "shining signs"
(*semata phainon* 25) and "wondrous thing from Zeus" (*diothen teras* 28). This recalls the
wondrous signs in the sky on the occasion of the event of Sarpedon's death in the *Iliad*.⁴¹

In Hesiod's version of the Europa myth, therefore, we find in abbreviated form
many of the same elements that characterize other epic divine love affairs. These
include love at first sight, an overseas journey, the primacy of deception, a gift offering,
the importance of *eros*, and an emphasis on noble offspring. They critically inform our
conception of Europa's heroism, and help us understand her preeminence among other
divine and mortal loves of Zeus. Especially significant for my purposes, the close

⁴⁰ See, for example, his being hoisted by Sleep and Death on the well-known Euphronios krater from ca. 515 BC.

⁴¹ Cf. *Il.* 16. 459-460 for the miraculous blood raindrops Zeus causes to fall at his son's death.

overlap in mortal and divine love affair descriptions allow us to understand how elements of divine weddings descend to earth and penetrate the mortal realm as a way of endowing human weddings with meaning and value, and elevating human beings to the level of gods. This, in turn, promotes successful marriages and the birth of heroic offspring.

Finally, as a Boeotian himself, Hesiod, in particular, seems like an apt candidate for writing about Europa. Boeotia's strong connections with the Europa myth include her brother Cadmus and son Rhadamanthys. Hesiod's own father, he reports in his poetry, migrated from Cyme on the coast of Asia Minor to settle in Askra, Boeotia.⁴² This reaffirms the notion that people had come from the southeast to settle there, just as did Europa's family. Additionally, Pausanias describes the worship of Europa as Demeter at Lebadeia in Boeotia, where there is "a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Europa, and a Zeus Rain-god in the open."⁴³ As we come to see during my analysis of visual evidence from the Archaic and Classical periods, there may have been a cult of Europa in Boeotia from a very early date. At nearby Delphi, moreover, Europa appears in late sixth century BC architectural sculpture.⁴⁴ Through Dodon, her son with Zeus,

⁴² Cf. *Hes. Op.* 636.

⁴³ Cf. *Paus.* 9.39.4. The worship of Demeter-Europa at Lebadeia is striking in many ways. It confirms a general assimilation of Europa with the earth mother goddess on one level, while also emphasizing Europa's associations with the afterlife. Pausanias continues for several paragraphs to discuss the preparation, descent, and return from the underworld that took place for the initiate during sacred rituals in which he himself allegedly took part.

⁴⁴ A Delphic connection to Crete is claimed in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (393), where the first priests at Delphi are Cretan sailors.

Europa apparently also was associated closely with the more ancient oracular site of Dodona.⁴⁵ In short, Europa's and her family members' myths permeated the heart of the Greek mainland, and were well-established at multiple religious sites, including especially in and around Boeotia. The literary evidence overwhelmingly indicates the presence of Phoenicians, Cretans, and others all throughout this area from a very early date, which probably helps explain Hesiod's detailed treatment of the Europa myth.

Europa at Corinth – Hellotia

We know that other epic poets also had versions of the Europa myth. Eumelos, for example, a Corinthian poet, composed a *Europa* epic sometime probably in the seventh or sixth centuries BC. It was included as part of a now lost *Corinthiaca*.⁴⁶ The poem apparently recorded Europa's abduction by Zeus in the form of a bull, the birth of her sons Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, and perhaps some of their descendants.

Pausanias (9.5.8) makes reference to this work, but he provides no clues as to its content. He merely introduces a sentence, “and the one who had made the epic on Europa” (ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας), before going into a discussion of another entirely different myth told by Eumelos.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Steph. Byz.* (sv. Dôdônê).

⁴⁶ Cf. *EGF* frg.2, schol. *Hom. Il.* 6.131 = *Paus.* 9.5.8. Frazer (1898, 2, n. 1) suggests Eumelos' work on Europa might have been an epitome. For more on lost epics, Debiasi (2004).

The myth of Europa must have been worthy subject matter, however, since Eumelos apparently devoted significant attention to it, and included it as part of a trilogy along with the *Titanomachy* and a *Return from Troy*.⁴⁷ Citing Pausanias, M.L. West emphasizes the prominence of the Europa poem in the trilogy.⁴⁸ Since an epic about Europa likely existed alongside epics about other legendary figures, it is logical Europa also was exalted as a hero.

Writers and storytellers appropriated a basic plot outline, emphasizing or downplaying certain elements for their own literary purposes.⁴⁹ Much older epics about Europa circulated orally before Eumelos composed his epic in the Archaic period. His version included much of what had existed before him as well as new elements unique to the region around Corinth, such as the story of Europa's death and the ceremonial carrying of her bones.

Here we must ask: why was the Europa myth so popular at Corinth that it warranted inclusion alongside the *Titanomachy* and *Nostoi* as an epic poem? Was it perhaps because Corinth was a commercial center for trade and cultural exchange, where different groups of people were living side by side, and Europa was somehow a symbol of that cultural synthesis? Or, was it because the Corinthians themselves were

⁴⁷ West (2002, 109-133; 2003, 29-30). Cf. *Euseb. Chron. Ol.* 4. 4. *Clem. Al. (Misc.* 1.151), says that Eumelos, along with Akousilaos, translated into prose what Hesiod had put down in poetry.

⁴⁸ West (2003, 29-30): "The title *Europia* implies that the story of Europa had a prominent place in the work, which Pausanias indeed calls "the Europa poem."

⁴⁹ I wish to emphasize that this basic plot outline was in no way a static, homogenous, or monolithic entity. Rather, it was fluid, dynamic, and versatile enough to accommodate change from one context to the next.

famous exporters of Greek culture to the Greek islands, Italy, and the Levant, where they regularly would have come into contact with foreign cultures? I propose we return to the theme of connecting place of production for the Europa myth to the intensity of Cretan and Greco-Phoenician cultural interactions there. To begin, we must keep in mind that Minoans, Mycenaeans, Greeks, Phoenicians, and others were interacting in and around Corinth since at least the Bronze Age. We already have observed Europa's popularity in central Greece, particularly in and around Boeotia, and at Delphi. Europa also was associated closely with Dodona. Rigoglioso cites Stephanus of Byzantium and a tradition that Dodon was the son of Europa and Zeus and the eponymous founder of Dodona.⁵⁰

A century ago, J.G. Frazer (1898, 2, n.1) noted that "the settlement of Phoenicians on the Isthmus of Corinth is attested to by the worship of Astarte (the armed Aphrodite) on the acro-Corinth...and by the festival of the Hellotia, which is known to have been observed at Corinth. We are told that Hellotia or Hellotis is an old name for Europa, whose connection with Phoenicia is not doubtful, and that Europa's bones were carried in procession at the festival of the Hellotia, which was celebrated in Crete as well in Corinth...Phoenicaeum, the name of a Corinthian mountain...is perhaps another reminiscence of a Phoenician settlement in this neighborhood."

⁵⁰ Rigoglioso (2009, 145): "Another legend has it that it derives from Dodon [cf. Stephanus of Byzantium] the name of a male with a divine birth story. Dodon's mother was Europa, a Phoenician priestess impregnated by Zeus, who took the form of a bull and abducted her from Phoenicia to Crete."

Rigoglioso also draws attention to the *Hellotia* festival. Citing Athenaeus, she explains how in the festival, a garland of myrtle measuring twenty cubits and encasing Europa's bones was carried around in procession.⁵¹ Rigoglioso concludes "such veneration indicates that Europa was considered to be a historical ancestor, who was thought to merit divine honors, because she had successfully borne what was believed to be the son of a god," (145). The bones of several male heroes were important for establishing political identity, including the bones of Theseus, which the Athenian general Cimon reportedly brought back from Skyros to Athens.

These combined insights of Frazer and Rigoglioso concur with my own findings, and enrich our understanding of how the myth of Europa was received in and around Corinth. Her characterization of Europa as a "historical ancestor" in particular is important for my argument about Europa's legendary, heroic status. Her findings help explain why epics were composed about Europa in the Archaic period and why she appears alongside heroes in contemporaneous sculpture from this time period.

The extent to which Cretans and Phoenicians interacted in Corinth, and to which the Europa myth exerted influence not only in and around Corinth, but also at some of the most sacred sites of mainland Greece surely helps to explain the myth's widespread appeal and relevance there. As Rigoglioso notes, Europa would have been celebrated

⁵¹ Rigoglioso (2009, 145). Cf. *Ath.* (678a-b): Σέλευκος δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις Ἑλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἐκμυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον ὄντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν κ', πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ, φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα κομίζεσθαι, ἦν ἐκάλουν Ἑλλωτίδα. ἄγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια.

there as a distant ancestor through epic poetry recognizing divine and human genealogies side-by-side.

Europa at Samos

The next author to treat the Europa myth is the seventh century BC epic poet Asios of Samos, in the eastern Aegean north of Chios. As was the case with Eumelos, we only have passing reference to Asios' epic by Pausanias, although here we do fortunately have a few more details about his particular version. First, I introduce the relevant passage:

Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοῖνικι
ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη

Asius, the son of Amphiptolemus the Samian, made it in his epic that there were born to Phoenix from Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus, Astypalaea and Europa

(7.4.1)

Asios provides us with an alternative genealogy for Europa, in keeping with a deep interest and concern for genealogy characteristic of the Archaic period. We already have observed mention of Europa's father and sons in the works of Homer and Hesiod. Now, for the first time, we find reference to Europa's mother. She is given as Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus. Oeneus is, significantly, also the father of Meleager, which makes Europa Meleager's niece. This, of course, ties Europa in with the Calydonian Boar Hunt, one of the great epic adventures, further enhancing her heroic credentials

via familial associations with famous struggles.⁵² Europa's appeal would have permeated the area in and around Calydon, on the northern side of the Corinthian Gulf, in northwestern Greece where there also were nearby Corinthian colonies.

Europa's sister here, moreover, Astypaleia, was seduced by Poseidon and bore two future kings, Ankaios and Eurypylos.⁵³ Ankaios later became king of Samos, which helps explain how the island had a keen enough interest in the myth of Europa for Asios to produce an epic poem about her. Europa was the aunt of its early king.

The resilient myth of Europa appears to infiltrate nearly every region of the Greek inhabited world. The culturally diverse nature of numerous emporia, overseas settlements, and trading outposts, in addition to the regularity of migrations and mass movements of vast swaths of peoples for centuries, had allowed for a sufficient level of cultural interactions to occur so that it became possible for the myth of Europa to propagate among numerous population centers. Europa herself has close familial relations with numerous important Panhellenic and local sites, although over the course of time, her relevance waxes and wanes from one place to another with the possible exception of a few key regions like Boeotia, Crete, and South Italy where she remains popular.

⁵² Interestingly, the Calydonian Boar Hunt appears alongside Europa depictions in sculpture on the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, which I examine in the next chapter.

⁵³ Cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* (2. 7. 1) for mention of her as the mother of Eurypylos by Poseidon. *Steph. Byz. sv. Astypalaia.* Ancaeus is steersman of the Argo according to some traditions. This might help shed light also on placement of the Argonauts alongside Europa on the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi.

Europa on the Bull

The Anonymous author of the *Batrachomyomachia* also makes reference to the myth of Europa. The work is generally acknowledged as Hellenistic, but it possibly was based off an earlier Archaic version.⁵⁴ As a prelude to the outbreak of hostilities between the frogs and mice, a frog gives a mouse a ride on his back overseas. As he does so, a snake suddenly appears, terrifying the frog, who drops the mouse, leaving him to meet his death. As a result, the mice raise war against the frogs. It is a mock-epic satire, and contains reference to the myth of Europa in an entirely new context.

As the mouse rides on the frog's back across the sea, he cries out:

Οὐχ οὕτω νώτοισιν ἐβάστασε φόρτον ἔρωτος
ταῦρος ὅτ' Εὐρώπην διὰ κύματος ἦγ' ἐπὶ Κρήτην
ὡς μῦν ἀπλώσας ἐπινώτιον ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον

Not in this way, on his back, did he take up the load of love, the bull,
when Europa, he led across the swell to Crete,
as now he has led me to his home, a mouse, stretched out on his back.⁵⁵
(78-80)

Here, I only wish to emphasize a few key points that contribute to my broader argument. First, I draw attention to the fact that Europa's journey on the bull must have been a well enough known motif by this time to be considered easily identifiable and

⁵⁴ Contention has existed ever since ancient times with respect to its author. Roman sources, for example, ascribed it to Homer, but others claimed it as the work of another. Plutarch, for example, identified it as the work of Pigres of Halicarnassus. Cf. *Plut. De Herodoti Malignitate* (43) and *Mor.* (873).

⁵⁵ Translation my own.

relatable. As the evidence repeatedly has suggested, Europa was a legendary, heroic figure, renowned for riding a divine bull overseas and giving birth to future heroes. Her voyage on the bull possibly had become a literary trope by the seventh century BC, much like the passage of Odysseus past the Sirens, for example, or Heracles' journey to the land of the Hesperides, particularly in cases where an animal conveys someone on its back.

The word to describe the frog "taking up" (*ebastase*) the mouse is the same rare verb from Hesiod fragment 140 used to describe Zeus taking up Europa. The few examples of its epic use, recall, include description of Odysseus taking up his bow against the suitors, and in reference to Sisyphus pushing his rock uphill. Perhaps the anonymous author of this poem knew of the word's usage in association with Europa elsewhere in the epic tradition, and he deliberately implements the word here for some particular reason, perhaps even the same reason as Hesiod. Later, the verb, and other related words, come to denote one having to carry a burden of some sorts, but it is not clear that is the case with Europa.

Of related significance here is reference to Europa as a "load" (*phorton* 78) on the bull's back. This term frequently describes cargo on ships in the world of merchants and trade. Its employment here might function as a reference to Europa's voyage in the context of shipping, for which the Phoenicians and Cretans, of course, were famous. Thus, like the crocus, it possibly reinforces some aspect of Europa's cultural identity,

namely her associations with overseas travel. The phrase “load of love” here also probably emphasizes the bull’s subjectivity to Europa through his being forced to carry her as a “load” or “burden” on his back.

The concluding words “to his house” can be seen as a possible allusion to marriage and the journey of the bride to the groom’s home. The verb *ago* with *oikos* does occur in descriptions of marriage.⁵⁶ Eventually, it even results in the middle form of the verb *agesthai* used alone in reference to the act of marriage. This returns us to the close relationship between love and war in ancient Greek thought. Here, a mouse invokes Europa’s smooth overseas journey to Zeus’ home as a kind of antithesis to his own rough transport experience during the outbreak of hostilities and war. Love and war are juxtaposed again, as before. Only this time a marriage scene is not juxtaposed to a scene of conflict through parallel imagery and diction, as before, but a scene involving the outbreak of conflict is related to a bridal procession. The main purpose appears to provide a comical contrast for the mouse’s unsafe passage on the back of the frog in Europa’s safe passage on the back of the bull.

Looking at Europa

I consider next another sixth century depiction of Europa on the bull, in a new genre we have not yet discussed: lyric poetry. It comes to us from Anacreon of Teos, a

⁵⁶ *LSJ* sv. ἄγω 1B.

well-known lyric poet included in the canonical list of nine by Alexandrian scholars.

While Anacreon's precise dates are uncertain, he likely lived sometime between 580 and 490 BC.⁵⁷

The actual poem of interest here, *Ode 35*, contains an imaginary dialogue in which the poet speaks, presumably to a young man, about a visual representation of Europa and the bull. The speaker has the didactic intention of proving to his listener that the bull is not an ordinary bull, but Zeus himself:

Ὁ ταῦρος οὗτος, ὦ παῖ,
Ζεὺς μοι δοκεῖ τις εἶναι
φέρει γὰρ ἀμφὶ νῶτοισι
Σιδωνίην γυναῖκα.
Περᾶ δὲ πόντον εὐρύν,
τέμνει δὲ κῦμα χηλαῖς.
Ὅτε ἂν δὲ ταῦρος ἄλλος
ἔξ ἀγέλης ἔλασθεις
ἔπλευσε τὴν θάλασσαν,
εἰ μὴ μόνος γ' ἐκεῖνος.

"This bull certainly appears to me to be Zeus, o child,
for it carries the Sidonian maiden on its back.
It crosses the broad sea and cuts the wave with its hooves.
No other bull, driven away from the flocks,
Could journey on the sea unless it were him alone."⁵⁸

A few elements warrant serious consideration for my purposes. Already by this time, a dispute seems to have arisen as to whether Zeus was the bull, or he sent the bull

⁵⁷ Rosenmeyer (1992, *Intro.*).

⁵⁸ Translation my own.

in place of himself. The next literary example I examine suggests the bull was not actually Zeus but was sent by him. The previous passage by the Anonymous author emphasized “the bull” (*ho tauros*) without mentioning Zeus. The narrator defers to his addressee’s common sense here by arguing for the impossibility of an ordinary bull swimming overseas. Parallel placement at the beginning of lines 1 and 2 of “the bull” (*ho tauros* 1) and “Zeus” (*ho Dios* 2) emphasize the synthesis of Zeus and the bull in this passage. Although I have translated line 3 as “on his back” (*amphi notois*), given the unusual plural, it also might be construed as “over the backs of the waves.” This would be in keeping with the larger pattern of epic terminology applied to descriptions of Europa’s overseas journey.⁵⁹ In line 8, we have the aorist passive participle *elastheis*, which I have translated as “having been driven” to reinforce Zeus’ passivity based upon the power of *eros* over him. Other translators have translated it with a middle sense of “having wandered from”.

Besides alerting us to the ancient debate as to whether the bull is Zeus himself, this passage crucially functions as a tool for appreciating how the ancient viewer might have responded to a visual representation of Europa on the bull in that it suggests the viewer stopped, stared, pondered, and asked questions about this paradoxical union of woman, beast, and god. This is important because multiple visual representations of

⁵⁹ Also significant is the reference to Europa as “Sidonian”. This is the first association we have of Europa with the city of Sidon. We observe later her associations with Tyre, another major Phoenician capital. Both firmly place her origins in the Phoenician heartland.

Europa on the bull existed at this time, and it is useful to have some idea of how people possibly scrutinized them before we move to examining them in the next chapter. My main point is that the bull's divinity was a crucial point for understanding both this literary depiction of a visual representation of Europa and the actual visual representations themselves.

In closing this brief section, I make a few remarks about Anacreon's reported homeland, Teos, a city on the Ionian coast of Turkey very near to Chios and Samos. Pausanias tells us that it was inhabited early on by Minyans of Orchomenus.⁶⁰ Orchomenus is a famous ancient town near Thebes in Boeotia. We already have observed the importance of Europa in and around Boeotia. Afterwards, Pausanias goes on to tell us about two main contingents of men from Athens and Boeotia who came to settle in Teos.⁶¹ In the following section, he transitions to the nearby Ionian settlement of Erythrae. He claims "they came originally from Crete with Erythrus the son of Rhadamanthus," and then explains "along with the Cretans there dwelt in the city Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians; Lycians because of their kinship with the Cretans, as they came of old from Crete, having fled along with Sarpedon; Carians because of their

⁶⁰ "Teos used to be inhabited by Minyans of Orchomenus, who came to it with Athamas," (7.3.6).

⁶¹ "A few years later there came men from Athens and from Boeotia; the Attic contingent was under Damasus and Naoclus, the sons of Codrus, while the Boeotians were led by Geres, a Boeotian. Both parties were received by Apoeucus and the Teians as fellow-settlers," (7.3.6).

ancient friendship with Minos; Pamphylians because they too belong to the Greek race, being among those who after the taking of Troy wandered with Calchas.”⁶²

What becomes clear from these passages is that the coast of Ionia and the adjacent Greek islands, including Teos, remained fertile breeding ground for the myth of Europa because of intimate connections with her myth, especially through her sons and their numerous descendants. All three of Europa’s sons are mentioned by name here as having close connections with the greater vicinity. This regional popularity in Europa’s story is paralleled by visual evidence we examine later.

Europa and the Bull at Argos

Akousilaos of Argos, writing in the sixth century BC, also apparently discussed the Europa myth. Apollodorus (2.5.7) briefly refers to Akousilaos’ account. His reference occurs probably not without coincidence while he is discussing the labors of Heracles:

ἕβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον τὸν Κρηῖτα ἀγαγεῖν ταῦρον. τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Δί, τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναδοθέντα ἐκ θαλάσσης, ὅτε καταθύσειν Ποσειδῶνι Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φανέν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.

The seventh labor he arranged for him was to bring the Cretan bull. Acusilaus says that this was the bull that carried Europa across to Zeus; but some say it was the bull that Poseidon sent up from the sea when

⁶² Cf. *Paus.* 7.3.7.

Minos promised to sacrifice to Poseidon one that would appear from the sea.⁶³

(2.5.7)

Although the mention is brief and only in passing, we still are able to extract important information about Europa. I begin with the verb διαπορθμεύσαντα (“carried...across”). It is the same verb used to describe Europa’s overseas voyage by Hesiod in fragment 140 (line 4), recall. It usually is associated with ferries, and crossing narrow strips of water, which plausibly evokes an epic context.

One of the most significant observations about Akousilaos’ version is that the bull is sent by Zeus, and is not Zeus himself. This goes against, especially, *Ode 35* of Anacreon, which we just previously examined. In light of that, and this passage, we can suppose that a debate was taking place at this time as to whether or not Zeus really took the form of a bull to abduct Europa. With the emergence of early pre-Socratic philosophies and growing religious skepticism/rationalism, perhaps it became too ridiculous for people to believe that the king of the gods actually would transform himself into a bull to seduce a woman. Philosophical thinkers, in particular, were becoming increasingly likely to identify the king of gods with *nous* and intelligence, rather than an animal.

Also important here is the association Akousilaos makes between the bull that carries Europa across the sea with the bull that Heracles conquers, and later Theseus at

⁶³ All Apollodorus translations J.G. Frazer (1921).

Marathon. On one level, this associates the myth of Europa with another set of famous heroic deeds, in addition to the Trojan War and Calydonian Boar Hunt. The connections and significance here run much deeper than that, however. As we are about to observe in the next chapter, Heracles and Theseus repeatedly appear alongside Europa in multiple visual portrayals. In fact, one of the major conclusions from my ensuing analysis of visual material is that Europa is depicted alongside heroes in analogous acts of conquest. By verbally linking the bull that carried Europa across the sea to the bull Heracles and Theseus conquer, Akousilaos does more than engage in a rational debate about whether Zeus himself was the bull. More significantly, he contributes to creating a broader heroic context for appreciating Europa's myth. This critically informs my understanding of Europa as a heroic role model for women to emulate. I have been making the point repeatedly that Europa is in some ways on par with other legendary Greek heroes as a paradigmatic human being. This helps explain why epic poems were produced about her, and why the bull she "conquers" with desire is the same bull, in some versions, that Heracles, and later Theseus, defeat with might and violence.⁶⁴

Significantly, Argos is located in the general vicinity of Corinth and Sicyon where we know the Europa myth was popular. Likely there was as Argive interest in the Europa myth based on its geographical and cultural connections to these

⁶⁴ McInerney (2010, 76ff) has a thoughtful discussion of the constellation Taurus, the abduction of Europa, the seduction of Io, and the famous Cretan Bull.

neighboring areas. Certainly, oral poets would have transmitted their poetry from one settlement to the next. Additionally, we learn from Herodotus that Argos had friendly relations with Phoenicia from a very early date.⁶⁵ These friendly relations resulted in the abductions of Io, Europa, and Medea, he argues, as well as Helen, and the subsequent Trojan War. The appearance of Europa on contemporaneous visual media I examine in the next chapter will substantially strengthen this argument for a specific Argive connection to her myth.

Europa Back at Thebes

As we have observed repeatedly now, Europa remains popular for writers and artists in the greater Boeotia region throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Perhaps not surprisingly, our final two Archaic literary references to her myth both deal with her significance in this part of Greece. More specifically, they focus on her as the sister of Cadmus and on him as the founder of Thebes.

The first of these is attributed to Stesichorus, who is well known for translating epic subject matter into the lyric meter. He took up a variety of mythological themes, including the Trojan War, the *Nostoi*, the Thebaid, and, of course, Europa. We do not know much about his particular version of the Europa myth, unfortunately. We only

⁶⁵ In Book 1 of the *Histories*, Herodotus describes the original outbreak of east-west hostilities that eventually culminated in the Trojan and Persian Wars as the result of Phoenician merchants who abducted Io from Argos. I return to this passage later in my discussion of Classical literature.

have a very brief two line passage referring to it as containing the life of Cadmus, and the foundation story of Thebes.⁶⁶ This reference to Stesichorus' Europa poem, which comes from the ancient *scholia* to Euripides *Phoenissae* 670, indicates his version also contained a unique variation on the tale of Cadmus sowing the dragon's teeth in which Athena played a prominent role.⁶⁷ Most importantly for my purposes, the fragment discusses Europa's abduction as a stimulus for motivating the heroic feats of her brother Cadmus, including the eventual settlement of Thebes. Thebes would have never existed without Europa.

Stesichorus was active in and around South Italy and Sicily during the sixth century BC. As I emphasized in the *Introduction*, this area had been a meeting ground for the descendants of Minoans, Mycenaeans, Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and others since at least the late Bronze Age. We see this evident in both the archaeology and mythology of the region. Sicily, in particular, was an area where Greco-Phoenician cultural interactions would have been most intense, especially during the mid to late sixth century BC with the rise of Carthaginian and Greek overseas settlement.⁶⁸

Sicily and south Italy remain a fertile breeding ground for the myth of Europa throughout the scope of time I analyze in this work. In the thousand or so years I

⁶⁶ Page (1962) *PMG* frg. 19, and *schol. Eur. Phoen.* 670. West (2003, 29).

⁶⁷ Campbell (1982, 101). Allegedly, she saves some of the dragon's teeth for Colchis, thus linking the dragon's teeth to Jason, Medea, Argos, and Corinth.

⁶⁸ Ultimately, these intense cultural interactions resulted in the outbreak of hostilities at the Battle of Himera in 480 BC.

consider, this region as a whole produced by far the most Europa representations. It is not surprising that Stesichorus, a life-long resident of the area, produced a poem about Europa. According to historical and mythological accounts, the distant ancestors of South Italians and Sicilians included Minos and contingents of Cretans who had migrated to and inhabited the region along with, of course, the Carthaginian descendants of Phoenicians.⁶⁹

Our second Archaic literary reference to Europa dealing with Cadmus and the foundation of Thebes comes from Pherecydes of Syros. He was a philosopher and cosmologist who lived in the sixth century BC, and generally is considered an early pre-Socratic philosopher. The appearance of Europa in his works demonstrates the continued versatility of the myth in terms of its permeating yet another new literary genre.

Apollodorus references Pherecydes' treatment of Europa in a discussion of the descendants of Agenor, including Cadmus, Europa, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon.⁷⁰ While discussing the foundation of Thebes, he mentions Pherecydes' version, including the death of Europa's mother Telephassa, Cadmus' wanderings, and the subsequent foundation of Thebes:

“When Telephassa died, Cadmus buried her, and after being hospitably received by the Thracians he came to Delphi to inquire about Europa. The

⁶⁹ For more on the wanderings of Minos and regional Cretan influence, cf. *Hdt* (7.170).

⁷⁰ Significantly, Apollodorus presents the alternative tradition of Europa as the daughter of Agenor rather than Phoenix. This tradition became more common in Roman times.

god told him not to trouble about Europa, but to be guided by a cow, and to found a city wherever she should fall down for weariness."⁷¹

(3.4.1)

According to Apollodorus, Pherecydes' version apparently also included Europa as an attendee at the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia, where she presented Harmonia with a robe and necklace made by Hephaestus.⁷² This might relate to, or even be the same the "gift of Hephaestus" mentioned by Hesiod in fragment 141, as the White translation suggests. In the bigger picture of linking divine love affairs, the necklace and robe Pherecydes mentions illustrate the continued importance of a divine gift offering in association with the divine love scenes.

Pherecydes was from the island of Syros, which, as the name suggests, has strong ties to Syria, the Levant, and Phoenicia. The island is located in the central Aegean off of the Attic coast. Legend has it that the island was inhabited as early as the eighth century by Phoenicians. As part of the Minoan/Cycladic spheres of trade and influence, it also had strong ties to Crete and other islands from a very early date, a finding confirmed by archaeological evidence.⁷³

Stesichorus' and Pherecydes' treatments of the Europa myth both demonstrate the myth's popularity and widespread appeal. They also tap into and develop her

⁷¹ Here again we have mention of Europa's mother, although significantly it is not Perimede as in Asios.

⁷² Cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* 3.4.2: "Cadmus gave her a robe and the necklace wrought by Hephaestus, which some say was given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes says that it was given by Europa, who had received it from Zeus."

⁷³ This includes Minoan, Mycenaean, Cycladic, and Egyptian objects. Pherecydes' near-eastern, cosmogonic associations are evident elsewhere, including in his notion of an eternal soul Granger (2007).

traditional associations with Boeotia through her brother Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, which sets them apart from other instantiations. In the case of Pherecydes, he also includes reference to Europa's mother. In that sense, they reveal a continued interest in Europa's genealogy, including her association with particular locations and different family lineages as a means of justifying people's connections to heroic ancestors.

Conclusions

The cumulative evidence indicates that a kind of generic model for the Europa myth existed during the Archaic period for poets, historians, philosophers, and others to customize and make their own. This basic model consisted of all the oldest stories told about Europa that had been circulating for centuries long before anything was written down. Of course, the model was not static, but fluid and changing from one context to the next, a unity consisting of many pluralities. Authors personalized certain features or aspects to suit their own particular genres at multiple places and time periods for both public and private consumption. Many different versions of Europa's myth would have highlighted one or more events of her life story, as well as those of her family, especially her closest male relatives.

We do not have any sustained literary accounts of the Europa-Zeus encounter from the Archaic period. This is unfortunate since we know they once existed. We can

reconstruct from what survives to form a generally coherent picture, however. The evidence suggests the Europa-Zeus encounter was conceived of, in part, as a variation on the divine love affair literary trope. Common elements in these divine love scenes and the myth of Europa include seduction, deception, love at first sight, a gift offering, overseas journey, and emphasis on noble offspring.

Throughout this chapter, I have emphasized the significance of combat imagery and diction in these related divine love affair scenes primarily to support my contention that Europa is a hero. I mean heroism in the very traditional, “masculine” sense of the term too, most succinctly encapsulated by Europa’s subjugating a divine bull. The implications of this conclusion are significant: women were just as powerful as men (or even more powerful sometimes) in ancient Greek myth, although, in some cases, admittedly, they possessed different tools for success.⁷⁴ The strict divisions that scholars have for so long applied to the study of Greek myth, through confining terms like divine and chthonic, *oikos* and polis, Greek and non-Greek, are proving to be more blurred around the edges, and not nearly expansive enough to accommodate the sheer complexity and diversity of evidence. They certainly do not apply here to my analysis of Europa, who herself is the very embodiment of complexity and diversity.

⁷⁴ Sometimes they possessed the same tools, including might and violence. Significant female figures who compete with males in physical strength include Atalanta, among humans, and Athena among the gods.

Authors and artists synthesized the feats of Europa with famous Greek heroes through the implementation of parallel imagery, diction, and themes precisely in order to emphasize her own heroic significance. They also sought to align Europa in her conquest of Zeus with Gaia, Rhea, and Hera, who likewise subdued the king of the gods. In addition to Europa's heroism as a bride and bull-conqueror, we also must consider her heroic nature as a mother. This is defined, predictably, by her giving birth to heroic children. Europa's heroic motherhood is elaborated in Archaic literature through connections of her sons to various heroic episodes, including, notably, Sarpedon to the Trojan War. As a sister, she also is strongly associated with the heroic conquests of Cadmus, and, in at least in one version, with the Calydonian Boar hunt.

At the same time, we must realize that Europa is not portrayed heroically in all instances, but sometimes she appears as a duped, unwilling victim, which probably reflects the Greeks own ambiguity about women as conquerors and victims in the battle of the sexes. If we extend the analogy of the battle of the sexes to the clash between cultures, particularly hostilities between a local, indigenous culture, and the foreign, usurping culture, and we keep in mind Europa's myth as a vehicle for cultural dissemination, we come to understand how the same ambiguity also characterizes the Greeks' perceptions of their own cultural interactions with others. They were both loved and hated as novel foreigners.

Like ancient Minoans, Mycenaeans, Phoenicians, Greeks, and others, Europa and her family members wandered away from home, founding new settlements in far-away places. Their myths significantly promoted cultural dissemination, including her sons Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys, whose wanderings touched on South Italy, Asia Minor, and Boeotia, as well as her famous brother Cadmus, who visited settlements from Phoenicia all the way to Boeotia, where he eventually established the key site of Thebes. Europa's closest male relatives exerted influence across multiple continents, and even below in the Underworld, where they continued to exercise authority over the deceased.

This important insight supports my argument about the relevance of Europa as both a name and source of values and ideas for the modern continent. The Europa myth fundamentally promoted a spreading out and inclusion of the *other*, which is precisely why portrayals of Europa predominated in heterogeneous population centers. Through her exemplary heroism as a bride, mother, and maiden who tamed the bull, Europa traverses the gaps between east and west, divine and mortal, maiden and mother, human and animal, even life and death. She is a bridge across life's great divides. She is the unity of many pluralities.

CHAPTER 2 – *Love is War*

Archaic Visual Arts (750-450 BC)

Archaic literary expressions for the myth of Europa focus on Europa's journey on the bull as the most important episode in her myth for visual artists to portray. As I discussed above, Anacreon's *Ode 35* depicts two people contemplating a visual representation of Europa and the bull, with one trying to persuade the other that the bull is Zeus. Here, I focus exclusively on existing images of Europa and the bull in Archaic visual media. From a very early date, Europa on the back of the bull comes to encapsulate the myth itself for artists and audiences alike. This critical moment of transition for Europa highlights her heroic prowess as a bull-tamer and woman. Emphasis on this aspect of her story also underscores the critical function of her journey as a metaphor for the journey of a bride to the home of a groom, the soul into the afterlife, and the migrant overseas to a new land.

In this chapter, I examine works done in clay, metal, and stone. Black-figured, early red-figured, and white-ground vase painting are the subject of Chapter 3. Representations of Europa in clay include a storage jar, a jewelry box cover, and a small statuette. Her story also is featured in metal, including a bronze helmet, a bronze shield band, and a couple of iron shield bands. Works in stone are more numerous at five, and they are all from architectural temple sculpture: an astonishing number of sacred

buildings featured her story. These portrayals of Europa occur on an array of objects intended for use in a variety of different contexts. For this reason, their meaning can change a great deal from one context to the next, even if the image itself remains the same with Europa on the back of the bull. The representations discussed are all listed in the **CHAPTER 2 Catalog (APPENDIX A)**.

As I proceed through the visual evidence in this chapter according to material medium, I move between domestic and civic spaces, or from objects used in the household and given as sanctuary offerings to those intended for public display. During my analysis, I focus on the form and function of each work of art, discussing both its physical appearance as well as how it impacted and made a difference in peoples' lives. I also keep in mind the literary evidence as I formulate my argument to expand upon my previous findings. I repeatedly refer to other relevant visual *comparanda*, and especially to depictions of famous heroes, in order to highlight some particular aspect of my argument. The majority of visual evidence here has not received adequate scholarly attention. Most of the existing scholarship is at least a half century old. Notable exceptions do exist, however, as with the *metope* depictions from Delphi and Selinous. Zahn included nearly all of the following works of art into her 1983 collection and they

all appear in the *LIMC* under 'Europa'.⁷⁵ They have never been analyzed fully, however, or received the attention they fully deserve.

These dozen portrayals of Europa were discovered at a variety of locations throughout the Mediterranean. These locations generally correspond to many of the places I mentioned in my discussion of Archaic literary evidence. They include Delphi, Boeotia, South Italy, Sicily, and the Eastern Aegean. The myth also turns up at Olympia for the first time, another one of the most important pan-Hellenic sites. This widespread dispersion and intimate association with some of the holiest sites in Greece indicates that already by the Archaic period the Europa Network had infiltrated every part of the Greek-speaking world.

Through the following visually-oriented analysis, it will become clear that the myth of Europa was venerated both publicly and privately. The myth functioned as an important tool for exploring and establishing individual and collective identities. It united people by reinforcing genealogical and ideological connections across a vast swath of space and time, while also helping human beings locate themselves in a matrix of relationships with one another and the divine and natural worlds.

⁷⁵ Cf. *LIMC* IV (1988). An online supplemental version is available at: <http://www.limc-france.fr/>. A surprising lacuna exists in scholarship on the myth of Europa. German scholars have undertaken the most notable efforts to compile and understand it. Jahn (1870) first organized visual representations of Europa into chronological order. A year later, Overbecks (1871) listed many of the known visual representations in his own work on Greek myth and art. A half-century later, Technau (1937) wrote an essay on visual representations of Europa, including ones he believed were confused with images of a bull-riding goddess. De Brauw (1940) followed with a catalog and limited interpretation of literary and visual representations of the myth. Subsequently, Bühler (1968) wrote a monograph on Europa, listing all literary references with an attached catalog of visual representations. Most recently, Zahn (1983) produced a comprehensive catalog of visual material with limited analysis and interpretation.

Works in Clay

Back to Boeotia

We pick up where we left off our literary analysis: in Boeotia. The earliest visual representation of Europa comes from this key region of Greece. It is in the form of a sculptural relief on the neck of a large clay *pithos* ca. 600 B.C. now in Paris.⁷⁶ A *pithos* is a storage vessel used for holding wine, olive oil, grains, etc. Some were decorated elaborately with *metope* and frieze designs, including, especially, scenes of heroes. In their most elaborate forms, the largest *pithoi* also were ostentatious signifiers of wealth and distinction. Scholars generally date this work to the early seventh century BC, making it the oldest visual representation of Europa.⁷⁷

On the *pithos*, Europa sits side-saddle on the back of the bull (see **Figure 1**). The bull moves quickly from right to left with its front and hind legs extended outward. His rear legs are damaged, with only a small part of the upper part remaining, but both of his front legs are fully visible. The swift motion, right to left movement of the bull, and elegant curvature of Europa's body, are all ahead of their time when we compare them

⁷⁶ Caskey (1976, 19-41) offers a general discussion of this *pithoi* in relation to others of a similar type. She classifies this Europa-decorated vessel with other ornately decorated relief *pithoi* to distinguish them from more common, unembellished ones. Cipriani, Greco, et. al. (2009, Fig. 26), and Edwards (1979, 51) have references to this work of art. More recently, Semantoni-Bournia (2013, 98-122) has an insightful summary of the relief pottery of Tenos. Ebbinghaus (2005, 51-72) focuses on these relief *pithoi* in relation to prevailing social, economic and living conditions.

⁷⁷ Not all scholars agree. Some place it as early as the late ninth century, and others the sixth. Caskey (1976, 27) dates it to the first quarter of the sixth century. I tend towards a later, but still Archaic date (ca. 560), given various stylistic elements, including the rapid motion of the bull which points to an enhanced sense of *rhythmos*.

with other Archaic portrayals. They are, we shall see, more common in late Classical sculpture. The bull's head is missing entirely, as is Europa's head, and her right arm and hand, which likely was placed on the bull's neck or horn. With her visible left hand, Europa grabs the bull's lower neck.

Considerable attention was devoted to the details of Europa's dress. The artist has serrated the edges, for example, to delineate edges and folds. He has applied this same technique to two patterned bands running down the entire length of the front with a series of rings or spirals cut between them.

In at least a few key ways, this work of art reinforces a close connection between Europa and the bull. To begin, the same serration evident in Europa's dress also appears on the tail of the bull. The two have the same general curvature of the thighs, moreover, and their forelimbs also likely both were extended to accentuate their rapid motion. Compositionally, a strong horizontal line coinciding with the vessel's curvature is created by the bull's outwardly extended front legs, Europa's forward pointed feet, and the bull's partially preserved hind legs and tail.

Also noteworthy is the bracelet Europa wears around her left wrist as she clasps the bull's neck.⁷⁸ Surely, the viewer would have noticed this small detail along with Europa's elaborate attire in general. Besides being out of the ordinary, this image of an

⁷⁸ Caskey (1976, 27) speculates that this might be "a companion piece to the golden necklace made by Hephaistos and given her by Zeus," thus drawing a connection between this depiction and the Hesiodic fragment depiction. Elsewhere it has been identified as Assyrian in type, likely calling to mind Europa's near-eastern origins (CVA Bibl. Nat. (2) 94,2).

ornately dressed woman with her delicate jewel-covered wrist lying against the muscular back of a divine bull succinctly encapsulates the paradoxical notion of Europa's power as a woman. For footwear, she wears a pair of slippers with upturned toes. As Caskey notes, these are similar to the footwear of a nature goddess in scenes on other *pithoi*.⁷⁹ This might lead one to consider Europa's earth-mother goddess connections at nearby Lebadeia.

Europa's elaborate attire here probably also calls to mind that of a bride on her wedding day. Europa's appearance seems to bear overt similarities to, for example, Aphrodite's in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* when she meets Anchises.⁸⁰ A cumulative effect of these added details and features was to bring the portrayal to life. This induced the ancient viewer to associate Europa's bull taming with human marriage, which, for an ancient woman especially, would have held special significance related to her own life transition.

The extended body position of the bull in rapid motion should call to mind other depictions of running bulls for contemporary audiences, including specifically from Minoan art. Europa is, after all, the original Cretan matriarch. Her son Minos reportedly gives his name to the Minoans. Bulls in a very similar position appear most notably in

⁷⁹ More specifically, Caskey identifies a parallel for Europa's shoes in the *potnia theron* depiction on another *pithos*: "her feet with upturned toes and large heels are like those of the *Potnia*," (1976, 27).

⁸⁰ "For she was clad in a robe out-shining the brightness of fire, a splendid robe of gold, enriched with all manner of needlework, which shimmered like the moon over her tender breasts, a marvel to see. Also she wore twisted brooches and shining earrings in the form of flowers; and round her soft throat were lovely necklaces," (87-90). E. White (tr., 1914).

the famous bull-leaping frescoes from Knossos. They also appear on gold seal rings from an even earlier Bronze Age date. Based on the collective evidence, and the powerful enduring nature of cultural memory, it might be possible that some still-visible remnant from the Minoan period inspired this Boeotian artist. As, for example, with mention of the crocus flower in the Hesiodic fragment, here again we have possibly a subtle reference to Europa's cultural legacy, or more precisely to Minoan civilization, vis-à-vis the bull's extended body position.

In providing us with an interpretive framework and context, Caskey considers this *pithos* in relation to others of the Tenian-Boeotia type. She includes in her analysis *pithoi* from the Greek islands of Tenos, Delos, and Naxos, as well as from mainland Greece, including Boeotia and Attica. She emphasizes the special importance of Tenos in production of this pottery type and Boeotia as a major importer of it.⁸¹ While arguing for a later date, Caskey also draws attention to the swift speed of the bull, although she says nothing about a Cretan connection.⁸² Caskey refers to important visual *comparanda* on other *pithoi* of dueling animals, sphinxes, monsters, a *potnia theron*, Perseus, Theseus, and various other characters from the Trojan War saga.⁸³ She also considers as visual

⁸¹ Caskey (1976, 21): "Tenos was in the eighth and seventh centuries an important producer of these jars, with Boeotia a recipient of exported vessels, host to migrant Tenian artists, or both. Finds from the sites of Zagora and Grotta have widened the eighth century scene of pithos production."

⁸² "She leans forward to clasp the neck of the bull, and her body curves forward in a reflection of the reach, suggesting speed," (1976, 27).

⁸³ Caskey (1976, 32).

comparanda bronze and iron shield bands from this time period, both in their geographical distribution and subject matter.⁸⁴

Caskey also examines the scenes of these various *pithoi* alongside important literary sources, including the Epic Cycle fragments, which she feels were of primary importance to the visual program.⁸⁵ In this way, my own work complements hers, since I repeatedly emphasize a close correlation between literary and visual portrayals of Europa and famous male heroes. I aim to clarify how these different literary and visual portrayals interact with each other while also asserting their individuality as regional variants.

Developing a more elaborate comparative framework is essential for understanding how the portrayal of Europa's deeds on pottery of this type functioned or acted upon its audience. Ebbinghaus (2005) proves useful in this regard by suggesting a connection between the subject matter and audience. While writing about the rather well-known Mykonos pithos with the portrayal of a fallen warrior on it, she concludes that "the enigmatic fallen warrior on the Mykonos pithos [was] identified as a possible role model for seventh century aristocrats" (51).⁸⁶ Later on, she further elaborates how this iconography might have resonated both with its audience and other

⁸⁴ Caskey (1976, 38).

⁸⁵ "But it is the tales in the various poems of the Epic Cycle that seem most of all to have caught their fancy," (1976, 39).

⁸⁶ Admittedly, we cannot be certain who the audience for these *pithoi* were, and whether aristocrats were even likely to stare at them.

traditional depictions (68-69): “The interconnection of a man’s prowess in battle, his standing in the community and his wealth, which we find expressed in early Greek poetry, explains why a *pithos* was felt to be the appropriate place to advertise the importance of leadership by illustrating the suffering of a city that had lost its protector. While it is highly unlikely this representation of the Fall of Troy represents a particular epic version of the Ilioupersis, this take on the myth reflects the same aristocratic ideology as expressed by epic poetry,” (68-69).

I argue analogously that Europa through her diverse literary and visual portrayals functioned as a role model especially for young women to emulate by promoting the values that would produce successful individuals and communities. Her appearance on a large storage jar used for holding grain and liquids associated with earth in the area in and around Boeotia is significant particularly in light of her close associations with Demeter in this same region. Her appearance on this jar would have made visible for a select audience her heroic deeds and connections with propagating life.

Agrigento

The second Archaic visual depiction comes from Agrigento, on the southwest coast of Sicily. Agrigento’s outlying location made it well suited in ancient times as a stopping point for sea travel between Europe, North Africa, the Levant, and beyond,

and the city conducted a flourishing trade by sea. Sicily and South Italy (or *Magna Graeca* as it sometimes is called) was especially significant, as we have seen, as the homeland of Stesichorus, who provided a version of the Europa myth.⁸⁷

The myth of Europa enjoyed regional popularity here from a very early date owing perhaps, in part, to its function promoting peaceful cultural interactions in such a culturally diverse area. Minos' mythological connections to the area, including his alleged death there, also would have figured importantly for generating widespread appeal.⁸⁸ Like Minos, Europa appealed to local populations of diverse backgrounds. They would have associated her with the ancestors of both Greeks and Phoenicians, and the kind of cultural exchanges, including intermarriage, that had been occurring in this region on a regular basis for centuries. The archaeological evidence clearly supports this.⁸⁹ For centuries, the descendants of Phoenicians, Cretans, Etruscans, Greeks, and various other peoples lived together side by side in this "middle ground" of intense cultural interactions. Naturally, they would have developed ways and means for dealing with one another peacefully, including through the myth of Europa.

⁸⁷ Stesichorus' version of the Europa myth is mentioned by Gantz (1993, 209-210), for example.

⁸⁸ Minos is reported to have traveled to Sicily and to have died at Camicus. *Diod. Sic.* 4.79 and *Hdt.* VII.170-171 both report on his travels, including his gruesome death by boiling water. Recent views include in Carratelli (ed., 1996, 399) and Gantz (1993, 259-264).

⁸⁹ Cultural fusion and interactions are evident on multiple levels in the archaeological record. J. Hall (in Raaflaub *et al.* 2009, 606-607) points out evidence for intermarriage in the form of grave goods. In the same work, C. Antonaccio (317-320) stresses Greco-Phoenician interactions and cultural cross-pollination in the western Mediterranean from a very early Bronze Age date, including through the transfer of artistic styles and mythological narratives. "Middle Ground" is a term Malkin uses repeatedly (i.e. 1998, 5-6) to refer to areas like Sicily and South Italy where Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, and others cohabitated and intermarried for centuries. Carratelli (1996, 400) emphasizes composite architectural styles on the island of Sicily as additional evidence of cross-cultural exchange.

Agrigento itself was founded by Gelans, while Gelans themselves traditionally were believed to have descended from Cretans and Rhodians.⁹⁰ Thus, we have a direct familial connection to Europa in Agrigento, and hence strong grounds, as with the literary evidence, for associating place of production with genealogy. More visual evidence, it turns out, comes from the combined areas of Sicily and South Italy than from any other region of comparable size. This is so much the case with the fourth century that I have devoted an entire chapter to late Classical vase paintings from the area.

This particular depiction of Europa appears on a clay jewelry box cover ca. 560 BC now in Agrigento (see **Figure 2**). With it, we enter into the very private world of women and their adornment, which, from an artistic perspective, turns out to be quite like the world of men and martial attire, also discussed in this chapter. The work was unearthed between the Temples of Zeus and the Chthonic Deities in the Valley of the Temples in Agrigento. It presumably was left as an offering at some point. The preserved clay strip contains four, equal-size registers with independent scenes arranged one on top of the other. Moving from top to bottom, we see images of two opposing sphinxes, Europa and the bull, Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, and Bellerophon on the back of Pegasus.

⁹⁰ For the foundation of Gela, *Thuc.* 6.4.3, *Hdt.* 7.153.1, and *Diod. Sic.* 8.23. Modern discussion also in Malkin (2011, 73) and Bompiani (1996, 400). De Angelis (2003, esp. 200-207) summarizes the complex dynamics behind settlement formation on the island of Sicily, while emphasizing the competing influence of migrating Greek settlers, Phoenicians, and local indigenous populations.

Europa sits on the bull's back with her head facing forward, and her torso turned to the viewer. She extends her left arm in front of her and the other behind in a kind of windmill pattern. With her right hand, she holds the haunch of the bull, while her left hand clutches the bull's horn. We observe this same general body positioning in several subsequent Archaic depictions, including works done in stone and on vase paintings. It seems to have been a popular, appealing enough image to allow for repeated production.

The bull moves forward slowly from left to right here, not running as in the previous depiction. It is clear by the space between the bull's legs that the bull is not standing still either, which we do see in other Archaic depictions. Occupying nearly a quarter of the composition, the bull's oversized head prominently stands out as it turns to greet the viewer. Its striking frontal appearance calls to mind Gorgon depictions in contemporaneous sculptures and vase paintings, as do Europa's windmill patterned arms. The frontal address enhances the viewing experience and signifies, among other things, the bull's divinity and associations with heroic conquest.⁹¹ The exaggerated size of the bull's head likely would have reinforced for the ancient viewer the omnipotent power of Zeus, while also reminding them that he was watching over them, if we are

⁹¹ Marconi (2015, 93-94) and Osborne (1998, 119) both discuss the importance of frontality in ancient Greek art including its associations with divinity.

we are to equate the bull with Zeus which, based on the literary evidence, certainly appears to have been the orthodox version.⁹²

The effect of this work of art would have varied among differently-aged men and women, and been contingent on a variety of circumstances. A woman might have considered her own role as a bride or mother under the watchful eye of Zeus as on par with heroic conquest. This jewelry box would have encouraged her to act “virtuously” like Europa in her marriage, and in so doing, promote individual, family, and community well-being.

Transition into the private world of women with depictions of Europa seems appropriate, particularly given Europa’s own repeated literary associations with the *hieros gamos* and her preeminent role as an idealized bride of Zeus. Yet, it possibly might strike the viewer as counter-intuitive that this depiction of her appears alongside Bellerophon, Heracles, and crouching sphinx portrayals. What could a woman possibly see or relate to in such traditionally combative subject matter? Was it, as I already suggested, that she would associate her own deeds and/or Europa’s with those of famous heroes? Why – to put it another way – do Heracles and Bellerophon appear alongside Europa on this jewelry box cover? And what are we to make of the mirror-like representation of Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion directly beneath Europa, and

⁹² We should keep in mind here Vernant’s notion of Archaic divine statues as not signifying the god(dess) but actually standing in as a physical embodiment for them. Neer (2010, 14) and Squire (2011, 64) provide further discussion on how to interpret Archaic representations of the gods.

the two opposing sphinxes above?⁹³ Are the scenes arranged in a particular way or for a certain reason? What can we read in the arrangement of parts? Do the scenes move, for example, between conflict and peace, with the opposing sphinxes offset by the peaceful scene of Europa and Zeus, and Heracles and the Nemean Lion offset by Bellerophon riding Pegasus? If so, what might be the underlying motivation for such a visual narrative? Or, do the scenes suggest something about nature and civilization vis-à-vis animals and subjection of the natural world by humans? The close physical juxtaposition and symmetry of scenes certainly urges us to conflate them. Particularly with respect to Europa and the bull and Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, as far as composition goes, these scenes bear striking similarities.

Rather than ask open-ended questions, I propose we return to an idea I introduced in the previous, literary-oriented chapter: that love and war were intertwined in ancient Greek thought, and that for a woman to conquer a man with desire was somehow analogous to a man conquering his opponent in battle through might or violence. The martial description of Hera and Zeus's love encounter in Book 14 of the *Iliad* succinctly encapsulated this point. To overcome the king of Gods, Zeus, with *eros*, was, in one way, considered the highest mark of distinction and praise for a

⁹³ Crouching sphinxes are ubiquitous in Archaic Greek art, and likely were associated with the ancient Near East where they also appear. They also frequently appear on shield bands, to which this work of art has been compared by Zahn (1983, 108) and others. In this instance, the sphinxes might call to mind the city of Thebes (vis-à-vis Oedipus) and its mythological connections to Europa's brother Cadmus. This is consistent with the Thebes-centric literature of Stesichorus from the same general period and vicinity.

woman. It set the bar for other women to follow, in terms of encouraging them also to “conquer” noble husbands and give birth to heroic offspring – perhaps not Zeus, but a king, or local leader. Matchmaking was essentially competitive in nature, just as, for example battle or even athletic competitions were competitive for young men. It provided women with a means to stand out preeminent as victors by virtue not so much of their beauty as their ability to inspire *eros* with a worthy man.

From this perspective, Europa essentially served as a role model for other women to emulate during the very difficult life transition of marriage, including, of course, relocation of the bride to her new home with the groom. Keeping these key notions in mind I argue allows us to understand how and why Europa appears alongside the heroes Heracles and Bellerophon. In forging their own identities, men would emulate heroes, but women would emulate heroines like, for example, Europa, Penelope, Helen, or Ariadne, depending on local customs and traditions.⁹⁴

To further elucidate these complex sets of issues, we also should bear in mind decorated women’s adornment during much earlier Minoan and Mycenaean times. I am most interested in jewelry and jewelry boxes, since they are, after all, the most relevant prototypes for this work. Although most of these precious objects would have been buried over by the Archaic period, it is possible some themes and motifs were

⁹⁴ Larson (1995) offers a brilliant study on ancient Greek mythological heroines and their status as role models across a variety of literary and visual media from the eighth to fourth centuries BC.

inherited by jewelry makers and craftsmen. This helps explain why there is so much continuity. Greek artists likely appropriated basic aspects of jewelry design along with various other elements of art and culture from their famous predecessors, the Minoans and Mycenaeans. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that we see close parallels with images of Europa.⁹⁵

We have multiple examples of Minoan jewelry showing the *potnia theron* or “mistress of the beasts” with her arms extended similarly to Europa’s in a windmill pattern.⁹⁶ This possibly relates to Europa’s worship as an early earth mother goddess, as we saw in the previous chapter through her assimilation to Demeter at Lebadeia. We will return to the topic of this arm position again in the next chapter on black-figure vase painting from this time period. Additionally, we have a Mycenaean *pyxis* used for containing jewelry and cosmetics from 1500 BC in the National Museum of Athens, decorated with scenes of lions attacking bulls.⁹⁷ Similar dueling animal motifs occur on a diverse array of swords, shields, and body armor from the Late Bronze Age. From this same time period, we also have gold rings and gems with hunting and battle scenes of

⁹⁵ Several important works exist on ancient jewelry, gems, rings, and cylinder seals. Even a cursory inspection reveals much continuity in imagery over time. Wagner and Boardman (2003) provide numerous examples featuring scenes of combat, agriculture, animals, and men and women alone. Discussion and examples organized according to category and type also appear in Younger (1988). Calinescu (ed. 1996) provides a collection of studies across different media, geographical locations, and time periods. Higgins (1980, 1997) and Wilson (2005) also discuss examples and trends in ancient Greek, Roman, Mycenaean, and Minoan jewelry. Wilson (2005, 396) incorporates into his discussion as an example a pair of earrings from the Athenian Acropolis dated to 850 BC and likely made by an emigrant Phoenician craftsman living in Athens. This example is of special interest to my own project of understanding Phoenician cultural diffusion through the arts. Other resources for Minoan and Mycenaean jewelry include Cline (2012), Stylianos (1969), and Hutchinson (1963).

⁹⁶ See the Minoan *Master of the Animals* pendant in London (BM Catalogue Jewelry #762).

⁹⁷ The depiction is on a hexagonal *pyxis* from Grave V in Grave Circle A at Mycenae.

both humans and animals. On much later Archaic jewelry boxes contemporary with the work from Agrigento, we also observe multiple marriage and abduction scenes. These include well-known mythological episodes like the Judgment of Paris (a kind of bridal competition) on a Corinthian *pyxis* from ca. 600 BC. This does not include the number of grave tombs uncovered that include valuable jewelry alongside weapons and armor.⁹⁸

I highlight these many different examples to illustrate that an enduring tradition of decorating jewelry/jewelry boxes and instruments of war with combat imagery and scenes of marriage existed since at least the Bronze Age. I do not mean to imply that Archaic Greeks had access to these diverse works of art from several centuries before, only that certain thematic and stylistic elements were preserved over time, and passed down from one generation to the next. This, in turn, reinforces my claim for a longstanding connection between literary and visual depictions of love and war based on a preponderance of shared similarities.⁹⁹ In the case of Europa, she most often appears as a victor over Zeus in visual portrayals of their union. Although Europa's journey on the bull is a scene of love and harmony, it often is articulated with the same imagery as scenes of war and conflict which it appears alongside.

⁹⁸ Blegen (1939) for example, discusses deposits of weapons, armor, and jewels of various types in Bronze Age tombs at Pylos.

⁹⁹ While on the topic of relevant antecedents and *comparanda*, we should probably step back even further, and take into account other bull-conquerors, including perhaps the oldest of all, Gilgamesh. We observe the Mesopotamian hero with arms outstretched like Europa's conquering a divine bull on a Neo-Sumerian terracotta votive relief from ca. 2250-1900 BC, and again on a similarly dated Sumerian shell plaque. I discovered these works of art by doing a Google search. Although the evidence is not clear and unassailable enough to justify that these images are all "related", strong visual parallels should in the very least encourage us to ask whether such an enduring link is possible in the cultural transmission of myth.

Europa at Paestum

The third work in clay from this time period comes from Paestum and dates to the late sixth century BC. Paestum is located on the west coast of South Italy, just south of the Bay of Naples on the Tyrrhenian Sea. Paestum remains a hotspot for visual productions of Europa's myth from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods, accounting for multiple important works of art I discuss in this project, including two in this chapter. Paestum, like nearly all of south Italy, had experienced waves of migration since at least the middle Bronze Age. It was conveniently, albeit sometimes contentiously, located in a place where Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Lucanians and others interacted, intermarried, cohabited, and co-buried their dead.¹⁰⁰

This specific depiction of Europa is in the form of a terracotta statuette ca. 520 BC now in Paestum (see **Figure 3**). It is broken badly, but clearly depicts a girl sitting on the back of a bull. As a portrayal done in the round, and not a sculptural relief, it was long believed to be the only remaining one of its kind from this period, although other new ones have now come to light.¹⁰¹ The head of the bull is nicely preserved, as are part of Europa's left leg and garment, but beyond that, the viewer must reconstruct. I feel this

¹⁰⁰ Pedley (1990) provides a useful discussion of Paestum, including its monuments, history, and archaeology. He elaborates on the sometimes contentious relations between Greeks, Sicels, Sicans, and Carthaginians that frequently occurred from the city's foundation onward. Recent discussions of Paestum include Ferrara (2012), Mello (2012), and Theodorescu (2000).

¹⁰¹ Marconi (2007), in his discussion of regional interest in the myth of Europa at Selinous during the Archaic period, gives as an example a figurine (Fig. 40) which he says is one of many in the museum at Palermo.

likely is a representation of Europa, however, since, based on the dress alone, it is clear that we have a woman on the back of a bull, and I am unable to think of any candidate more likely than Europa. Significantly, the bull moves from right to left here, a scheme frequent, but not exclusive to, Italian portrayals for the next few centuries, and which we saw in the earliest depiction from Boeotia.

This statuette was discovered near the Basilica just south of the temple of Hera at Paestum among other votive offerings. Based on *comparanda* of other small statuettes found near temples to goddesses from this time period, it most likely was offered up as a gift for a prosperous marriage. We have sufficient grounds for correlating Hera and Europa based upon parallels in literary descriptions of their love encounter with Zeus, and their shared identification with the *hieros gamos* as brides of Zeus. Europa and Hera both ensured prosperous mortal weddings as goddesses of marriage, which likely helps explain this particular find context.

The artist has wrought the bull's head and countenance with considerable detail, giving it a human, life-like quality, perhaps in order to convince the ancient viewer that the bull portrays Zeus the anthropomorphized god. We know this was a topic of contention even in antiquity as evidenced in the passage by Anacreon. A series of curls denotes convincingly anthropomorphic hair on the bull's forehead. The artist has elaborated these using an Archaic design motif popular with the hair of *kouros* and *kore* statues as well as of gods and goddesses.

The artist also has rendered the eyes and nose of the bull with convincing detail. Three incised lines above the bull's eyes denote circular, arched eyebrows. Its oversized, smooth, protruding eyeballs bulge perceptibly beyond the plane of the eye socket. The nose reveals the elaborate boring out of a hole to create an orifice. The remnants of different color paint are preserved, including reds and blues, both on the bull, and on Europa's gown, which indicates that this statuette originally would have been covered with color.

When it was fully intact, this work of art must have exerted a kind of talismanic power over its audience. This is reaffirmed by its having been left as a temple offering. Like a wedding hymn, it invoked a paradigmatic divine wedding, in this case of Zeus and Europa, in order to sanctify the marriage of the woman making the offering. Beyond that, it reaffirms a longstanding, geographically-diverse tradition going back several generations of endowing human weddings with divine precedence. Literary portrayals aim through epiphany, *ekphrasis*, and elaborate detail to prolong the attention of and persuade the audience that what they are hearing or reading about is real and tangible. This small statuette, through its embellishment and detail, as well as its agency in promoting human marriage, initiates a divine-human encounter by making the divine mortally patent. In that sense, it subjugates the audience with beauty and details much as Europa subjugates Zeus, and with the same end effect of elevating human beings to the level of the divine.

Works in Metal

Europa at Delphi

We have three surviving examples from this time period, although others also likely once existed but were melted down and re-appropriated for use as something else. The following three works, like two of the ones done in clay, appear to have been left as votive offerings. They all were recovered in mainland Greece, rather than on the peripheries of the Greek speaking world where, as more time elapses, the Europa myth comes to predominate. They reinforce the myth's importance in association with the important Pan-Hellenic sites of Olympia and Delphi, as well as in/around the Gulf of Corinth region.

The significance of Europa's appearance at the sacred sites of Delphi and Olympia should not be under-estimated. We know Europa also had special connections with Dodona, one of the other three most sacred sites of Greece.¹⁰² With respect to the greater area of the Corinthian gulf, we also should recall the influence of Phoenicians and Cretans in this region from a very early date. At Corinth, in particular, as I discussed in the previous chapter, Eumelos produced a version of the Europa myth,

¹⁰² Gommers (2001, 41,53), citing Stephanus of Byzantium, who himself follows Akestodorus, discusses this tradition of Europa as the mother of Dodon by Zeus. Also Meineke (1849, 246-247).

and Phoenician influence has been detected in the archaeological record and even in topographical eponyms.

The first work is a bronze Cretan war helmet ca. 620 BC now in the Delphi Museum (see **Figure 4**). It was discovered at Delphi, after presumably having been left as an offering with other spoils of war.¹⁰³ In the depiction, Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. She wears an elaborately decorated chiton, with a detailed pattern running down the center and along the hems. She also has a fillet around her head, and a pair of slippers to complete her ritualized adornment. The image of Europa on the bull is reproduced on both sides of the helmet. On one side, Europa appears to move from left to right, and on the other from right to left. On both sides, the image is the same, occupying the majority of the helmet's surface area. Based on its leg spacing, the bull appears to be walking slowly but not standing still. One of the most notable features of this portrayal is that the head of the bull turns to face the viewer, which suggests its divinity.

In order to understand how and why a war helmet would display a large image of Europa and the bull, perhaps we should step back and assume a broader perspective. After all, it might appear unusual for a soldier to have a bride of Zeus on his helmet rather than, say, an image of Heracles or Perseus. I propose we recall the close

¹⁰³ Additional Cretan bronze offerings at Delphi include a Daedalic *kouros* statuette dated to ca. 620 BC, as well as another late seventh century bronze helmet like this one on which a winged youth grasps two snakes (cf. H. Hoffmann (1972) 22, pl. 18, 1-2.4). That helmet also presumably was taken as booty in war and given with other spoils as an offering.

association between love and war in ancient Greek thought. This includes, on one level, the most famous war of all, the Trojan War, which began as the result of an illicit love affair between Paris and Helen. We also should call to mind the clay jewelry box cover I previously discussed, on which scenes of Heracles and Bellerophon are juxtaposed with Europa, as well as the Minoan and Mycenaean jewelry and weapons to which I referred. The underlying contention is that literary and visual portrayals of Europa reinforce an analogous relationship between the power of a woman to seduce her lover and a man to conquer his adversary in battle. In the battle of the sexes, a woman overcomes her husband through the power of *eros* just as he overcomes his opponent in battle through might or violence.

In attempting to make sense out of and understand this helmet, including information about its find spot, and the socio-historical context in which it was embedded, we should keep in mind Cretan influence in the region. As I have said before, a strong Cretan, and to a lesser extent Phoenician, connection to Delphi always existed.¹⁰⁴ It is predictable on a certain level that the mother of the Cretan people and a former Phoenician princess would turn up on material evidence there. Crete figured prominently in all narratives about Greek origins, just as it does today in academic research. Regardless of who left this helmet, or why, the image on it sheds light on how

¹⁰⁴ Scott (2014, 38, 69) discusses the foundation story of Delphi by Cretan sailors as well as a gradual decline in Cretan influence at Delphi in the eighth and seventh centuries BC (74).

the Europa network had infiltrated this sacred spot beyond the literary connections we already have examined.

By at least one much later tradition, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the first priests of Apollo were abducted Cretan merchants.¹⁰⁵ Euripides' later fifth century BC *Phoenician Women*, moreover, features a chorus made up of Phoenician women on their way to Delphi who become trapped in Thebes along the way. This points also to a Phoenician connection between Delphi and Thebes, reinforced by Europa's brother Cadmus' connection to the same places through his wanderings and eventual settling down.

The relevant points of contact between Euripides' play the *Phoenicians* and this Cretan helmet run much deeper. Broadly speaking, the play invokes a war-time context by describing the conflict of the Seven Against Thebes. Speaking across media, this puts it in the same genre of martial-oriented art as that on the helmet. While describing the grim conflict at Thebes, including the confused mass of soldiers, Euripides writes, "The first of their captains was Parthenopaeus, son of the huntress, Atalanta. He charged at our Neistean Gate with his men, a company thick with shields held high. In the centre of his shield was embossed his family emblem, his mother, killing the Aetolian boar with her far-shooting bow."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ See *Hom. Hymn Pyt. Ap.* (391-395).

¹⁰⁶ Lines 1107-1109. George Theodoridis (tr., 2012).

This literary depiction provides us with perhaps our most significant visual *comparandum* in the form of a decorated shield. It is, of course, the literary portrayal of a shield but not the shield itself. Shield decorations themselves are ubiquitous in the ancient world. Europa herself appears on three shield bands I discuss (See Figures 5, 6, and 6B). Aside from the famous literary depictions of the shields of Achilles and Heracles, a number of ornamented shields can be found at museums throughout the Greco-Roman world, including at some of its most sacred sites. When the god Hephaistos decorates the famous shield of Achilles in Book 18 of the *Iliad*, he portrays, interestingly, two major scenes: one of a city with a wedding celebration, and another city besieged by war. Perhaps no other work of art, or literature for that matter, and in the case of Homer, the boundaries between them collapse through *ekphrasis*, so succinctly encapsulates the close juxtaposition of love and war in ancient Greek thought.¹⁰⁷

This contributes to our understanding the Cretan helmet from Delphi in that it also portrays a wedding procession, specifically that of Europa to the home of her new husband Zeus. This provides additional support for the notion that love and war are synonymous on some level in ancient Greek thought. It also reinforces my contention that we should associate Europa's bull-taming with other acts of heroic conquest, while also appreciating Europa herself as a legendary, heroic founder. In the case of the

¹⁰⁷ Becker (1995) has a useful study of *ekphrasis* and analysis of various scenes on the shield of Achilles.

Euripidean description of the shield with Atalanta, the act of her subduing the Aetolian boar admittedly presents a more traditional form of heroic conquest, but my primary argument remains that Europa's taming of the bull is a variation on the heroic type scene, which is why Europa, like Atalanta, appears on shields and armor.

Keeping these visual and literary based observations in mind, it seems entirely reasonable for a soldier to put the image of his mother and/or the matriarch of his people on his helmet. It signifies to others his cultural identity on some level, and the related sets of values for which he is fighting. It is tantamount to putting a flag or banner on a shield to signify devotion to a particular nation, or even the head of a founding father on a nation's currency.¹⁰⁸ The helmet would have given visibility not only to Europa, but to all that the image of Europa would have contained, including his genealogical relationship to both the human and divine. In a time period obsessed with genealogy, which the Archaic period was, this is not so anomalous.

Interestingly, Europa restrains the bull with a rope around its neck in this portrayal, which is not observed again in any other depictions until the first century CE. The rope around the bull's neck likely reinforces its subjection since, even today, the primary means by which a bull or large mammal is controlled is a rope around the

¹⁰⁸Consider Europa's subsequent appearance on EU coins two and a half thousand years later. We might also consider work as diverse as World War II airplanes and bombs decorated with pin-up girls etc. which also preserve an artistic visual relation between the wars and conquests of men and the women who "inspire" them.

neck.¹⁰⁹ The rope emphasizes Europa's mastery of the bull, and validates her heroic credentials. Not surprisingly, I would argue, the only other image I am aware of with a person subduing a divine bull by a rope around the neck is with a depiction of Heracles wrestling the Cretan bull. It occurs on a mid to late sixth century BC black-figure vase painting.¹¹⁰ Much as with the literary evidence, therefore, a strong tendency exists among visual artists to conflate Europa's conquest of the bull with Heracles' and Theseus' taming of the Cretan bull. This applies both externally to the visual depictions' juxtaposition alongside these other heroic scenes, as well as internally to the works' actual physical arrangement.

Europa at Perachora and Olympia

The next three examples also are illustrations on arms and armor dedicated in sanctuaries. This continues our pattern of associating Europa's deed with the martial deeds of heroes and warriors, and love with war more generally. The three depictions occur on shield bands. A shield band was located on the inside of a shield, and so it not as visible to others as, for example, the front of a shield, or even the previously examined helmet. The first shield band is done in bronze, and the second two in iron.

¹⁰⁹ The rope also might be an elongated wedding garland given Europa's close associations with marriage and the appearance of such garlands in later vase painting depictions.

¹¹⁰ See Beazley Num. 7710, University of Mississippi 1977.3.61, Attic black figure neck amphora, ca. 530-520 B.C.

The first example is a bronze shield band ca. 580 BC now in Athens (see **Figure 5**). It was discovered at Perachora, a religious site on the northern Corinthian gulf directly across from Corinth. This is of course near to where Akousilaos produced his epic, and somewhat close to Calydon which, recall, according to Asios of Samos, was associated closely with Europa's myth through an alternative tradition of her mother as Perimede. In central, western Greece near the northern Peloponnese, it also is situated fairly close to Argos, where, recall, Akousilaos took an interest in the Europa myth. My point is that the literary and archaeological evidence indicate the Europa myth permeated this region from a very early date and we should expect to see some extant visual evidence.

This shield band is identified by Martin Robertson in the *LIMC* as Argive-Corinthian, meaning that some ambiguity exists with respect to its precise origins in the Argolid.¹¹¹ It dates to the middle of the sixth century BC. It is in very poor condition, and reconstructed from several fragments. Like other works we have observed in clay and metal, this one also was given as a sanctuary offering by someone. In this case, it was found in the *temenos* of Hera Limenia, which reaffirms Europa's now well-established associations with Hera as a benefactress of marriage.

The Europa-Hera connection returns us again to Europa's broader associations with the *hieros gamos* as an earth mother goddess and wife of Zeus. Cook originally

¹¹¹ Robertson (1988, 82, 197).

proposed this idea more than a century ago, and it has been picked up on afterwards by other scholars, as I mentioned already. While referencing this particular shield band in discussion of a similarly sculpted stone metope from Assos, Wescoat suggests Europa with her upraised arm might have been sniffing a flower.¹¹² This certainly becomes a common motif in the Classical period. Wescoat focuses on Europa's possible connections with fertility, concluding that scenes of Europa with flora, fauna, and vegetation are "directly connected with the fertility, earth goddess aspect of Europe."¹¹³

The scene of Europa appears alongside scenes of Peleus wrestling Thetis and Heracles overcoming the Nemean lion. This returns us yet again to the close juxtaposition of Europa and Heracles, which we have observed already both in the literary and visual evidence, and which we return to again in the following section.

Considerable debate exists as to whether any of these shield bands are even meant to be depictions of Europa. Other images of bull-riders do in fact exist in antiquity, including some identified as Demeter, Artemis, a Maenad, or others.¹¹⁴ Robertson does not include into the *LIMC* any other shield bands besides the one at Perachora. The alternatives as to who else the portrayals might be, however, are not convincing, particularly when we collate all the related evidence side by side, as scholars like Payne, Kunze, Zahn, and others have done. From the very low resolution,

¹¹² Wescoat (2012, 178, n.347).

¹¹³ Wescoat (2012, 178).

¹¹⁴ Technau (1937, 76-103).

granular image we have for this one from Perachora, it appears we have somebody riding a bull, but all that remains of the rider is the foot and ankle. Still, it probably is Europa, especially considering the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento, and the next two shield bands which bear striking similarities.

These other two Archaic shield bands both date to ca. 560 BC and come from the sacred site of Olympia (see **Figure 6** and **Figure 6A**). Since two survive from here, and another one from Perachora, we can safely conclude that the Europa myth was a particularly popular motif at this period in this particular genre, as were sphinxes, and scenes of heroic combat. Both shield bands, unfortunately, are in poor condition, but Figure 6A does allow us to discern the clear image of a woman riding a bull, moving calmly from left to right. Incised details of her dress and the bull's anatomy are preserved. The scenes above and below her are badly damaged. Figure 6 only preserves the lower part of a bull and a leg dangling off, but following Kunze and others, I believe it again is Europa. This scene of Europa appears alongside scenes of the death of Priam, and Zeus slaying Typhon. Both of these, obviously, are heroic deeds of conquest and victory.

My primary conclusion here is that multiple media juxtapose Europa in her role as a bride of Zeus with the legendary heroes of Greek myth. This repeated juxtaposition relates to the close correlation between love and war in Greek thought. Europa's repeated appearance on different kinds of armor found in sanctuaries confirms her

ancient significance as a heroic founder from whom people proudly claimed descent just as they did from her male counterparts, and the role of women more generally in promoting the well-being of individuals and communities.

Works in Stone

Sometime in the middle of the sixth century BC, simultaneously across the Mediterranean from the coasts of Turkey to Sicily, something extraordinary happened. Within the span of a few decades, multiple temples were erected with Europa and the bull featured prominently in their sculptural programs. This considerable boom in Europa myth architectural sculpture depictions at the time corresponds to a general uptick in temple building. Other mythological figures also appear with greater frequency then, including Heracles, Perseus, Theseus, the Argonauts, Trojan War heroes, Amazons, etc.

Scholars have discussed at great length these other heroes' function in architectural sculpture, but the story of Europa has not received as much attention. This likely relates to the fact that she is a woman, and she is not a warrior as, for example, the Amazons. Europa is, interestingly, the only one of Zeus' loves to appear repeatedly in this medium, which certainly indicates her primary significance, and should induce us to ask questions. As I have indicated already, scholars repeatedly have attested to the conspicuous presence of heroes in sculptural programs as a way of illustrating for

human beings ideal behavior and/or reinforcing conventional beliefs and values.¹¹⁵ They have argued that numerous portrayals of Theseus and his deeds, for example, illustrated for young Athenian men virtuous behavior to emulate in their own daily lives. On the level of community, some scholars also have interpreted Theseus' deeds as representative of the Greek conquest over the Persians.¹¹⁶

Scholars like Ridgway, Marconi, and Wescoat have discussed the visual prominence of Europa in large-scale architectural sculpture during this period as signifying the establishment of trading outposts and overseas settlements.¹¹⁷ These processes, as well as others generally classified under the outdated term "colonization", experienced a second wave of growth during the sixth century BC as an increasing number of (not only Greek) city-states sponsored the foundation of temporary and permanent settlements abroad. Still, on the whole, scholars have not paid due diligence to the myth of Europa's complex, manifold associations in this regard, particularly in

¹¹⁵ Marconi (2015, 579-591) offers a discussion on how visual art – and not just sculpture, but vase painting, and other media – participated in public discourse and reflected contemporary socio-political reality. Barringer (2008) also takes up this thread of research with sculptural programs at a variety of sites across Greece, including the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Parthenon and Hephasition at Athens, and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Stewart (2008, 13-18, 24, 57ff.) also has discussion on the utility of public art and its participation in civic discourse. As Ridgway (1999, 8) summarizes it, Greek mythology was "so powerful, in fact, that poleis and states could manipulate it to espouse specific policies or legitimize territorial claims."

¹¹⁶ For a reading of how Theseus' conquests functioned in diverse visual media, including as a symbol of Greek victory over the Persians, Stewart (2008, 82, 153), Barringer (2008, 73ff.), Neer (2002, 159-162), and Von den Hoff (2009, Chapter 9).

¹¹⁷ Ridgway (1991, 95-112) elaborates on the relationship between Archaic architectural sculpture and travel myths in an early essay. She revisits the idea later in *Prayers in Stone* (1999) where, in her summary of Chapter 5, she explains "Greek colonists, conscious of their own pioneering wanderings, seem to have given preference to travel myths over other topics, both on their own temples in their "homes away from home" and in the treasuries they dedicated at the international sanctuaries, such as Delphi," (8). Marconi, (2007, 209-212), citing Ridgway, analyzes sculptural depictions from Sicily, including of Europa at Selinous, in the context of overseas travel and settlement.

terms of negotiating cross-cultural relations, or its practical function in negotiating life transitions associated with marriage, death, and inter-cultural relations. In that sense, scholars have not fully appreciated Europa's appearance alongside distinguished male heroes, nor sufficiently explained how this physical juxtaposition in the visual evidence correlates to the literary.

In this section, we move away from the realm of personal household belongings and items offered as dedications at temples, to large scale monumental architectural sculpture that would have been visible to the community as a whole. This general shift away from the personal, private realm to prominent display in public civic spaces offers us valuable insights into community values at the time. This, in turn, leads us to the integral and related concept of cultural identity construction, or how people thought about and fashioned their own collective sense of self. As I already indicated, the heroes portrayed in monumental architectural sculpture would have reinforced both personal and collective values and identities.

Five examples of architectural sculpture from this period feature depictions of Europa and the bull. Four are verifiably from temple *metopes* while the fifth is on an unidentifiable block. They all date to the same general period of the middle sixth century BC, and come from sites on both the eastern and western margins of the Greek speaking world, as well as right in the center of Greece at one of its most sacred sites. Ultimately, a much lengthier study should be undertaken about each of these pieces

individually as well as all of them together collectively than is possible in the scope of this work. The present study reflects on them as very significant reference points in the course of making a much larger argument about Europa depictions in all literary and visual genres from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period.

Europa in the West

Our first example of architectural sculpture takes us to the western periphery of the Greek world and the city of Selinous on the island of Sicily. As a result of its marginal location at the southwest corner of the island and the point of Europe nearest to Africa, Selinous was an ideal place for the interactions and exchanges of Greeks, Phoenicians, and various other local and migratory populations.¹¹⁸

This first is a stone metope ca. 560 BC now in Palermo (see **Figure 7**). It constitutes one of a series of sculpted metopes from Temple Y at Selinous. The metope has been evaluated extensively by previous scholars, whose insights I rely and expand upon here.¹¹⁹ In the depiction, Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, holding his right horn with her left hand, and gripping his flank with her right hand. Her arms are in the same

¹¹⁸ De Angelis (2003) provides a useful discussion of settlement patterns on the island of Sicily, including at Selinous. He introduces Chapter 5 by describing the area as a “cultural mosaic made up of three elements: natives, Phoenicians, and Greeks,” (101). Antonaccio (2012, 324) emphasizes the location of Selinous in particular as setting the stage for confrontation between hostile Greeks and Phoenicians during the Archaic period. Carratelli (ed., 1996, i.e. 154-157, 404-417) also contains useful discussions on cultural hostilities between Archaic Greeks, Phoenicians, and natives in Selinous and *Magna Graeca*.

¹¹⁹ Specific scholarship includes by Marconi (2007, 37, SM 2), Giuliani (1979, 43 ff., Taf. 10), and Kähler (1949, 37f., 44, 51, Abb. 22), among others.

windmill pattern we observed them in, for example, on the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento. She wears a fringed, draping chiton, and a fillet or bind to restrain her hair. The bull swims quickly from left to right, making this the earliest uncontested image of Europa traveling overseas. Beneath Europa and the bull, a group of fish swim, as the bull's tail reaches curiously forward to be included in the scene.

I wish to compare other sculpted metopes too, including those from on Temple Y at Selinous as well as on other temples contemporaneous with this piece. On Temple Y, where this Europa depiction appears, we find images of a crouching Sphinx, the Delphic triad of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, and two other reliefs thought to relate to the worship of Demeter and Persephone. The crouching sphinx, recall, is an image we have observed before alongside Europa, including on the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento. There, two crouching, opposed Sphinxes appear in a register above Europa and the bull. Leto and Demeter, as wives of Zeus, seem like appropriate characters to appear alongside Europa. The worship of Demeter and Persephone is, in general, significant and widespread at Selinous, particularly given that Persephone's mythological abduction allegedly took place on the island of Sicily outside Enna.¹²⁰ Europa's physical appearance, clothing, and hairstyle here are all similar to Demeter's and Persephone's. This reveals that a visual tendency to conflate the three goddesses

¹²⁰ Gantz (1993, 66), citing *Diod. Sic.* (5.3.1-4), has the abduction take place in Enna on the island of Sicily. For more on the significance of Demeter at Selinous, including her worship as Demeter Malophoros, Carratelli (1996, 491 ff.), Miles (1998, 35-57), and Grotta (2010) all have discussions.

existed since very early times, and probably also indicates the work of a single sculptor. The Europa-Demeter association has literary precedent, for example, in their assimilation at Lebadeia. Based on the prominence of women in its collective sculptural program, Temple Y likely was associated with marriage and child-bearing, and probably devoted to a female deity.

Other relevant temple metopes at Selinous include those from Temple C, where we find depictions of Perseus and the Gorgon, Herakles and the Kerkopes, and Apollo in a four-wheeled chariot. We also have from the early fifth century Temple E depictions of Herakles killing Antiope, Aktaion being ripped apart by Artemis' hunting dogs, and Athena battling the giant Enkelados. These all contain images in one way or another evocative of powerful females, which strengthens the claim for an enhanced recognition of female deities and benefactresses at Selinous. This is reinforced by prominence of the *hieros gamos* depiction from Temple E I mentioned before. I discussed it in relation to the strong vertical line of division where Hera stands face to face with Zeus in marked opposition and synthesis.¹²¹

This portrayal of Europa and the bull from Selinous is remarkable in several ways. The image is quite literally, bursting out of the frame. The artist appears to have

¹²¹ Miles (2016) has an insightful discussion about the importance of the *hieros gamos* on Temple E which was dedicated to Hera. She claims it is "evident that the emphasis of these metopes was on the celebration of Hera as the protector of city and marriages," (85). Miles also cites the work of Ostby (2009, 162-163) who sees Empedoclean influence in the pairs of opposites. Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco (2007, 833-835), Mertens (2006, 279-283), Bompiani (1996, 495), and Marconi (1994) all provide relevant discussions on Temple E and its sculptural program.

made a special effort to emphasize the inability of the frame to constrain the splendid, magical moment of Europa's and Zeus's wedding journey. He has compressed the bull's rear against the edge of the image, for example, while also extending the left horn beyond the forward frame. One might hypothesize what the effect of this was on the viewer in multiple contexts. For example, in the context of a real-life wedding ceremony, which plausibly might have involved a procession past this display since it was a temple dedicated to marriage, how might we interpret its effect? I argue the effect of this subtle detail of extending the image beyond the frame and encroaching into the viewer's space would have endowed with meaning and value human wedding processions and marriages.

The remarkable overlap of Europa's feet with the right hoof of the bull, its tail, the two fish, and then the bull's left hoof, creates multiple planes of discernment for the viewer. This layering forces the viewers' eyes to react, differentiate, and even reenact the moment of this wondrous journey. Layer by layer, the depiction enters the viewer's world, projecting temporally and spatially into the present, implicating its audience in a divine dialogue. The image of Europa and the bull leaps out at the viewer, causing people to stop, stare, ponder, wonder, and ask questions. It has, recall, the same effect another Europa depiction had on its viewers in the literary passage we examined by Anacreon.¹²²

¹²² *Anac.* XXXV or LIV (depending on translation).

To that end of engaging and exciting the viewer, this image of Europa and the bull is full of abundant detail. The artist has meticulously drilled and chiseled holes and lines to denote, for example, the folds of Europa's gown, gills for the fish, and shaggy hair running along the bull's powerful neck and torso. Small curly locks of human-like hair appear on the bull's forehead, reminiscent of the bull's hair on the clay figurine from Paestum we examined previously with works done in clay. The beaded edge of Europa's chiton, the fringes of her hair, the bull's bulging eyes turned to confront the viewer, even Europa's self-assured Archaic smile, all contribute to the convincing power of this image. It is full of so much detail, I would argue, it is at risk of appearing jumbled, chaotic, and out of control, a confused mass of tumbling bodies. Yet, the artist takes careful steps to prevent such dissolution by synthesizing the various elements of the composition. This includes, for example, having the long curve of Europa's leg and the folds of her garment parallel the curvature of the bull's shoulder and thigh, or the curve of her foot perfectly align with the curve of the fish swimming beneath them.

With this remarkable depiction of Europa and the bull from Selinous, we have, as I already said, the first clear, incontestable portrayal of the bull swimming overseas. As multiple scholars have noted, this makes the myth here particularly well-suited as a metaphor for overseas travel and settlement abroad. In fact, much of the interpretive work that has been done with respect to this work of art focuses on its relationship to overseas travel. While valuable and significant, this interpretive strand surely is not the

only one. We should consider, for example, how people living with a mixed cultural identity – a natural byproduct of overseas travel – might relate to this image of the Phoenician princess Europa traveling to Crete for her new life, particularly in a culturally diverse population center where the mixed descendants of Cretans, Greeks, Phoenicians, and others interacted and intermarried on a regular basis. The myth of Europa would have reinforced a sense of collective identity. I would even go as far as to argue that it sanctioned intermarriage and cultural hybridity as an act of the divine will of Zeus, thus enhancing its cultural significance.

The artist has undertaken a deliberate effort not only to integrate the various elements of the composition into a coherent unity, but also to synthesize the audience and work of art. This work of art is primarily concerned with Europa *showing* the bull to us. She turns his head to face the audience, forcing us to come into contact with his divine gaze, while she looks forward away from us. She forces him to confront us while she remains fixed on her own horizon. The wedding is presented as a ritualized prayer or communion with the god. That is, of course, assuming that the bull here is Zeus, which certainly appears to have been the dominant literary tradition.

In forcing people to meet the gaze of Zeus, Europa elevates her audience to a state of divinity while also bridging human beings and gods. Through her union with Zeus as a mortal woman, Europa reminds humans of their communion with the father of the gods. This is, in fact, very near to the later Christian tradition of Mary as the

mother of Christ, among others. Europa is, essentially, a medium for producing a divine encounter and semi-divine children. She functions to bridge the divine-chthonic divide. Through her exemplary character and virtue, Europa brings us face to face with the king of the gods. For that act of love and life, not for killing or slaying any adversary, she rightly deserves to be called a hero.

I conclude this section on Europa in the Greek west with brief mention of a sandstone metope ca. 520 BC from Paestum now in Naples (see **Figure 8**). I already discussed Paestum in connection with the Archaic clay terracotta statuette (cf. Figure 3). This metope is now badly damaged, preserving only the upper right part. It was found at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera a considerable distance away from the South gate.

The bull is entirely missing, but it seems to have been moving right to left. Europa appears frontally in the depiction. She wears a chiton, himation, and headdress. Her hair, face, and dress are denoted with varying degrees of detail. Incised lines delineate the draping folds of her chiton. The curvature of her breast is visible beneath. Her head extends well beyond the frame of the metope. Twin rosettes appear on either side.

Unfortunately, not a lot can be said about the work, but a few key features stand out, including the extension of Europa's head beyond the main frame. This suggests, like the previous metope depiction, that the scene was too sacred and magnanimous to be confined by a limited architectural space. On either side of Europa's head, also

outside of the main frame, the two rosettes appear. The rosette is a design motif linked not only to Egypt and Mesopotamia, but also to Cretan and even Phoenician art and culture. It might be, therefore, a way of signaling Europa's associations with these older, near eastern and Minoan civilizations, whose ancestors would have regularly interacted in the vicinity of Paestum and South Italy.

Europa at Delphi

Next, I move to arguably the oldest of these portrayals of the myth of Europa. Like the bronze helmet, it comes from the sacred site of Delphi. It occurs on a block of limestone ca. 560 BC now in Delphi (see **Figure 9**). We have seen the primary importance of Cretans in the establishment of Delphi (according to legend) and hence its mythological and genealogical ties to Europa. I have stressed the importance of the Europa myth in and around Corinth, which itself lies close to Sicyon in the northern Peloponnese. Sicyon possibly was home to a cult of Europa, where, as at Lebadeia in Boeotia, Demeter and Europa were assimilated together and worshipped as a single goddess Hellotia. This special regional significance for Europa likely in turn relates to a local tradition of her as being the mother of Europs the legendary first king of Sicyon, whom I mentioned in Chapter One.¹²³ Europa is a kind of universal mother for the

¹²³ Gommers (2001, 52). For more on the ancient site of Sicyon, including its history, art, and archaeology, a comprehensive monograph by Lolos (2011) contains relevant resources.

Sicyonian people, and her appearance on the treasury at Delphi likely signified her status as the heroic progenitor of their people and/or as an exemplary bride and mother. This was also the case, recall, with the Cretan helmet I previously discussed in this chapter.

A major problem exists, however. Not all scholars agree that this metope of Europa and the bull, or the *monopteros* to which it belonged with at least four other well-preserved metopes, is even Sicyonian.¹²⁴ Following Pausanias' attribution of it as Sicyonian, and based off the quarried stone and subject matter, one group of scholars has identified it as Sicyonian. Another group, led by De la Geniere (1983) and Szeliga (1986), however, claims it was actually a western Greek dedication. Without wading at length into these complex points of contention, I seek to extract the most relevant facts for my own argument which is focused on the Europa myth's development in the literature and the visual arts over the course of nearly seven centuries and how this relates to reinforcing value and meaning in people's lives. Still, in making my own argument, I invariably touch upon and deal with some of these issues and controversies raised by other scholars. In terms of this particular controversy, I would argue, based merely off of the Europa evidence, that the treasury was in fact Sicyonian, although

¹²⁴ Relevant works are included in the catalog. As I mentioned already, Ridgway (1991, 96-100) and Marconi (2007, 17, 209) discuss this metope in the context of overseas travel, which coincides with my own endeavors. Giuliani (1979, 310) reads into it a reference to friendly Greco-Phoenician relations in Heraclea-Minoa, which certainly seems plausible. Von den Hoff (2009, 96-104) discusses the different scenes on the *monopteros* as collective enterprises exemplifying male virtue, and the scene of Europa in particular as possibly dealing with marriage.

certainly western Greeks also might have played a part in its construction. The myth of Europa, and Greek religion as a whole, suggest that we take a pluralistic approach without excluding one side or the other, particularly given the intensity of cultural interactions.

This depiction of Europa occurs on a block of limestone that, after being used for several decades as part of a pre-existing structure was later re-appropriated into the foundation of a new Treasury building in the fifth century BC. Why it was removed and introduced into a new setting is another hot topic around which no clear consensus exists.¹²⁵

As I indicated, the once intact sculptural program of this *monopteros* building contained a series of *metopes*, including one with a depiction of Europa and the bull. In this particular image, Europa sits side-saddle on the back of the bull, leaning forwards, and moving from left to right. The speed of the bull is difficult to discern, but given what remains, including the apparent span between his preserved legs, it is clear that the bull was in motion. Both the bull and Europa are, unfortunately, poorly preserved. Of Europa, only about one half of her body remains, mostly in the lower part beneath the waist. Her upper body is almost entirely missing, except for part of her right arm and torso. Of the bull, other than the bulk of his body and neck, only part of his rear left

¹²⁵ Scott (2014, 105) gives one version for the block's re-appropriation, as do Partida (2000, 119, 129-130), and La Roche and Nenna (1990, 241-284).

leg, tail, and testicles remain.¹²⁶ Likely, Europa was holding on to the horn or neck of the of the bull, given her forward-inclined position on its back. She wears an elaborate chiton, remnants of which drape over the right shoulder of the bull and hang straight downward. The artist has incised lines to denote fringes on the garment, as well as throughout the shaggy neck of the bull to give it a coarse, hairy appearance. It appears the head of the bull would have turned to face the viewer, which would have made for a dramatic frontal address.

Given the general pattern that already has begun to emerge of Europa's heroic associations in other visual and literary media, unsurprisingly other preserved *metopes* contain images of the Calydonian Boar Hunt, Phrixos on the golden ram, the voyage of the Argonauts, and the Dioscuri on a cattle raid.¹²⁷ These legendary epic deeds would have been easily identifiable to nearly any viewer, and undoubtedly would have enhanced the epic, heroic nature of this sacred space. The treasury functioned as a kind of trophy of cultural achievement with the most formative acts prominently displayed. In addition, the juxtaposed scenes open up a complex web of family networks through which ancient Greeks fashioned their various individual and collective identities. These vast familial networks gave rise to famous houses and their descendants, including the descendants of Europa and her extended family.

¹²⁶ The enlarged testicles of the bull likely reinforce its strength and fertility. They are visible also in later depictions, including on numerous Classical vase paintings.

¹²⁷ Unlike many cases where uncertainty about the characters exists, here the names of the characters were added in paint, although admittedly we cannot be absolutely certain when they were added.

Several important issues arise as a result of Europa's conquest of the bull appearing alongside these various heroic acts beyond what already has been suggested by scholars. The Calydonian boar hunt is an interesting choice, in particular, especially considering Europa's own alternative lineage as a daughter of Perimede, and hence her associations with the region of Calydon.¹²⁸ The first person to strike the Calydonian boar, moreover, Atalanta, is, like Europa, recall, a heroic matriarch depicted on a soldier's armor in a play by Euripides. Phrixos on the ram is also an interesting choice, including that he and his sister Helle are the children of King Athamas of Boeotia where we know the Europa myth was popular. Athamas' second wife, Ino, moreover, the children's stepmother, is the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, which allows us to produce another connection based on genealogy. This comes in addition to the most obvious fact that Phrixos (and Helle) ride on the back of a divine creature overseas from one continent to another.¹²⁹ The lineage of the Dioskuri also can be traced back to this same family line, which plausibly helps explain their parallel appearance. In addition, they also perform heroic deeds and are associated with overseas travel through their own journeys and also as the protectors of ships and sea-travel. The Argonaut voyage is another heroic overseas expedition with various participants whose lineage in some ways overlap with the extended family of Europa, including the Dioskuri. As I

¹²⁸ Cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.8.2.

¹²⁹ Depictions of the two journeys often parallel one another. In some cases, the ram looks nearly identical to the bull, but with a different head. Billowing garments, the side saddle position, and signs of overseas travel also are evident in depictions of both.

mentioned previously, scholars like Ridgway, Marconi, and Giuliani have noted how each of these images relates not only to overseas travel, but also to the taming of the natural world and animals.

Regardless of these precise connections, the physical juxtaposition of Europa on the bull with these other heroic enterprises certainly invites and even encourages us to associate the different heroic deeds. These *metopes* would have promoted the collective identity of the Sicyonian people in a conspicuous display along the Sacred Way at Delphi.¹³⁰ Not just their own citizens, but the citizens of several other city-states would have recognized themselves in these mythological depictions as they proceeded past them. With that recognition would have come the feeling of kinship, since nearly all city-states were connected by genealogical ties and shared at least one distant common ancestor.

Finally, before moving to the next example, we should call to mind the Delphi-oriented system of worship for Herakles Melikertes studied and explored primarily by Malkin.¹³¹ According to Malkin, Delphi served as the hub for a network of hero worship for this Greco-Phoenician hero that included western Sicily, with priests who made regular pilgrimages to the Greek holy site. Based on the co-appearance of Europa alongside famous heroes like Heracles in architectural temple sculpture not only at

¹³⁰ Scott (2012, 103, 246, 293) has a nice discussion of the Sacred Way at Delphi and its gradual development over time.

¹³¹ Malkin (2011, Chapter 4).

Delphi, but throughout the Greek world, as well as her repeated heroic co-associations in other visual and literary genres, the current investigation endeavors to illuminate how myths about women (in this case, Europa) also served as hubs for organizing personal and collective identities.

Europa at Assos

For the next two portrayals of Europa in architectural temple sculpture, we turn east to the periphery of the Greek-speaking world and away from its religious center. Despite moving to another geographical region, we continue to observe many of the same themes discussed with other Europa depictions in multiple media. I begin with the site of Assos on the Ionian coast of Turkey, not far from the islands of Chios and Lesbos. Assos has one of the few good harbors in the area, which makes it particularly well-suited for trade and cultural interaction. This probably was the case from a very early date, and we can postulate that Minoans and Phoenicians likely traded in the vicinity since the Bronze Age. We know from our investigation of literary material that the myth of Europa remained popular in the general vicinity of Ionia and western Turkey throughout the Archaic period in part as a result of Europa's familial connections to the area through Sarpedon and Cadmus.

This depiction of Europa occurs on a block of andesite used for a metope ca. 550 BC now in Istanbul (see **Figure 10**). The image generally resembles the image of Europa

on the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi in its style, composition, and even preservation. Significant differences also exist, however, including that the bull appears to be moving more slowly here, or perhaps even standing still. Nearly a third of the upper part of the block is broken off, including all of Europa's upper body and most of the bull's head and back.

As with the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, various scholars have examined the Temple of Athena at Assos and its numerous remaining sculpted *metopes*, including the block with the sculptured relief of Europa and the bull. The most comprehensive and informative treatment of the site and its associated structures and images is by Bonna Wescoat (2012). Wescoat offers a comprehensive analysis of the site, including the iconography of Europa. Throughout the current study, I have been emphasizing the importance of cultural interactions in relation to the Europa myth. My argument has included that the Europa myth proliferates in areas where cultural interactions are most intense. My findings reaffirm Wescoat's observations about the general fusion of architectural stylistic elements at Assos.¹³² She emphasizes the site's stylistic hybridity, concluding, "The dominant impression is hybrid, as if the Assians, having achieved critical mass, wanted to become contenders in the larger dialogue of monumental temple building by knitting together – and transforming – the several contemporary

¹³² "From their rocky promontory at the southern tip of the Troad, they [people of Assos] were well positioned to look southward to Ionia, eastward to Anatolia, and westward across the Aegean. And surely they were not the first community to want it all. In the temple, we witness a striking attempt to take advantage of diverse iconographic trajectories," (2012, 27).

(and older) trends they observed across the eastern Mediterranean,” (Wescoat 2012, 28).

While Wescoat astutely remarks on this hybridity, she does not explain how this hybridity might relate to the Europa myth in much detail.

Predictably, this portrayal of Europa also appeared alongside depictions of famous heroes in acts of conquest. In attempting to make sense of the assemblage of mythological scenes on the sculpted *metopes* on the Temple of Athena at Assos, Wescoat again offers relevant insights. She remarks, “In fact, archaic iconographic programmes were composed of a series of visual axioms articulating the relationship of humans to each other, the supernatural, and the divine. The goal was not to express a single idea, but to interweave the key themes of natural and supernatural power with exemplars of heroic and human values,” (128).¹³³ In some ways, as Wescoat shows, Assos is a kind of microcosm for the Europa myth it portrays, in that both represent hybrid, multi-faceted networks through which individual and collective identities are organized and expressed.

Aided by Wescoat’s findings on how the metopes deal with human-divine-natural world relations, we can further uncover how this sculptural program impacted people in their daily lives. The mythological portrayals of heroic struggles on this

¹³³ Wescoat concludes, “The scenes work paratactically, yet collectively (either directly or by analogy) they present a more encompassing vision of some of the prime forces that governed a meaningful existence in the archaic world: the averting powers from the unseen world expressed in the heralding sphinxes; the forces of the natural world expressed in the animal combats; the conflict between the natural versus the civilizing force within human beings, expressed in their bestial half-selves, the centaurs; and the role of philoxenia in distinguishing the human from the bestial expressed by the symposion-” (2012, 129).

temple of Athena at Assos would have articulated and reinforced personal and collective identities. Regarding the Europa myth at Assos in particular, Wescoat points out that it, like the juxtaposed myths of Heracles and Triton, and Peleus wrestling Thetis, it deals with conquest of the sea. These myths would have held special significance for people living in a coastal town, she argues, which returns us to the idea of the Europa myth's connection with overseas travel and settlement.¹³⁴

Europa at Pergamon

Europa also appears in architectural temple sculpture at Pergamon, located inland from the coast of Asia Minor and east of Assos. The mythological Trojan War is reported to have taken place very near to Pergamon, including the legendary death of Sarpedon. Although it has been catalogued and referenced by multiple scholars, no scholarly analysis has been performed on this work of art.

It occurs on a block of marble ca. 530 BC now in Berlin (see **Figure 11**). Apparently, since it was sold by a local who had uncovered it himself, we do not even know the original position of the block or what kind of architectural element it composed. The relief is, significantly, sculpted in marble, which puts it in a separate class of stone from other pieces we have been examining. This indicates at the very least that the work was valuable, and likely indicates that it came from a sanctuary.

¹³⁴ Wescoat (2012, 179).

The marble relief is badly damaged on three of four sides, but the preserved part is in excellent condition and of considerable quality and detail. In this depiction, Europa and the bull move from left to right. Part of her upper body and face are preserved, as is the entirety of her left arm compressed against the bull's neck. A part of her chiton also remains, its details worked out similarly to the details of her hair and the bull's shaggy neck. Overall, Europa's appearance and coiffure, especially, resemble, for example, contemporary Archaic Greek *korai*.

Of the bull, only his neck, head, and right forepaw remain. His snout is compressed against the right side of the block and raised awkwardly upwards. From the jammed position of the bull's remaining right leg, scholars have postulated, quite correctly I believe, that the bull was swimming in this depiction.¹³⁵ It appears Europa's chiton was pulled up over the bull's neck and shoulder to prevent it from becoming wet during the overseas voyage. If that is the case, it possibly makes this depiction the earliest one of its kind in that the bull is swimming and not running or standing still. This might relate to broader associations between her myth and an uptick in overseas exploration at the time, and reinforce Wescoat's findings about the regional and stylistic diversity of Assos and the myth's special function there.

Since we do not know the original dimensions of the block of stone, it is not altogether clear what else the composition included. We appear to have only the upper

¹³⁵ Wescoat (2012, 177).

right portion, meaning the rest plausibly would have included Europa's and the bull's bodies. The preserved image suggests the artist wished to accentuate Europa's mastery of the bull. The artist emphasizes Europa's power by cramming the bull against the forward edge. As a result of their placement, the bull and Europa appear ready to break out of the frame and into the viewer's space. Again, it is as if her epic, heroic deed is too great to be confined by a single architectural space.

A strong vertical line dissects the composition, created by Europa's upright arm raising the bull's head by the horn. As one follows this visual cue, it leads to Europa's head placed next to the bull's. In fact, Europa appears to be looking right into the bull's eye, as she pulls his head back by the horn to meet her gaze. I would argue this eye-to-eye positioning of Europa and the bull emphasizes the heroic nature of her conquest of the bull. I say this not only because she appears to be lifting up the bull's head by the horn, but also because the closest visual corollaries I have been able to find where two heads are thus positioned, are with depictions of Theseus conquering the Bull of Marathon, the Minotaur, and Antiope in separate depictions on the Athenian treasury at Delphi, as well as black and red-figured depictions of Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ One such vase painting image of Herakles is on an Attic red figure stamnos *ca.* 490 B.C (Cf. Cat. Philadelphia L-64-185). See also vase-painting images of Herakles and the Ceryneian deer, or wrestler depictions on statue bases, which all reproduce this same basic body position as one of conflict or contention.

A famous vase-painting by Exekias (ca. 540 BC), on the other hand, features Achilles gazing down at the vanquished Penthesilea with a similar head-positioning between the two parties.¹³⁷ This close juxtaposition of two heads in Archaic Greek art, with one person looking down into another person's or even an animal's eyes, appears primarily reserved for denoting the moment of heroic conquest over a key adversary. This comparison substantiates my ongoing argument for Europa's heroism through her triumph over Zeus.

In keeping with the pre-established, close connection between love and war in ancient Greek thought, these same head positions, interestingly, also occur with depictions of two lovers looking into each other's eyes. According to Apollodorus, Achilles actually falls in love with Penthesilea at the moment he kills her, which returns us to the previous vase painting as both an erotic and martial encounter.¹³⁸ Other relevant *comparanda* include depictions of lovers kissing in later red figure vase painting, as well as scenes of love making in general. The main point is the same basic head placement is reproduced in scenes of love and war, which reinforces my argument for a close connection between love and war in ancient Greek thought, and Europa's own special prominence as a bull-tamer and wife of Zeus.

¹³⁷ Cf. *BM* 1836,0224.127.

¹³⁸ On Achilles and Penthesilea, Apollodorus (5.1) writes that he "fell in love with the Amazon after her death and slew Thersites for jeering at him-". Admittedly, Apollodorus is a much later source, but likely the myth about Achilles falling in love with Penthesilea after death had its origins at least as far back as the Archaic period.

Conclusions

The Europa-Zeus love affair holds special significance, in part, through its paradigmatic status as an idealized human wedding.¹³⁹ I mean this in that it functioned as a paradigm for human beings to emulate and ensure their own weddings were prosperous. The journey of Europa on the bull, after all, the most popular moment in the story, presents Europa's bridal procession to the home of Zeus on Crete, and thus remains useful for analogizing human weddings and bridal processions which also would have terminated at the home of the groom.¹⁴⁰

Scholars have pointed out Europa's associations with human weddings in later literary and visual portrayals, but not with Archaic literature and visual media this early on, which is a case I certainly am willing to make based on the combined literary and visual evidence.¹⁴¹ It is quite likely that when young women (or even men) heard, told, or saw the myth of Europa, they thought about their own weddings, and those of their closest family and friends. They likely did not do so idly, either, but while endowing these human weddings with enhanced meaning and value through divine

¹³⁹ For more on the notion of myth as paradigm in the way I conceive it, Steiner (2007, especially Ch. 7) on paradigmatic extension. At one point (137), she discusses paradigmatic bride selection, referring to Heracles and Menelaus as idealized heroes for young men to emulate in choosing their own brides. I take a similar approach to Europa, arguing for her crucial function as a role model for young women to emulate.

¹⁴⁰ Europa, interestingly, is the only bride of Zeus to go to his home on Crete, which makes her myth particularly well-suited for comparison to ordinary bridal processions.

¹⁴¹ Redfield (2003, 45), discusses later wedding songs invoking archetypal weddings like Zeus' to celebrate the bride and groom, and elevate the status of the participants to a divine and heroic level. Oakley in Reeder (1995, 63-65) has more on the shared attributes of divine and human wedding scenes in contemporaneous vase painting from this time period, including gods and humans appearing in scenes beside one another. Oakley suggests the effect of this is to raise the status of the bride and groom (63).

precedence. Artists and authors conjured up a well-known divine-human encounter in order to initiate new encounters on a recurrent basis.

From the earliest representations of Europa, artists always placed special emphasis on her mastery and subjugation of the bull, while also juxtaposing her deed with the deeds of famous heroes. Combined with the fact that Europa appears in such a diverse array of visual media, including on a jar, a jewelry box, a soldier's armor, and on temple *metopes*, it is evident that she had the same sort of cultural agency as the great heroes Heracles and Theseus.

Europa has her labors too, after all, but they consist in conquering a divine bull with *eros* and then giving birth to sons and future kings. Through these illustrious deeds and her widespread, pan-Mediterranean cultural appeal, Europa endows with meaning human relations with one another, with the gods, the natural world, and even the underworld. She is a bridge as much as anything else, and a force for bringing people together and giving them a sense of belonging to a larger cultural network.

CHAPTER 3 – *Heroine of Fertility, Marriage, and Death*

Archaic through Early Classical Vase Painting (650-450 BC)

I continue my analysis of Archaic visual media in this chapter. I examine black-figure, early red-figure, and white ground vase paintings. All examples are listed in the **CHAPTER 3 Catalog (APPENDIX B)**. While analyzing these distinct styles and types of vase painting, I interpret how they relate to one another and to other visual and literary media. This includes on the formal level how these depictions of Europa appear similar to works in clay, stone, and bronze, and on the functional level, how they contribute to Europa's legacy as a heroine of fertility, marriage, and death. I am interested in both the form and function of these objects, their physical appearance and outer aesthetics, that is, but also the way people interacted with them and created meaning in their own lives. I demonstrate how these works of art were supreme creations used by artists and audiences to establish points of contact between human beings, gods, and the natural world around them. The vases were there to remind people of the transcendent power of unity, especially amidst plurality and disjunction.

Although I include all the following examples under the convenient heading "vase painting", I choose to emphasize that we are dealing with a number of different vase types, and from locations separated in some cases by thousands of miles. These include vessels that would have been used by women and men in a variety of different

contexts from the sacred to mundane and practical. Everybody who experienced these works of art would have done so differently, too, even if it was the exact same image, place, and time. These objects would have given people optimism during life's difficult transitions, promoted community values tied to cooperation and exchange, reminded people of the power of the all-nourishing earth mother goddess, or just provided something aesthetically pleasing to look at and enjoy.

Their engagement with various aspects of real-life ensured that these images of Europa remained relevant and popular. Key to the Europa Network's survival was artists' and writers' abilities to make the myth relatable to a diverse array of individuals scattered in city-states and settlements all around the Mediterranean. Greek mythology, with its inherent plurality, both with respect to the different mythological variants that occur from one region to the next, and to the possibility of interpreting any given visual representation in a multiplicity of ways, was well-suited for Europa. She herself was a microcosm for that plurality, and yet she was also unity in that plurality, for she united Asia and Europe, human beings and gods, human beings and animals, husbands and wives, the sewing and the harvest, even life and death.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Eidinow, Kindt and Osborne (eds., 2016) and Eidinow and Kindt (eds., 2015) provide several useful studies on various aspects of the plurality of ancient Greek religions and theologies. This includes not just literary texts and works of art, but sacred spaces too, and the multi-faceted experiences associated with them. Contributors frequently make reference to the plurality, multidimensionality, heterogeneity, polyvalence, and context-sensitive nature of Greek religious experiences. Gods are described as complex networks and clusters of power rather than singular beings.

Archaic Black-Figure Vase Painting

The aim of this project is to catalogue as many images of Europa as necessary to convey my main points while also giving a sufficient sense of the diversity of material evidence that exists. Except for a few extraneous pieces, the task of cataloging all vase painting images of Europa has been performed by previous scholars, including Jahn (1870), Technau (1937), De Brauw (1940), Zahn (1983), Robertson (1988), and others. To my knowledge, however, neither these scholars, nor any others who have contributed to scholarly discussion about the myth of Europa, can offer a uniform approach to the vast diversity of images or the way people interacted them. Probably, one never could, given the tremendous complexity of visual evidence and modes of viewing involved, but we can, at the very least, look for patterns and meaning.

The majority of black-figure works from this time period are Attic produced, although not necessarily for Athenian consumption. Many vases were exported to areas especially in and around central Italy, including among the Etruscans, where we have evidence for regional interest in the myth and a tendency to certain stylistic features and details.¹⁴³ This helps us appreciate how much regional diversity exists among all these

¹⁴³ Carpenter, Langridge-Noti, and O'Donnell (eds., 2016) provide several relevant essays on the producer-consumer relationship, focusing on Attic pottery that was exported to various sites in Italy, Greece, and Anatolia. While examining Attic pottery in Gordion, for example, Lynch identifies changes in the shape and subject matter dependent on specific contexts and where an object is found. The editors emphasize context early on, noting "the opportunity to recognize more clearly the variety of possible consumers for any individual pot," (xi).

different vase paintings, despite the fact that they all appropriate the same fundamental image of Europa on the bull.

My first example is a Laconian cup dated between 640-570 BC, attributed to the Boreas painter, and now in Samos (see **Figure 12**). Not all scholars, myself included, agree that this is definitely a depiction of Europa. As possibly the first generic representation of its kind, however, the work of art does merit brief consideration.

Based on visual comparanda, I believe the hooves visible here likely are those of a bull, and obviously a fish is depicted swimming underneath it. The logical conclusion would be that this is a bull traveling overseas, and the most well-known bull to make such a trip is the bull carrying Europa. Still, we are unable to ascertain.

To begin, although the hooves do resemble the hooves of other bulls in contemporaneous vase painting depictions, they also strongly resemble the hooves of horses in numerous contemporary vase paintings.¹⁴⁴ Even if we admit it is a bovine creature, it also might be a cow, such as, for example, Io. One might also object that a kind of ground line below appears to separate the bull and the fish into separate registers. We know that multi-tiered registers were popular with Archaic vase painters from a very early date. The small size of this cup, however, is not conducive to having multiple, unrelated tiers, and so this objection might be overruled.

¹⁴⁴ Boardman (1974) provides numerous contemporary vase painting images of horse hooves including on the well-known Francois Vase (Fig. 46), and several others (Figs. 47, 48, 65, 83, 91, 145, 150, etc).

Perhaps, given later visual parallels, this is actually a scene of Helle or Phrixos traveling overseas on the golden ram.¹⁴⁵ I considered this initially, but it appears rather unlikely, since ram's hooves are shaped noticeably different in Archaic and Classical vase painting than those of lions, boars, deer, dogs, and other large land mammals.¹⁴⁶ Based on an analysis of the cloven types of these hooves, this is either a bull, cow, or horse, I would argue, but none of them conclusively. One additional thing I wish to emphasize about this possible Europa depiction is that the presence of water and the hoof spacing of the presumed bull possibly do indicate a swift, overseas voyage. That would make this most like the depiction on the *metope* from Selinous among previous visual depictions.

The geographical factor does support this as a representation of Europa. We know from Asios' epic that the myth of Europa was popular on the island and circulated through oral poetry, with a local alternative genealogy for Europa's mother with strong local ties to the region. The find-spot in the Heraion also indicates the importance of this image, in an addition to drawing our attention to parallels between Europa and Hera as loves of Zeus. Additional parallels between the two are evident in

¹⁴⁵ Not many depictions exist. We do have a funerary vessel with Phrixos on the Ram, ca. 340–310 B.C., attributed to the Phrixos Group, from Apulia, and now in the Berlin Museum.

¹⁴⁶ Boardman (1974) has examples of various animals' hooves in Archaic Attic vase painting.

the worship of Hera at Samos in association with overseas travel and as a goddess of fertility.¹⁴⁷

The earliest incontestable representations of Europa and the bull occur on a pair of Caeretan *hydriae* from the same general period.¹⁴⁸ The two bear overt similarities, such as in the ivy and tendril design bands running beneath their central images, as well as in the palmette designs by their handle attachments. Yet, each is unique in interesting ways and help to reinforce different aspects of Europa's complex character, specifically her heroism and associations with fertility.

Caere was an important Etruscan city in South Etruria. From a very early date, Etruscans were active both inland and at sea in and around much Italy. This included close contacts with peoples in the Bay of Naples region, and at trading outposts like Pithecusae, where they would have interacted, cohabited, and intermarried with Greeks, Phoenicians, and others, eventually developing a preference for Greek pottery which is why so much of it turns up in this region at this time.

I begin with a Caeretan hydria from ca. 530 BC by an unknown painter now in Rome (see **Figure 13**). In this depiction, Europa sits sidesaddle on the back of the bull, holding its neck with her right hand, while her left hand rests on its flank. The bull

¹⁴⁷ Scott, in Eidinow and Kindt (eds., 2015, 231), discusses numerous offerings of small wooden boats and various artificial and authentic fruits and seeds discovered near the Temple of Hera at Samos. This leads him to conclude that the same holy spaces could be perceived differently by different people at different points in time.

¹⁴⁸ Oakley (1993, 44) notes that most Greek wedding imagery occurs on *hydriae* and *amphorae*. My findings on Europa confirm this, since she appears on a disproportionately large number of these vase types, and her journey on the bull is essentially a wedding procession to the home of Zeus.

moves quickly from right to left. His legs are extended as in the early Boeotian clay *pithos* depiction. Behind the two, a winged Nike flies, holding two crowns, one in each hand. Beneath the Nike is a leaping dolphin, which is balanced out by another one sporting in front of the bull. Two fish are depicted below, also moving in procession with Europa and the bull.¹⁴⁹ Finally, a water-bird of some sorts flies in front of the bull, perhaps signifying nearby land behind them in Phoenicia, or, more likely, Crete at the end of their journey.

Several details stand out and warrant a serious analysis of this vase. First, we have the appearance of an additional actor in the scene of Europa and the bull (i.e. a winged Nike), which is a first but in the late Classical becomes the norm. This also the first time we have a bird in the scene (the only depiction from this time period), although birds do reappear in much later depictions. In the *LIMC*, Robertson describes it as a “monster bird”, which does not seem like a fitting adjective to me. Birds, in particular, are a popular motif in Eastern Greek painting, which might suggest that the artist who painted the work was accustomed to this type of representation.

The closest visual parallel I have found for this piece is a vase painting on a cup from 550-520 BC by the Rider Painter of Sparta now in the British Museum.¹⁵⁰ In that depiction, a horseman is accompanied by a hovering Nike behind, while birds similar to

¹⁴⁹ Assuming the bull is Zeus himself, and given Poseidon’s personification as the sea, this might be interpreted as the brother of the groom taking part in the wedding procession. Based upon our understanding of real-life Greek weddings, in some cases, this would have occurred.

¹⁵⁰ See image at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rider_Painter

the one in this depiction of Europa appear in front of and beneath them. That cup dates to the same general period. This raises the possibility of some sort of direct stylistic relationship in the imagery, possibly even based in the Argolid and northern Peloponnese. The Rider painter also depicted Kadmos slaying the dragon on a cup in which birds very similar to these ones appear.¹⁵¹ That same cup, incidentally, also comes from Caere, which reveals not just regional interest in the myth of Europa, but also in her status as a hero. Similar birds also appear in contemporary Athenian depictions of Heracles and the Stymphalian birds, which like these other scenes, presents a scene of heroic conquest.¹⁵²

This scene supports my ongoing argument that Europa is a hero and cultural role model for others to emulate. This depiction of her with a winged Nike hovering behind and a specific type of bird flying ahead, explicitly evokes a context of heroism and conquest. Nike, after all, primarily appears in Archaic Greek literary and visual depictions guiding the horses of victorious heroes. She also notably appears in depictions of Zeus in combat against the Titans, as well as supporting victorious soldiers, athletes, and poets. She is the quintessential companion of heroes and triumphant victors. This attribute alone gives us sufficient grounds for validating Europa's heroic credentials. Her victory is admittedly of a different kind, and consists in

¹⁵¹ Louvre E 669. Some claim it is actually a scene of Achilles.

¹⁵² Heracles and the Stymphalian Birds appear on an Athenian black-figure amphora from ca. 540 B.C. now in the British Museum (cf. London 1843,1103.40; Beazley Archive No. 301062).

her seduction of Zeus, and survival as a mother of heroes, rather than the traditional hero who tames a divine bull.

Europa's bridal journey presents an alternative form of heroic conquest that any woman could relate to in her own life. Her heroic procession not only endows with meaning her own marriage to Zeus, but human marriages as well. Women likely would have reflected upon their own marriage whenever they encountered this visual production of Europa, which is in association with their own weddings, or the weddings of friends and loved ones. Not all women would have had the exact same response, of course, nor would the reactions of men have been the same, but they likely would have identified themselves with Zeus as idealized lovers.

Through the constant reminder of Europa's example, many Greek women would have reinforced their own aspirations to strive towards a higher virtue in becoming brides and mothers. The appearance of garlands in this scene, as well as numerous other scenes of heroic conquest and wedding scenes, succinctly encapsulates the heroic nature of Greek women, and returns us to the close overlap between martial and marital imagery. Oakley mentions many physical attributes of wedding scenes in vase painting imagery, including besides garlands and fillets, flying *erotes*, mirrors, and baskets. These same images also frequently found in funeral scenes, which returns me

to the idea of weddings as funerals for young Greek women marking the end of maidenhood.¹⁵³

In various depictions of heroic men and women, humans, gods, and animals coalesce and interact in interesting ways. Heracles, for example, assumes the form of the lion he conquers, and eventually becomes a god. Europa overcomes the god Zeus who appears to her in the form of a divine bull and then copulates with him. Through both heroes, Heracles and Europa, a kind of synthesis occurs of human beings, gods, and animals, in which human beings are assimilated to the world of animals and gods. The underlying result is a harmonization of the entire cosmos in which human beings and animals have a divinely-sanctioned symbiotic relationship with one another and the gods.¹⁵⁴

My second example is a Caeretan hydria of ca. 530 BC, now in the Louvre (see **Figure 14**). In the central scene on the vase, Europa moves from right to left on the bull much as in the previous depiction. The bull again appears in rapid motion, and a dolphin leaps in front of the two. We observe a similar palmette design beneath the handles, and similarly incised lines to denote gills on the dolphin, the shaggy neck of the bull, and details of Europa's chiton. We also observe a mountain and forest scene

¹⁵³ Oakley (1993) focuses throughout his work on imagery associated with weddings and funerals. Oakley's work complements my own through our emphasis on the importance of women in vase painting wedding scenes not just as passive objects, but as powerful individuals possessing divinely-sanctioned seduction (i.e. 47).

¹⁵⁴ Kindt (2017, 213-225) has a recent article on animal-human hybrids, and what they indicate about Greek religious belief and human beings' relationship to the natural world around them.

wrapping around the vase, as well as a rabbit on the land in front of Europa. These are both significant firsts in that they likely look ahead in the timeline of the myth to Europa's arrival on Crete.

One of the most notable features of this portrayal is that Europa holds a flower to her nose. In her own remarks about the work, Wescoat notes the idea of flower sniffing is associated with fertility.¹⁵⁵ She claims the flower here might be the crocus, in particular. This calls to mind the Hesiodic account of the myth of Europa in which Zeus the bull breathes a crocus from his mouth. The crocus also is associated with the *hieros gamos*, springing up from the ground beneath Zeus and Hera when they make love on Mt. Ida in the *Iliad*. As my analysis continuously reveals, Europa's repeated associations with flowers, fertility, trees, fruit, etc. likely is a way of alluding to her previous status as an earth mother goddess. My main point here is that the flower has special significance and is not an arbitrary detail. The flower likely also has something to deal with weddings and funerals. Flowers and baskets are frequent attributes in wedding and funeral scenes across multiple media, including not only vase paintings, but other media as well, such as the Locrian plaques. In that case, scholars have interpreted the flowers in association with the story of Persephone as sanctuary offerings given in hopes of a prosperous marriage and afterlife.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Wescoat (n. 344, 178). Zahn (1983, 108).

¹⁵⁶ Redfield (2003, 347), citing Spigo (1982), notes we actually have two depictions of Europa on these plaques, but I have not been able to locate them in any publications.

We should consider the scene on the reverse side of this vase, of the Calydonian Boar Hunt. In the epic poem about Europa by Asios of Samos, Europa is Meleager's niece. In this particular depiction of that heroic feat, we find not only Meleager, but Atalanta also attacking the boar. Atalanta, like Europa, is a heroic woman. As such, both women, recall, appear on shield designs, Atalanta, in a Euripidean literary description, and in the case of Europa, on the work of art from Agrigento.¹⁵⁷

Thus on this vase, two heroic women are portrayed in action simultaneously. That makes it the only one of its kind I am aware of, and hence, of special significance in the history of women in Greek art. This case proves that the history of women in ancient Greece was much more complex than mere passivity, subjection, and obedience as scholars at times have emphasized. Numerous women, with Europa foremost among them, possessed the power and skills necessary to secure noble husbands, give birth to noble sons, provide hope during life's difficult transitions, and be recognized as heroes in their own right.

I turn now to an Attic *amphora* from the late sixth century BC, each side painted by a different artist (Phorbas, Aniades) in the same style, now in Wurzburg (see **Figure 15**). The vase was recovered at Vulci, another prosperous Etruscan city 80 km northwest of Rome on the Tyrrhenian Sea. Although also from an Etruscan-occupied region of

¹⁵⁷ Recall how in architectural temple sculpture at Delphi Europa on the bull appears alongside another depiction of the Calydonian Boar Hunt.

Italy, this depiction is different from previous ones, although similarities in style also exist that seem to have been popular with the Etruscans. To begin with, the bull stands still. Europa also sits on the back of the bull with her body awkwardly contorted, and her arms outstretched, with one in front, and the other behind her, in the same general windmill pattern as on the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento. Her lower body points forward, her torso turns to the viewer, and her head looks behind, as she twists to look over her shoulder.

As I argued during my discussion of the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento (cf. Figure 2), Europa's arms in a windmill position here likely has something to deal with her conflation to the mistress of the beasts and goddess of fertility. Based on similar depictions of fleeing Gorgons, scholars have associated the arm placement with rapid motion, but here the bull obviously is standing still, or at least moving only very slowly, which problematizes and probably even exempts that explanation. It occurs elsewhere, other than with fleeing Gorgons. For example, on a contemporaneous Tyrrhenian amphora by the Timiacles painter now in Boston, an Amazon appears with her arms in this position while engaged in battle against Herakles.¹⁵⁸ We observe similar representations of the Minoan snake goddess as well as ecstatic dancers worshipping a goddess on a Minoan signet ring.¹⁵⁹ Of course, these Minoan artifacts would not have

¹⁵⁸ Boardman (1974, Cat. 56).

¹⁵⁹ Pomeroy et. al. (2012, 34, fig. 1.7a).

been visible at this date, but it is conceivable that certain elements of artistic style were passed down from one generation to the next, including association of this arm position with scenes of women and heroic conquest.¹⁶⁰

This is the earliest vase-painting with Europa's name added, as well as the name of the artist(s). Europa's name also was painted on (at some point) the *metope* from the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi. These are the only examples from this early period.

Besides identifying the artist and subject of the work of art, these labels have the added effect of instructing the viewer how to think.¹⁶¹ They also allow the vase-painters to proclaim their own works as self-conscious, one-of-a-kind productions, and themselves as showcasing the Europa myth as no other artist before them.

These labels draw attention to the timeless world of the myth on one level, and to the temporal world of the artist and audience on the other. They allow the artwork to be in two places at once as it were, or to participate in two interconnected worlds. This returns me to how the work of art functions on a performative level, which is one of the dominant threads running throughout this study.

¹⁶⁰ Scholars like Kearns in Eidinow and Kindt (eds., 2015, 29) advise caution in thinking that the Dark Ages, for example, presented a radical break from Mycenaean times since we have evidence for certain temples continuing to function. In the same edited volume, and in a similar context, Martin (152) discusses the transmission of certain gods' names, epithets, and attributes from Linear B into Greek epic.

¹⁶¹ For more on the subtle, complex ways in which vase-painting inscriptions might function in terms of directing the audience to think in a certain way, Steiner (52-53) and Neer (2002, 87ff.). Hurwit (2015) has an entire work devoted to artists and signatures in Ancient Greece.

A considerable amount of artistic effort has gone into designing Europa's attire. We have observed this repeatedly to be the case in various visual and literary genres. As I argued before, it likely relates to Europa's function as a paradigmatic bride of Zeus in her wedding attire on the way to the home of the groom for consummation of marriage. We observe here a kind of starburst pattern all over Europa's dress, and multiple pleats and folds. Similar details were evident on the earliest visual representation of Europa, the Boeotian clay *pithos* (cf. Figure 1), as well as on the Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi (cf. Figure 9). Among previously discussed literary examples, Europa's elaborately decorated attire calls to mind the gown of Hera in Book 14 of the *Iliad*, and Aphrodite in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Elaborately decorated gowns also appear in cotemporaneous vase painting scenes of goddesses and women in sacred contexts, including depictions of weddings and rituals.¹⁶²

The same image is repeated on the reverse side of the vase, but with slight variations. Europa's head tilts slightly down on Side B, and extends further into the tongue design above. As I mentioned, there is also a different painter's name on each side. This is significant for at least a few key reasons. One possible implication of a two-sided Europa vase of this type by two separate painters is that Europa on the bull was a popular enough subject among painters to function as a blueprint or model for

¹⁶² Boardman (1974) provides cotemporaneous vase-painting examples of similar dress styles, including on three goddesses with Hermes on a neck amphora from Vulci (Cat. 218) and a bride in her wedding procession on a black-figure lekythos by the Amasis painter now in New York (Cat. 77.1).

showcasing their artistic talents. Another interpretation might relate to the two names themselves, Phorbas and Aniades. Phorbas, of course, is closely related to the Greek word for animal fodder, which possibly alludes to Europa's status as an earth mother goddess. Aniades, on the other hand, appears related to the word *aniazo* for "to grieve" which might allude to the time of year when the earth lacks vegetation. Perhaps this is why Europa looks up on one side and down on the other. Like her contorted body position, it is a subtle reference to the cycle of the seasons.

The musculature of the bull has been worked out in rigorous detail, including his shoulders, flank, and neck, as well as the shag of his hair. As I mentioned during my discussion of the *metope* from Selinous, here too the artist has undertaken considerable effort compositionally to integrate Europa and the bull into a coherent unity. The effect of this is to reinforce the intimacy of the union of Zeus and Europa, which, on a broader level, means integrating human beings with gods and animals into the world around them. They have the same general, angular S-shaped curve to their bodies, for example, and the folds of Europa's gown are in places difficult to distinguish from the lines demarcating the bull's physical anatomy.

Europa's rear right arm and chiton hang down like the bull's tail, moreover, and the shape of her left hand mimics the shape of the bull's horns. Her two legs align perfectly with his front leg, and her awkwardly draping chiton also aligns with his rear legs. Every time the viewer follows one line to the bull, his/her eye is led by that same

line back to Europa and vice versa so that it becomes impossible to disentangle the two or think of one without the other as the eye races up, down, left, right, around and around in every direction. Through their placement around the central image, the painted on names reinforce the circularity of this image, and the ongoing cycle of life and death which Europa herself evokes as an earth mother goddess.

The argument that Europa appears here in her capacity as an earth mother goddess finds further support in her overtly enlarged left breast. This is probably not the product of a distorted sense of perspective. It is much more pronounced on Side A than Side B. Enlarged breasts are associated with earth mother goddess depictions since at least Neolithic times. It is entirely conceivable the artist is tapping into that tradition here, particularly given the close proximity of Athens to both Boeotia and Corinth, places where Europa knowingly had significant earth-goddess connections.

The next black-figure vase I examine in detail is a lekythos dated ca. 500 BC by the Beldam Painter now in Naples (see **Figure 16**). The artist's decision to portray Europa on a *lekythos* is of special significance for at least a few important reasons. Each of these reasons reinforces what I have been arguing all along regarding artists' use of the Europa myth to engage multiple audiences and accommodate a plurality of experiences. To begin, *lekythoi* were used at both weddings and funerals. They served for anointing a bride with perfume on the day of her wedding, as well as the bodies of unmarried women before burial or cremation. These functional qualities made them

particularly well-suited to display of the Europa myth, particularly given the close associations between marriage and death for a Greek woman, and the fact that the Europa myth itself is concerned with the voyage of the bride to her new home.¹⁶³ These same wedding and funeral associations also were evident in Archaic literature from this period. Second, *lekythoi* were frequently, like most other vases, decorated with important Trojan war and heroic saga scenes. This supports my ongoing argument for Europa's heroic credentials through her visual juxtaposition with heroes on these same vase types.

This particular *lekythos* features Europa seated side-saddle on the bull as it swims through the water. They move from left to right. Rocks and some sort of twigs or vines are evident both in front of and behind them. These likely indicate Crete and Phoenicia, the lands they are heading towards and leaving behind respectively. Beneath them, at least three dolphins are painted white. Europa's skin, including her face, arms, hands and feet also are painted white, and possibly relates to Europa's afterlife associations in addition to her designation as a woman.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ The relationship for a Greek woman between death and marriage remains important throughout this work. I already have referred to Oakley (1993). Hitch (in Eidinow and Kindt, eds., 2015, 521-536) discusses life-change rituals for women, including those associated with weddings and funerals. She emphasizes bridal processions at Athens, for example, as sharing numerous similarities with funeral ceremonies, including through ritual purifications, dedicatory offerings, and a variety of shared material objects like *lekythoi* and garlands. In his work on the Locrian pinakes, Redfield (2003, 116) also discusses death and marriage as metaphors for one another.

¹⁶⁴ White-painted figures appear especially in funereal *naiskos* scenes, where they are thought to represent the dead person. They also sometimes appear possibly just for variety and without any special significance in polychromatic works. For more on women painted white on contemporaneous *lekythoi*, Neils in Lapatin (ed., 2006) provides examples in diverse techniques. These include a black-figured *lekythos* attributed to the Pharos painter (64, Fig. 4), an Attic white-ground *lekythos* attributed to the Achilles painter (67, Fig. 6), and an unattributed Attic red-figured *lekythos* now in Malibu (69, Fig. 8).

Europa's afterlife associations are confirmed by use of this vessel type at funerals. In terms of find spot, moreover, the vase likely was recovered from a tomb. Europa's afterlife associations include through her sons Minos and Rhadamanthys, who are judges of the dead, as well as her foster son Trophonius at Lebadeia.¹⁶⁵ Anybody who wishes to descend into the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia, Pausanias reports, must first purify her/himself in the River Hercyna and then make sacrifices to Europa-Demeter among a few other select gods, who is worshipped as the "nurse of Trophonius" (Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν).¹⁶⁶ The root word *trephe* used to describe Europa (τροφόν) is the same basic root word in the name Trophonius, her foster son. This word for "to nourish" also comes to mean a whole range of other words related to food, fodder, mother's milk, life, vegetation, abundance, etc.¹⁶⁷ As such, it is the perfect word for describing Europa as a goddess of fertility and vegetation.

Given its potential importance for understanding Europa's associations with the afterlife, and hence her appearance on a lekythos, the oracle of Trophonius is likely an important part of her story. Pausanias reports that anyone who consults the oracle must drink from the water of Forgetfulness to forget everything learned up until that point, and then from another source, the water of Memory to remember everything during the

¹⁶⁵ *Paus.* 9.39.4ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Paus.* 9.39.5. The entire ritual by which a participant prepares and then descends into the oracle is highly evocative of the procedure Odysseus must go through in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* before his descent into the underworld.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *LSJ* sv. *trephe*, *tropheia*.

descent. This indicates the entire procedure of consulting the oracle at Lebadeia unfolded as a kind of mock-death, whereby one experienced a breakdown or suspension of the normal temporal order, through a loss of consciousness, followed by a reawakening. Interestingly, the icon or *agalma* of Trophonius inside the cave is reported to have been made by Daedalus, who is intimately associated with Crete as the good friend of Minos, Europa's son.

This multi-media evidence collaboratively indicates that Europa's voyage to Crete was particularly well-suited as a metaphor for the human voyage into the afterlife. Artists and writers used her journey overseas to an unknown land to endow with meaning the human voyage after death as it was conceived of at the time. And given the vast overlap on multiple levels between funerals and weddings, they applied it similarly to human weddings.

The significance of this conclusion, which I shall return to periodically throughout this project, is in and of itself significant and worthwhile. The notion that the Greeks had developed clear effective strategies for dealing with the transition to death and the "after-life" at such an early date runs counter to many traditionally dominant notions about Greek attitudes to the afterlife.¹⁶⁸ Up until recently, the general consensus had been that the notion of an afterlife did not begin to emerge until the

¹⁶⁸ Many scholars in the past have claimed that the Greeks did not conceive of an afterlife this early on, or if they did, it was a mostly bleak, rudimentary place where shadows flitted aimlessly about.

fourth century BC or so, especially through the flourishing of personal salvation cults.

Most scholars paint a pretty bleak picture of the Greek view of the afterlife before then, frequently citing Achilles' words in the underworld (cf. *Iliad* 11.488-491) as universal evidence that the Greek post-mortem outlook was pessimistic. These words, spoken by a fictional character, are as much an affirmation of life as a renunciation of death.

Nevertheless, they frequently have given fodder to scholars arguing that the Greeks had negative views about the afterlife.

Fortunately, notable exceptions exist. One important work of scholarship on ancient Mediterranean views of the afterlife is Jan Bremmer's 2005 book *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*. I both agree and disagree with Bremmer. While Bremmer acknowledges older civilizations had developed conceptions of the afterlife, he still appears to take a progressivist approach to understanding Greek views on the afterlife. He explains that beginning in the sixth century, with Pre-Socratic philosophy, the Greeks begin to conceive of an "eternal soul", which served as a precursor then for their later transition to belief in a Christian god. This all seems too easy and convenient. Greek religion proves repeatedly to be more complex and dynamic than the simple phase in an evolutionary process.

Bremmer's work notably includes references to multiple Pre-Socratic philosophers active in South Italy during the general period that this vase was produced, including Pythagoras, Parmenides, and Empedocles, who conceived not

only of an eternal soul but also the transmigration of souls.¹⁶⁹ This introduces the possibility of a cross-pollination of ideas from philosophy and oral literature to visual media, which certainly seems plausible given the various interrelations we have been observing between multiple media and genres. It also fits in quite nicely with the plurality of Greek religions and network theory.

More recently, Radcliffe-Edmonds has described a shift in scholarly discussion about Greek attitudes towards the afterlife with “the drab afterlife of Homer slowly being replaced by forms of the afterlife where the dead are more active.”¹⁷⁰ He characterizes “life after death as a lively extension of the life of the living, a continuation of its activities” and “systematic thinkers who envision the afterlife as part of the larger nature of a world that includes both the living and the dead.”¹⁷¹

The idea that the Greeks progressively came to conceive of an eternal soul and afterlife is grossly simplistic and perhaps runs counter to basic human belief. As my literary and visual analysis of the Europa myth thus far has indicated, from a very early date, Europa’s journey on the back of the bull was conceived of not only as a metaphor for the human journey into the afterlife but also for the bride to her new home on the day of her wedding. These afterlife associations, as previously indicated, likely derived from older, near-Eastern traditions, including the ancient Egyptian conception of the

¹⁶⁹ Bremmer (2005, 11-12).

¹⁷⁰ In Eidinow and Kindt (eds. 2015, 551ff.).

¹⁷¹ Other important works that involve Greek attitudes about the afterlife include Vermeule (1979), Garland (1985), and Sourvinou-Inwood (1995).

soul of the dead pharaoh traveling on an overseas voyage after death. The notable tradition exists of the Egyptian god Apis, for example, a divine bull-like figure associated with fertility and life after death. Like Europa, Apis signifies a belief in and hope for the afterlife. The Greeks did not suddenly come to conceive of an eternal soul or afterlife, but those beliefs were always with them, as a kind of basic tool for survival.¹⁷²

Europa's intimate associations with the afterlife, specifically her inspiring an optimistic outlook after death, continues to inform visual productions of her myth throughout the entire Mediterranean region and beyond for at least the next millennium. This is one of the fundamental threads of my study. It forms part of my argument that the Europa myth served to negotiate major life transitions, including especially those associated with death and marriage.

Europa's connections to prosperity, fertility, and the afterlife are evident in the copious aforementioned vines and branches depicted in front of and behind her. Since there is land and vegetation on both sides of Europa and the bull in this portrayal, one might deduce that they are returning to that element which they have left behind them. That is, they are traveling from one life source to the next. Life is on both sides of them. It is the same before and after the long journey. Perhaps there is no surer sign than this

¹⁷² Cook (1914, i. 186ff., 633ff.) elaborates on the complex associations between bull-worship in Egypt, Crete, and Greece. Several modern scholars, including Bremmer (2005) examine the influence of the near East and Egypt on Greek art and literature.

that the ancient Greeks conceived of and developed optimistic views about the afterlife in the Archaic period.

The following examples represent the final black figure vases I discuss before moving to early Classical red figure works for the next part of this chapter, and then finally concluding with a few white-ground examples. As an extension of my previous discussion about Europa's associations with marriage and death, I continue with an Attic *lekythos* ca. 510 BC attributed to the Leagros group now in Providence (see **Figure 17**). In this depiction, Europa sits on the bull moving from left to right. She wears a customary long draping chiton, with her left hand holding the bull's horn and her right raised in the air behind her. Numerous branches and vines run behind her. She is noticeably too large with her frame, with her head noticeably bent down to accommodate the frame. She pulls the bull's head up to meet her gaze, which resembles the image of her on the metope from Assos in some ways. Hermes stands in front of her, while a woman or goddess, identified possibly as Aphrodite, stands to the left or behind them.

Hermes and Aphrodite are both associated with wedding processions. Hermes repeatedly is portrayed leading processions on a wide variety of different visual media, as well as scenes of death which often overlap in details.¹⁷³ Aphrodite also figures prominently in several different wedding scenes, and in multiple contexts. These

¹⁷³ Oakley (1993, 28, Fig. 65).

include depictions with her son Eros and his entourage, for example, and in her own union with Adonis. I have already discussed, and shall return in the final chapter, to shared attributes between Europa and Aphrodite. To begin, they both have the power of *eros* over Zeus. They also both come from the east, and emerge from the sea onto an island. Aphrodite is even Europa's sister-in-law, according to the previously discussed literary tradition that had Adonis as Europa's brother. Aphrodite also appears in scenes on Greek vases used at weddings, including lekythoi, loutrophoi, and lebetes gamikoi. The two share multiple similarities and make repeated co-appearances in visual and literary depictions. Most importantly, perhaps, artists used both of their marriages as paradigms for bestowing meaning and value on human weddings.¹⁷⁴

Rosenzweig elaborates on Aphrodite's complex wedding associations as well as her co-appearance with Hermes in multiple vase painting portrayals.¹⁷⁵ Given the synonymous nature of death and marriage for a Greek woman, this representation of Hermes leading Europa and the bull with Aphrodite in train also might be construed in another way that returns me to my previous discussion on death and the afterlife. Hermes often appears in visual and literary portrayals as *psychopompos*, or guide of dead souls into the underworld.

¹⁷⁴ Points of contact between Europa and Aphrodite become even more pronounced in the next two chapters as Aphrodite's popularity increases in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Smith and Sadie (2010, 213-217) point out Aphrodite's connections to human weddings, fertility, and the marine element, which all figure importantly in Europa depictions. Redfield (2003, 73) also has discussion of Aphrodite's relationship to human weddings through visual and literary depictions.

¹⁷⁵ Rosenzweig (2004, 54-68, Fig. 56).

Hermes, as the escort of the bride to the new home of the groom, and of dead souls into the underworld, appears again in other Europa vase-painting depictions from this time period. Zahn lists two other similarly-dated Attic neck-amphora. I wish to briefly refer to one of them now as a continuation of my arguments. It is an Attic neck-amphora ca. 500 BC attributed to the Edinburghmaler now in Berlin (see **Figure 18**). The central image is of Europa sitting on the bull. The bull is not moving, or only moving very slowly. Europa wears a draping chiton, decorated similarly with a similar pattern to what we observed before (cf. Figure 15). She gesticulates with her upraised left hand, while her right hand is covered by the thick folds of her dress. The bull has its head raised so that it almost touches Hermes, who stands immediately to the right of the pair. He wears his easily identifiable *petasos* and winged boots, and holds his own right hand up to Europa. As in the previous image, a heavily clothed woman, plausibly Aphrodite stands behind Europa and the bull. She also appears to be expressing something with her hands.

Zahn includes another amphora that shows Europa on the bull with Hermes standing in front of them. An unidentified woman, perhaps once again Aphrodite, stands behind them.¹⁷⁶ These vases further substantiate my argument for Europa's special relevance to death and marriage through her co-appearance with Hermes and

¹⁷⁶ Zahn (110, Cat. 20). Zahn (111, Cat. 24) and the *LIMC* (I 34) both include an an *oinochoe* from this time period with Europa on the bull and tree branches depicted behind her. Apparently, others of this type also exist. Cf. *LIMC* I 27- I 36.

Aphrodite. They indicate that the scene of the triad was popular and widespread enough to occur not just on pottery associated with anointing bodies for funerals and weddings, but also on vessels used for pouring wine.

In closing this section on Archaic black-figure vase painting, I focus on a black figure plate ca. 490 BC attributed to the School of Lydos now in Athens (see **Figure 19**). A little more than one-half of the original image remains intact, including the forward or anterior part. This preserved part features Europa sitting on the bull holding a basket in one hand, while turning around to look behind her. The image is reminiscent of earlier images of Europa in which her lower body faces forward, her torso at the viewer, and her head turns to look behind. Her arms likely were positioned in the same general windmill pattern I have observed and discussed before in association with this contorted body position. As with the example of the lekythos (cf. Figure 16), Europa is painted white here, as are various fruits hanging from branches behind her.¹⁷⁷

The fact that Europa holds a basket in one hand is significant, in part, because baskets regularly appear in wedding scenes.¹⁷⁸ They are associated with the bride and were used to hold flowers that signified fertility. I say more about baskets in the next section, when they become even more prevalent in depictions. The twigs and fruits that

¹⁷⁷ Zahn (111, Cat. 26) also includes a Colonnade krater ca. 490 BC now in the Louvre that shows Europa, the bull's horn, and testicles all painted white. Cf. *CVA Louvre* (12) Pl. 189.

¹⁷⁸ I mentioned baskets already in connection with flowers. For more on baskets, as well as other attributes of Greek wedding imagery Oakley (1993, 10-11) has discussion. Also, Oakley in Reeder (ed., 1995, 63) mentions baskets, garlands, torches, *erotes*, etc. in connection with wedding scenes at a slightly later date.

provide a backdrop to the central image of Europa on the bull reinforce the connections with fertility. It is possible that Europa was holding one of these twigs in her now missing right hand.

With that, I bring my analysis of not only Archaic black figure painting, but also Archaic visual media, to an end. The present chapter continues, however, with additional vase paintings of the red figure and white ground types, as I continue to elaborate my main arguments. The foregoing examples of vase painting depictions of Europa have occurred on a variety of different pottery types, and each is unique in its own right, despite generic details. Each person who experienced these works of art would have done so differently, moreover, and that experience could never be entirely reproduced. Taken collectively, however, these examples all constitute an important node on the Europa Network, and reinforce the theme of Europa as a heroine of fertility, marriage, and death.

Red Figure Works

Up until this point, we have observed depictions of Europa on a wide array of objects from the Archaic period, including on works in metal, clay, and stone, as well as in black figure paintings on vases of multiple types. These portrayals have included objects intended for public display, as well as personal objects associated with the household. The vases in this particular chapter have included those used for storing

food, oil, water, perfume, and wine. These diverse examples illustrate that the Europa myth was ubiquitous on all levels of life. Her myth was malleable and universal enough to appear on just about any kind of object and in any part of the Greek-inhabited world. Women and men would have encountered images of her both at home and in public places. They would have constantly been reminded that as the happy mother of divine children she was a symbol of life and prosperity for themselves individually and collectively.

As we approach the end of the Archaic period, and transition to red figure vase painting, we begin to notice an even wider geographical distribution of portrayals. This is because much of red-figure vase painting was made to be exported. We also begin to observe more creative artistic experimentation, including, eventually, portrayals of Europa off the bull. Although these are the first extant depictions of their kind, we must acknowledge the possibility that other similar portrayals also once existed, and they have been lost in the passage of time.

The earliest red figure vase painting of Europa occurs on an Attic amphora ca. 500 BC now in St. Petersburg (see **Figure 20**). It comes from the distant shores of the Black Sea, significantly farther north and east than the portrayals done in stone from Pergamon and Assos which, up until this point, provided the northern and easternmost evidence for Europa's myth. As such, they reveal the Europa Network continuing to

grow and appeal to new populations through slight, regional variations in style that reinforce particular aspects of Europa's character.

The far-away shores of the Black Sea always held a kind of mysterious allure for the Greeks. The region became incorporated early on into their mythologies, including the stories of Jason and the Argonauts, and Helle and Phrixos. Like the myth of Europa, these are associated with overseas travel. The Black Sea region, significantly, from a very early date, also was the site of multiple Greek settlements, including Sinope ca. 770 BC.¹⁷⁹ These settlements included areas as far north as modern day Ukraine, Georgia, and southern Russia. The Greeks who lived there developed distinct styles and conventions and came to be identified as Pontic Greeks. The northern Black Sea also very importantly was the site of multiple major confrontations from the Trojan War onwards.¹⁸⁰

Side A of the amphora contains as the central Europa sitting side-saddle on the back of the bull moving from left to right. With her left hand she holds an upright basket, while with her right, she lifts up her draping chiton. The details of the chiton are similar to what we have observed before both in the patterned design and numerous,

¹⁷⁹ *Diod. Sic.* (14.31.2), *Strab.* (12.545), and *Xen. An.* 6.1.15) all discuss the important site of Sinope during the Archaic period, including its foundation by settlers from Miletus.

¹⁸⁰ Several modern discussions about Greek habitation of the Black Sea region are available in Russell (2017), Stähler (2009), Papuci-Waldyka (ed., 2008), Tsetsikhaldze (ed., 2008), and Topalidis (2007). Trofimova (2007) includes essays both on the history of the region, and the diverse array of visual artifacts that have been uncovered from there and are now in the Hermitage collection.

pleated folds. Beneath Europa and the bull, the artist has given the indication of water, with small black fish to indicate that they are making an overseas journey.

For the most part, these are all elements we have observed before, although they are in a new combination here, and integrated differently into the composition. As I mentioned with the previous example, the basket likely relates to Europa's identification as an earth mother goddess and consort of the sky God Zeus.¹⁸¹ Besides putting this depiction of Europa's overseas voyage into the context of a wedding depiction, it also makes this image particularly well-suited to self-identification for women who themselves were brides. A male figure, presumably, Zeus, appears on side B of the vase, holding up his hand and scepter in greeting. If the figure is Zeus, then this possibly indicates an alternative tradition in which Zeus sends the bull rather than assuming the form of the bull himself.

A similar red-figure depiction of Europa appears on the fragment of a red-figure hydria ca. 490 BC by the Berlin Painter now at Oxford (see **Figure 21**).¹⁸² Although badly damaged, most of the image is preserved, including nearly the entire body of the bull, and Europa's form from the waist down. The image is free-floating, with only a meander design below. As with previous depictions, Europa wears an elaborate chiton. Incised lines are evident, especially where it drapes in numerous folds around Europa's

¹⁸¹ Baskets also figure prominently in the worship of Demeter, including at Eleusis and Athens. This possibly reinforces the Europa-Demeter connection.

¹⁸² A new scholarly work on the Berlin Painter is now available by Padgett (ed., 2017).

legs. From what remains of the bull, we can detect that he was in rapid motion, possibly even swimming, although the artist has not portrayed any waves or aquatic life beneath him. The bull's head is more vertically upturned in comparison to the previous image, and his testicles are also much more prominent.

Moving beyond these two isolated examples, I wish to consider a group of five vases collectively, since they all appear to be based on a common prototype, and yet demonstrate slight variations. These vases all were created sometime between 480 and 440 BC. The earliest depiction among them occurs on a *pelike* ca. 480 BC attributed to the Geras Painter and now in Agrigento (see **Figure 22**). I introduce the group of five with this particular illustration not only because it is the earliest example, but also because it offers us unique insights into how artists continuously were developing individual aspects of the Europa myth over time.

In this depiction, Europa sits on the back of the bull, moving from left to right. The bull is in rapid motion, as evidenced by his wide leg spacing. Europa holds the bull's left horn with her left hand, while she grabs hold of the bull's flank with her rear right hand. She turns to look behind her, rotating her body as we have observed her do in other black figure vase paintings. The details of Europa's attire include, for example, considerable attention to the folds of her chiton, and a headband to restrain her hair. The bull's anatomy also reveals considerable incision, particularly to the around its neck and in its tail.

As with the sculptural *metope* from nearby Selinous, the bull's tail reaches curiously forward here. This likely calls to mind, as I indicated before, the bull's excited state. The looped shape of the bull's tail, moreover, resembles the shape of the vessel's handles, as well as the empty space between Europa's body and rear arm. This creates a kind of visual chain between the subject matter of Zeus and Europa and the viewing audience, including specifically whoever lifted this vase. This chain of physical similarities significantly contributes to my prevailing argument about how artists used these works of art to interact with their audiences, specifically by reinforcing meaning and value in people's lives through divine precedence.

We have several other vases of this general style and type from the 460s to 440s BC. They are included or mentioned by Robertson in the *LIMC*.¹⁸³ Most come from Italy, including significantly in around the bay of Naples. There are, among other differences, slight variations in Europa's attire, hairstyle, and whether she is looking forward or backwards, as well as the tail and body position of the bull, and which direction he is moving.¹⁸⁴ None of the depictions has water or fish painted beneath the bull, but they all include the same general band design with meanders and crosses.

¹⁸³ Cf. *LIMC* I 46, I 47, I 51, I 52, etc.

¹⁸⁴ I do not wish, by lumping these together collectively, to understate significant differences between these different vases. Keeping in mind Ann Steiner's notions about repetition and paradigm, repetition is always significant in vase painting, no matter how seemingly trivial (Steiner, 2007, 1ff.). Just as with literature, letters and words are repeated to tell a story, so too with vase painting images and patterns are repeated, but often with slight variations, in order to signify innovation or emphasize a particular point – repetition is both a tool for linking oneself with tradition, as well as distinguishing oneself from it. All of these vases are one-of-a-kind productions, no matter how similar they might appear to one another at initial glance.

This group of representations involves the same vase types we have encountered before, including multiple amphorae and an additional *pelike*. One of these depictions, on a Nolan amphora ca. 440 BC by the Phiale painter and now in St. Petersburg, shows Europa's chiton flying behind her as a way of emphasizing rapid motion (see **Figure 23**). I mention this because it becomes an important iconographic trait for many other South Italian portrayals discussed in Chapter Four. In fact, in the fourth century BC, the flying chiton becomes an almost definitive visual element for the myth continuing two thousand years until the present day. It appears again in a depiction on a contemporaneous bell-krater ca. 440 BC now in Basel (see **Figure 23A**).¹⁸⁵

Next, I consider a well-preserved bell-krater ca 480 BC also by the Berlin Painter and now in Tarquinia (see **Figure 24**). The krater was recovered from a tomb in Tarquinia, a famous Etruscan, and then later Roman site. The Etruscans were one of the great regional power players in the Archaic period, who, as we have seen, had close contacts with diverse populations throughout the region.

Tarquinia was a wealthy Etruscan city, and also, significantly, a place where Greek influence was felt. The Corinthian Demaratus is probably the most well-known Greek to have emigrated to the city, but others came as well. They brought with them the various trappings of culture, including art and literature that chronicled their myths and legends. Conveniently located with access to two gulfs, Corinth actively supported

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *LIMC* I 55.

expeditions both east and west, exporting people and objects to places as far-away as modern day Sicily and Syria. We know the Europa myth was popular enough in Corinth to have justified its own epic poem, as well as temple offerings across the gulf at nearby Perachora. These stories about the Phoenician maiden on the back of the bull very well might have reached Tarquinia through men like Demaratus and found a receptive audience.

Tarquinia was a cultural melting pot where Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and others interacted on a regular basis. It was a perfect breeding ground for the myth of Europa, like other nearby Italian sites where the myth also prospered. The Europa myth itself, fundamentally associated with crossing cultural boundaries, became the perfect expression for negotiating the divides between Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians, and others who mingled and cohabited every day, dependent upon the very kinds of peaceful exchange the myth embodies.

It is quite remarkable that we have two vase painting images of Europa attributed to the Berlin Painter considering the relative paucity of overall evidence (cf. Figure 21). This implies that Europa was a well-known and popular enough image not only at Athens, where vases with portrayals of her were produced, but also in the Black Sea region and Italy where we know vases by the Berlin Painter and others were exported and consumed. It is also astonishing how radically different the two representations are, and at the same time, how similar.

Similarities include to the details of Europa's dress, the bull's anatomy, and the free-floating central image with a single meander band running below. One of the most significant differences, however, is that Europa is *off* the bull. Up until now, we have observed exclusively depictions of Europa on the back of the bull. This remains over time the predominant, but by no means exclusive, portrayal. In Chapter Four, when I turn to consider late Classical Apulian vase painting, we observe several other depictions of Europa off the bull. These include scenes of her first touching the bull, for example, as well as with her playmates before the bull approaches.

For the late Archaic through early Classical periods, however, this is a significant first. As such, the vase is a harbinger of stylistic changes to come, and it is significant that the earliest signs of this major change are attributed to one of the most well-known painters. Of course, the possibility exists that other representations of Europa not on the back of the bull also once existed, but that they now have been lost.

This particular depiction features Europa running beside the bull rather than sitting in her customary side-saddle position. It is quite clear that the pair is not swimming. I say this because of their leg positions, as well as the lack of any fish or aquatic life depicted below. The bull appears in the foreground fully visible, and Europa in the background behind it. They both move from left to right in tandem. Europa has her left arm extended straight before her, grabbing the bull's left horn, and her right arm extended behind her in the air, so that together her arms form a strong

horizontal line. She has her hair worn up, restrained by a band or fillet, which, based upon the available evidence, appears to have been a dominant visual trend during this time period.

Another significant visual element in this portrayal is that the bull is in the foreground. Europa is behind the bull from the viewer's perspective. Technically she is running alongside the bull, but to us, the viewers, we see her in the background.

Although Europa is behind the bull with respect to the viewer's line of vision, she and the bull still significantly occupy about the same amount of visual space. Her enlarged body is visible entirely from the waist up, protruding above the back of the bull. Her lower limbs beneath the knees also appear to the viewer.

This roughly even distribution of space between Europa and the bull contributes to the harmonious nature of the overall composition. This harmony is important considering the vase portrays the prelude to a wedding procession. Just as with my analysis of the sculptural depiction at Selinous, here again I emphasize how the artist has rendered the disparate elements of the composition into a coherent unity in order to accentuate the theme of harmony, while at the same time greatly distorting the actual relative sizes of the bull and woman.

The horizontal space occupied by Europa and the bull, for example, including her arm span, and the length of the bull from tail to nose, is identical. The aforementioned horizontal line created by Europa's outward extended arms runs

parallel to the line of the bull's neck and back, which then parallels the linear underside of the bull, the bottom edge of Europa's dress, and finally the band at the bottom of the painting. This tiered effect leads the eye of the viewer from one visual element to the next, while also linking the different components into a common chain.

Furthermore, the elaborate folds of Europa's dress, including its numerous overlaps and curves, appear to deliberately imitate the bull's bulky, muscular body. For example, the semicircular shape of Europa's tasseled, left sleeve, closely resembles the shape of the right side of the bull's face, as well as its shoulder muscles just below. Europa's feet, moreover, overlap with those of the bull, both in the front and back, so that it can be difficult to distinguish them apart, contributing to their visual integration. Upon initial inspection, the rear folds of her chiton appear as appendages to the bull's hind legs rather than parts of her own attire. The bull's distended testicles too are nearly indistinguishable from the lower curved folds of Europa's chiton, while both of the bull's rear legs follow the same general trajectories as these folds, creating strong visual cues for the viewer to associate the two characters.

I aim to clarify here that even though the Berlin painter has taken Europa off the bull, and separated the two to a certain extent, he also has gone out of his way to keep Europa and the bull together, by contriving of ways to integrate them visually through the use of shapes and lines. The artist has captured Europa and the bull running

together in tandem. In all likelihood, this represents the moment before Europa jumps on the bull's back, and becomes attached as a rider.

This innovative vase painting alludes to that future moment, by visually uniting Europa and the bull before they actually ride off together as one. Europa might not be on the bull's back here, but she certainly is together with the bull. Although we have moved forward in time with respect to the artifact's creation date versus other Europa portrayals, we have moved temporally backwards in the timeline of the myth, to before Europa's overseas voyage, when she first was playing with the bull.

The act of removing Europa from the bull pervades through the ensuing centuries, influencing multiple portrayals, and not just on vase paintings from South Italy, but across a diverse array of visual media, including gems and coins, and in places as far away from Italy as Crete, Cyprus, and the Black Sea. Even in pre-modern times, we find depictions of Europa off the bull, such as for example, by Rembrandt and Moreau. In Network terms we might describe this as a kind of back-ripple effect, whereby a certain feature characteristic of one node reverberates throughout the Network to influence subsequent portrayals. The Berlin Painter alone might not single-handedly be responsible for making this change in taking Europa off the bull. It just so happens that his representation is the earliest one we have for what eventually becomes a stylistic norm.

White-Ground Examples

In closing this chapter, I take into account three white-ground vase paintings of Europa. These depictions without exception all appear on drinking cups, the same vessel type with which I began this chapter, although now in a different technique than black figure.¹⁸⁶ I conclude with these illustrations not because they stand out eminently or reveal something novel or interesting about the Europa myth's application to the visual arts, but rather because they succinctly encapsulate my ongoing arguments while also demonstrating the Europa myth's resilience. This especially applies to my argument about Europa's associations with the afterlife since the majority of white-ground paintings were reserved for the tomb given the fragile nature of the technique and its close association with the lekythos shape in particular.¹⁸⁷

The first Europa depiction occurs on a very poorly preserved cup fragment from Naukratis ca. 500 BC attributed to the Douris painter and now in London (see **Figure 25**). Naukratis was the only permanent Greek settlement in Egypt during the early Archaic, having been bestowed as a gift on Greek mercenaries by the Pharaoh Amasis. The archaeological evidence on the site suggests that it was from a very early date

¹⁸⁶ Mertens (1974) 91-108 provides a useful essay on white ground cups. She discusses possible emergence of the technique in association with the Andokides painter in the Kerameikos of Athens, as well as various technical aspects of production, while also providing multiple examples, including Figure 25 above.

¹⁸⁷ Neils in Lapatin (ed., 2006, 61-72) elaborates on reasons why most white-ground vases were lekythoi reserved for the tomb. Cohen (2006, 186-238) provides a short analysis and catalogue of works in this technique. Another useful discussion is found in Wehgartner (1983).

inhabited by or at least in contact with Minoans, Mycenaeans, and Phoenicians, which makes it a kind of cultural melting pot like south Italy, and a predecessor to the much later nearby Hellenistic city of Alexandria.¹⁸⁸

I am not wholly convinced the depiction even is Europa, but at the same time, I cannot propose a better candidate. All we see is the partial face and chiton of a woman in profile. Based on visual comparanda, however, the figure does appear to be Europa, particularly given how the chiton drapes off of her shoulder as she looks forward. The front hooves of an animal, presumably, but not absolutely, a bull appear at the bottom. In the *LIMC*, Robertson (79) speculates that this is Europa seated on a kneeling bull which, if it is the case, would make this a one-of-a-kind artwork. It is not until the late Classical that we see a definitive scene of Europa on a seated bull.

The second cup is a phiale ca. 470 BC unattributed now in Munich (see **Figure 26**). It comes from Aigina, and was found on a table in the Temple of Aphaia. In this depiction, Europa and the bull move quickly from left to right. Europa sits on the back of the bull, holding its horn with her left hand while turning around to look back over her shoulder. She appears to be in the customary body position of facing forwards, outwards, and backwards all at the same time again. The bull is painted black and moves quickly, presumably swimming, but since there is no indication of water, also

¹⁸⁸ Demetriou (2012, 105-152) provides a comprehensive discussion on the city's founding, history, multi-ethnic composition (including Greeks and Phoenicians), with reference to ancient literary sources, and analyses of locally stylized works of art. P. James (2003) 235–264 also has an important recent article on Naukratis.

possibly running. Europa wears a colorful golden diadem to restrain her black hair, and an elaborate red chiton drapes down in thick folds.

The final example is on a bobbin cup ca. 460 attributed to the Sotheby Painter and now in Athens (see **Figure 27**). Europa sits on the bull moving in the opposite direction now, from right to left. The bull is outlined in black and kept the color of the white surface. In the previous image, recall, the bull was painted black. Europa's body and dress all are outlined in black. Her hair also is black, and is waving behind her to indicate their swift motion. The composition is designed to accommodate the circular space on the bottom of the cup. The front and back edge of the bull, for example, including his legs and hooves, abut on the ring bands marking the image borders.

I wish to conclude this chapter by emphasizing Europa's heroism here since the aim of this chapter has been to show how she is a heroine of marriage, fertility and death. Europa appears as the central image on this particular cup. She is flanked by surrounding images of Castor and Pollux, and the daughters of Leucippus, Hilaeira and Phoebe. On the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi, Europa also appears alongside the Dioskuri. On the Douris Cup (cf. Figure 25), moreover, Herakles appears on the outside wrestling Apollo for control of the Delphic tripod. Both of these cups validate Europa's heroic credentials by placing her alongside, and in one case, in the center of, other mythological heroes fundamentally associated with cultural identity construction.

Conclusions

On vases of all kinds from the Archaic and Classical periods, as well as on objects in clay, stone, and metal, including objects intended both for public and private display, we have observed numerous diverse portrayals of Europa and the bull. In some portrayals, these two characters have appeared alone, while in others, they have appeared alongside additional characters, including Hermes and Aphrodite. We have observed distinct patterns during this survey, including emphases on weddings, funerals, and fertility, and on Europa as a heroic bull-tamer like Heracles.

Taken together, these numerous works of art constitute an enormous organic, living network dispersed across the Mediterranean, passing information between all its different constituent nodes. While the Europa myth dispersed to new audiences, this network expanded and evolved, always taking on new meaning as it continued to fill peoples' lives with hope and promise. The Europa Network depended for its survival on both artists and audiences, and the intimate points of contact and channels of communication opened up by art and literature between human beings and the divine.

Supreme works of art aim for performativity. They seek to generate emotional responses in their viewers through their being material, representational, and emotionally engaging. In the *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (2016, ed. Marconi), Deborah Steiner explains how the most noble works stimulate the

audience by producing *thauma* (wonder) and *charis* (delight).¹⁸⁹ This emphasis on how works of art engage the viewer, and, in turn, the viewer's internal workings, or the "aesthetics of perception" as Christian Kunze later refers to it in the same work, allows us to understand how artists used these vase painting images of Europa to engage people on the public and private levels. This offers us unique insights into how Europa was an important tool for reinforcing people's customs, values, and beliefs.¹⁹⁰

Ann Steiner's work on reading Greek vases also is critical in this regard, especially Chapter 7, where she discusses the integral concept of paradigmatic extension.¹⁹¹ This theory critically explains how the virtues exhibited by gods and heroes in vase paintings are translated to real-life human behavior. As Graham Zanker puts it in his 2004 work *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry*, the audience itself, through its own reaction to art and literature, comes to supplement, or even complete, the work of art.¹⁹² This is precisely the case I make for these vase painting images of Europa, which the audiences contributed meaning and value to just as much as the artists did.

¹⁸⁹ Steiner in Marconi (ed., 2015, 24).

¹⁹⁰ Kunze in Marconi (ed., 2015, 543ff). Kunze refers to Wöllfin and Riegl in the early twentieth century as the founders of a new extra-formal approach to works of art in which "artistic form" was considered to be "the expression of a specific type of viewing, of a time-specific way of processing sensory data, and translated in metaphorical terms, as an expression of a changing world view," (543).

¹⁹¹ Steiner (2007, esp. Ch. 7)

¹⁹² Zanker (2004, cf. Chapter 7, 73-102).

CHAPTER 4 - *Points of Contact*

Miscellaneous Classical Works and Late Classical Vase Painting (450-300 BC)

We have a dazzling array of visual evidence from the Classical Period that includes statuettes, votive reliefs, mirrors, gemstones, coins, and numerous vase paintings on a diverse range of pottery types. These objects range from objects that would have been given as temple offerings, to those used at home on a daily basis, while others may have circulated widely, possibly even reaching distant settlements. Each is unique in its own way and held a different meaning for different people at different places and times, and yet collectively they demonstrate how Europa continued to function as a unifying force at weddings and funerals, and in fostering peaceful intercultural relations.

I discuss a lot of material in this chapter, focusing on, or at least discussing in some detail, twenty different works. All objects are included in **CHAPTER 4 Catalog (APPENDIX C)**. I begin with works done in clay, stone, and metal, before turning to consider late Classical vase painting. The works done in clay include statuettes, and a relief plaque, but also a type of lekythos with a clay relief plaque attached to the outside which we have not observed before. The statuettes are so relatively numerous that they constitute a separate body of evidence. Based on this assortment of types, scholars like Winter (1903), Technau (1937), and others have postulated that they represent a goddess

on a bull and not Europa.¹⁹³ We also have evidence in the form of clay relief plaques from this time period, which, based on contemporaneous *comparanda*, almost certainly would have had associations with marriage, prosperity, and the afterlife.

I introduce the section on vase painting with examples from the Black Sea region, and then turn to examples from Italy, focusing on Apulia, where the myth enjoyed special regional popularity. This likely relates to Apulia's legendary settlement by King Minos and a band of Cretans. These Apulian vases present the most complex visual portrayals of the Europa myth we have seen. They are ornately painted, with multiple tiers, diverse-colored glazes, eye-popping perspectives, added casts of characters, and all sorts of visual cues to direct the viewer how to think and feel. Given the malleable, multi-faceted nature of not only Greek religion, but the myth of Europa, each person would have thought and felt in a different way, and not only once, but every time they saw the object, even if ultimately their thoughts and feelings would become tied to marriage and the afterlife.

These South Italian and Apulian vases dramatize the myth of Europa, bringing to life key moments that before perhaps had not received attention in visual media. This possibly even includes the moment when Europa learns of the death of her son

¹⁹³ Winter (1903, I, 163-164) and Technau (1937, 76-103).

Sarpedon at the Trojan War, which might be depicted on an Apulian bell-krater ca. 350 BC now in New York.¹⁹⁴

Given the overtly dramatic nature of South Italian vase paintings, there has been a longstanding debate about exactly how they relate to actual dramatic performances. Arguments between “philodramatists” and “iconocentrics” have arisen, with one side arguing South Italian vase paintings are influenced by literary texts and dramatic productions, and another claiming that these popular vase paintings were independent of literature and drama.¹⁹⁵

A lot of the debate has been influenced by the work of Trendall, who was the first scholar to organize and catalog the bulk of South Italian vase painting. He noticed the frequent appearance of stage characters like *phylakes*, *paidagogos*, and old men, especially in certain regions like Apulia and Paestum. Trendall concluded that the vase painters frequently had an actual performance in mind for many of their creations, especially those scenes with more explicit tragic and comic references.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ New York MMA 16.140. Found in *LIMC* (I 221/I 222) and Trendall (*RVAp* I 164,1). Robertson identifies it as doubtful in the *LIMC* entry. Even so, it might depict Europa sitting on a throne and receiving the corpse of Sarpedon from Death and Sleep. It is thought to be based on a dramatic performance, perhaps even a play by Aeschylus, which I discuss in the final chapter. Taplin (2007, 6) emphasizes how Athenian dramatic performances, including by Aeschylus, almost certainly would have been performed in Sicily and South Italy at the time, while also noting the poet’s death in Gela.

¹⁹⁵ Taplin (2007, 22-24) provides a succinct summary of this debate, taking into account the work of major scholars like Trendall, Giuliani, Kossatz, Moret, and others. Carpenter (in Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson, eds., 2014) devotes all of Chapter Twelve (*A Case for Greek Tragedy in Italic Settlements in Fourth Century BCE Apulia*) to the complicated issue of if and how tragedies and comedies and vase paintings influence one another. Small (2003) also explores the issue, referencing many of the same scholars, before eventually taking a middle road.

¹⁹⁶ Trendall (1967, 258ff.).

Taplin elaborates on Trendall's findings by pointing out how not just texts and dramatic productions, but also oral stories would have influenced these South Italian vase paintings. He notes a variety of complex interactions in the way texts and images relate, and emphasizes that while vase painting does not necessarily depend on drama, it is significantly enriched by it, since the viewers of pots and plays essentially would have been the same.¹⁹⁷ Shortly afterwards, he expresses that art and text are not different worlds, but parallel worlds, coexisting in constant interaction.

Small takes a different, more reasonable approach, and certainly one that is much more conducive to the dynamic, multi-faceted nature of Greek religions. He identifies the positions of Trendall, Taplin, and Shapiro as untenable, noting that some authors produced conflicting accounts of the same myth.¹⁹⁸ He concludes that vase painters do not depict dramas, but they depict stories.¹⁹⁹ He emphasizes the malleability of myth (78), claiming that the idea of an original contradicts classical thought (157-158), while pointing out that all genres coexist for artists to draw upon since variant is king and there is no original (176).²⁰⁰

I partially agree with Small, but, based on my analysis of material related to Europa, I would advance the argument further. These South Italian vase paintings do not portray dramatic texts or performances, but they are dramatic texts and

¹⁹⁷ Taplin (2007, 2).

¹⁹⁸ Small (2003, 43-46).

¹⁹⁹ Small (2003, 70-71).

²⁰⁰ Small (2003, 176).

performances. They do not imitate; they recreate. They do not portray a portrayal of a divine encounter, but they initiate one, especially in times of conflict, suffering, and death.²⁰¹ They are designed to captivate the audience, to force them to look, linger, ask questions, contemplate, find peace and solace, which is why they contain so many elaborate embellishments, refinements, and details. People did not place these highly decorated vases in elaborate tombs so that they could capture some particular moment of a drama, but they did so in hopes that the deceased would venture off into the great unknown with the same hope and promise as Europa.

Works in Clay

During the fifth and fourth centuries BC, Europa appears on a few key different types of evidence done in clay. The evidence was recovered from places as far apart as Turkey, Crete, Greece, Italy, North Africa, and Spain. We detect greater experimentation of style with these works of art, including in the form of Europa, the bull, and added characters, which sets the stage for subsequent developments over the ensuing centuries.

I begin with the clay statuettes of Europa on the bull. As I indicated before, they are so numerous that some German scholars have assigned them to different types

²⁰¹ Taplin (2007, vii) observes that most of these vases were found in tombs and likely were intended to provide peace, comfort, and hope for the afterlife.

according to stylistic features. Thus far, more than two dozen have been discovered and cataloged.²⁰² Many of them have come from Boeotia, but they also have been found in Athens, South Italy, the Black Sea, and Crete. I have provided a couple of illustrations published by Winter (see **Figure 28B** and **Figure 28C**) in order to give an idea of the kinds of stylistic variations that occur.²⁰³

Although several different types exist, I have chosen to focus on a few because I feel they give a good impression of the genre as a whole as well as how individual variants can occur to a common type. I begin with a clay statuette ca. 470 BC, unattributed, now in Paris. (see **Figure 28**). This is the most archaic of the terracotta figurine types thus far identified. It has a rigid, stiff quality to the depiction, with strong lines and sharp angles to the forms of Europa and the bull. In the depiction, Europa sits side saddle, moving from left to right. Her L-shaped arms appear similar to vase painting images we have seen, although both hands are down in this depiction, and making contact with the bull's back. Europa wears a *polos* hat that we have not seen before, although we have observed varying kinds of headdresses.²⁰⁴ This likely indicates her divine status in the area of Boeotia, where we have observed her assimilation to Demeter and the earth mother goddess. This appears to be part of what led Technau to

²⁰² Zahn (1983, 126-130, Cat. 81-95) has them listed together, including at least 10 copies of one Boeotian type (cf. Cat. 90.1-10).

²⁰³ The second of these (Figure 28B) includes two clay lekythoi which I examine separately since they are of a slightly different, multimedia technique.

²⁰⁴ Müller (1915) has a work on the *polos* hat as the attribute of a goddess.

conclude that these depictions were not even of Europa, but of a goddess on a bull. Given the polyvalent nature of Greek religions, these likely are depictions of Europa and a goddess at the same time, depending on who the audience is, and what is the context. One final observation about this piece is that the head of Europa is turned slightly askance so that when we view her body frontally, we see her face in a three-quarters profile. This is intended to draw attention to her head, I argue, and especially the polos hat since it signifies her divinity, and likely her near-eastern origins.

My second example is a clay statuette ca. 460 unattributed and now in Basel (see **Figure 29**). It appears noticeably more classical in appearance than the first, which inclines me to date this one slightly later or the previous example slightly earlier. As a part of its more classical appearance, this image has an enhanced sense of *rhythmos*, evident both in the galloping body of the bull and in Europa's flowing chiton. Europa and the bull also are moving in the opposite direction, from left to right here, which suggests direction was a matter of preference likely for artists of Boeotia. Winter identifies this as Type 6 on Plate 163, and gives another very similar example from Crete (163, 7; see **Figure 28A**).

A Votive Relief Plaque

The next work in clay returns us to South Italy, and takes us to an entirely new genre of relief plaques. I have mentioned these plaques already in connection with my

discussion on the appearance of flowers in depictions of Europa. There are actually at least a couple of relief plaques that have been recovered, all of them to my knowledge from the site of Locri. Zahn references Prückner in her discussion of them, and raises the possibility of a cult of Europa having once existed at Locri. She bases this hypothesis on close associations between Europa, Aphrodite, and Persephone, including that Europa is identified with Persephone's mother Demeter at Lebadeia. She also is the sister-in-law of Aphrodite according to the tradition that has Adonis as her brother.²⁰⁵

James Redfield has a comprehensive work on the Locrian relief plaques, including these two with depictions of Europa.²⁰⁶ Although he references the depictions of Europa only briefly, he does make several relevant conclusions about the group as a whole that are relevant here. One of his primary arguments about the relief plaques featuring Persephone and Aphrodite is that they fundamentally are associated with hope for a prosperous marriage and afterlife, which certainly fits in well with my own arguments about Europa.

This votive relief plaque dates ca. 450, is unattributed, and comes from presumably from Locri (see **Figure 30**). It is square-shaped, and of a yellowish-brown clay, although it once would have been painted over. Traces of red, for example, are evident on Europa's chiton, and the bull was painted white.

²⁰⁵ Gantz (1993, 729-730)

²⁰⁶ Redfield (2003, 347).

In the depiction, Europa sits side saddle on the bull as it moves quickly from left to right, either galloping, or more likely swimming. I cannot make out any fish or aquatic life below to ascertain whether the bull is meant to be moving through water. Europa holds her left hand on the bull's horn while her right hand rests on his muscular rear right flank. She wears a long flowing chiton, and significantly, a veil covers her head, as she turns to address the viewer frontally.

As with the small clay statuette from Paestum (Figure 3), this work of art was left as a temple offering in hopes of a prosperous marriage and afterlife. Looking out frontally, Europa once would have gazed back at the bride-to-be who made this offering. In the image of Europa, that bride would have hoped to see herself, and her own future prosperous marriage. This is why she gives it as a gift and asks for Europa's blessing. In the image of Europa on the bull, she also sees herself.

Europa's wedding associations as a benefactress of marriage are evident from the earliest illustrations of her myth and remain a consistent strand running throughout this project. They become even more pronounced in the ensuing century, reaching their fullest potential with late Classical vase painting.

In her 2011 book, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*, Verity Platt discusses the attribution of divine agency to images of gods and goddesses. From the Archaic period onward, Platt argues, statues and portrayals of the gods not only represent the gods, but they *are* the gods. That is

images of the gods both symbolize and constitute a divine presence.²⁰⁷ This applies both to visual and literary portrayals of the gods, which similarly strive to overwhelm and intoxicate the viewer with added details and features in reproducing a divine experience.²⁰⁸ The end result of this is, as Platt argues, a crossing of the gap between human artifice and divine reality. The central image of the god shuttles back and forth between the symbolic and literal, that is between the image and the actual god.²⁰⁹ This creates a kind of tension in the works of art between their ontological and phenomenological status.²¹⁰ They exist as agents.

I include all this because I think we have sufficient grounds for understanding the depiction of Europa and Zeus on these dedicatory plaques in the same way. They render the divine present on the mortal level in order to elevate mortals to the level of the divine. Just like religious hymns and literary epiphanies, they reproduce a divine experience, in this case the divine marriage of Zeus and Europa, in order to sanctify and endow with meaning human weddings. This divinization of human weddings is consistent with Redfield's own conclusions about the Locrian plaques that they invoke

²⁰⁷ Platt (2011, 6, 47, 61, *et al.*).

²⁰⁸ As Platt (2011, 49) explains, each visual detail actively negotiates the relationship between god and human in the construction of a religious experience.

²⁰⁹ Platt (2011, 8, 37).

²¹⁰ Platt (2011, 82).

the archetypal weddings of gods to elevate the participants in human weddings to a heroic or divine status.²¹¹

A different kind of representation in clay is our next example. It is the fragment from a clay model intended to be used to cast an original bronze vase ca. 370 BC now in Athens (see **Figure 31**). I do not intend to discuss the work in detail, but I introduce it as a kind of segue, since the imagery it preserves is found both in Boeotian terracotta figurines and later gems.²¹²

This is the earliest piece of evidence we have for the myth of Europa from Crete, although we can be certain that she enjoyed regional popularity there from a much earlier date. Most of the image remains intact. This includes all of Europa and the bull, except for a small piece of its rear right hoof. The image is quite elegant, and full of *rhythmos* and the wind-blown Classical style.²¹³

In the portrayal, Europa hangs off the side of the bull as it swims forward. Dolphins are depicted in front of and behind them, making it quite clear that this is meant to depict an overseas voyage. For the first time, Europa appears to be completely nude here. She wraps her left arm around the bull's neck, while lifting away her veil

²¹¹ Redfield (2003, 45-46). Oakley (in Reeder, ed., 1995, 63) characterizes depictions of mixed wedding processions with humans and gods as raising the status of the bridal couple to a divine level.

²¹² Prückner (1903) I, 164, 5.

²¹³ I borrow this descriptive term from Pollitt (1972, 115), who opposes it to the still-style.

with the right hand. This act of *anakalypsis* highlights her consent as a bride.²¹⁴ Women frequently appear with lifted veils in contemporaneous vase painting marriage scenes.

One final work in clay from this time period I wish to discuss occurs on a moulded *lekythos* ca. 380 BC now in St. Petersburg (see **Figure 32**). This final work significantly expands our body of evidence for this medium to include mainland Greece, Italy, Crete, and now the Greek east. According to Zahn, the work is one of several *lekythoi* from this period to exist, all of them dating to the first half of the fourth century BC.²¹⁵ Prückner identifies two main types of *lekythoi*, both of which I include here as **Figure 32** and **Figure 32A**.²¹⁶ Several varieties of the second type exist.

This *lekythos* is significant for several important reasons. The image of Europa is actually quite similar in style and appearance to the previous example of the clay model for the metal vase. Here too, Europa appears nude and hangs beside the bull, as it swims forward. She performs the same act of *anakalypsis* associated with wedding scenes and the moment when a bride consents to her new husband. She also has the same general S-shape curve to her body, much different than the angled, square portrayal in Figure 28.

Given the function of this *lekythos* at weddings and funerals, this vessel would have likely functioned similarly to the previously discussed one. Robertson,

²¹⁴ For more on *anakalypsis* and the critical moment of unveiling the bride to gain her consent, Oakley (1993, 7), Redfield (2003, 69), and Frontisi-Ducroux (in Reeder, ed., 1995, 89).

²¹⁵ Zahn (1983) 133-134, Cat. 104.1-.7 and 105.2.

²¹⁶ Figure 32 = Typen I, 164, 3; and Figure 32A = Typen I, 164, 4.

significantly, includes in his catalogue entry for this particular work mention of a similar clay plaque from a *lebes gamikos* in Sinope.²¹⁷ This vase type also would have figured importantly in wedding and funeral rituals, and would significantly expand our body of evidence for making the case that Europa appears on vase types associated with weddings and funerals in her capacity as a benefactress of prosperity.

Gems and Stones

According to Robertson, we have six gems from this time period, including as evidence scarabs, scaraboids, and *intaglios*.²¹⁸ They represent the first jewelry evidence we have come across so far. We should assume, however, based on the clay jewelry box cover from Agrigento, as well as the tremendous popularity of heroic motifs on jewelry, that the myth of Europa once appeared on other pieces as well.

Although these represent the smallest evidence we have observed thus far in their physical size, the level of detail and sophistication is quite remarkable, and they are still a valuable source of information for personal taste and décor. They were recovered from three widely separated locations in Spain, Italy, and the eastern Aegean, which shows us the myth's continued widespread regional appeal within a single specific medium.

²¹⁷ Robertson *LIMC* IV (1988) I 93.

²¹⁸ See *LIMC* I 82 – I 87.

The first example is an agate scaraboid ca. 470 BC now in Oxford (see **Figure 33**). It was recovered from the island of Cyprus, a major stopping off point for travel between Asia, Africa, and Europe. From a very early Bronze Age date, Cyprus was home to mixed population communities from multiple continents. This includes Minoans and Phoenicians, and their descendants. Living together side-by-side in clustered communities, Cyprus' diverse people would have been particularly receptive to the myth of Europa.

In the depiction, Europa wears a long draping chiton. She holds the bull by the horn and the tail as they travel from left to right. Fish in front of the pair indicate that they are traveling overseas. The same technique of incision used to define Europa's draping chiton also is used with the neck of the bull.

Europa holding the bull by the tail is a significant innovation. To my knowledge, it does not occur elsewhere on any material evidence before this period. In a few other depictions of Europa from much later Roman times we do observe *erotes* holding the bull's tail, but not Europa.²¹⁹ She always holds the bull's horn, neck, back, and flank, but never the tail. It is quite remarkable that we should find evidence for it here, and especially on such a small piece of evidence. The significance of this innovation possibly relates back to the version of the Europa myth told by Akousilaos, that the bull Europa rode to Crete was the same bull Heracles and Theseus conquered.

²¹⁹ Cf. *LIMC* I 62, I 64, and I 198.

The second engraved gem is a green jasper scarab ca. 450 BC now in Madrid (see **Figure 34**). Robertson identifies it as Greco-Phoenician, which suggests it was a kind of cultural artistic amalgamation. This coincides with the myth itself, which presents a fundamental act of Cretan-Phoenician cultural integration. The scarab was uncovered on the island of Ibiza off the Spanish coast.

Europa and the bull clearly are moving from left to right. The bull appears to be walking slowly, not swimming, as is customary with other examples in this section. Europa wears a long chiton. She looks forward, with her right hand on the bull's flank, and her left holding the bull's horn.

The most remarkable aspect of this portrayal, in my opinion, is how the bull's neck is turned completely around. In the *metope* depiction from Pergamon, Europa appeared to be pulling the bull's head up to her own. Here, she appears to be turning the bull's head completely around in a similar display of strength. The closest visual parallel I have been able to adduce for a person turning a bull's head by the horn is with representations of Heracles subduing the bull. These occur on a diverse array of visual media from this period that include small objects like engraved gems, as well as on a well-known *metope* from the temple of Zeus at Olympia.²²⁰

²²⁰ For example, cf. West Metope 4 from Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The third and final gem I discuss from this period is an example of gold leaf over white paste ca. 350 BC in Taranto (see **Figure 35**).²²¹ It is difficult to make out in any detail considering the poor photograph. Europa sits on the back of the bull moving rather quickly from left to right. She holds the bull by the horn with her left hand, wearing a long chiton. The bull's tail is curled into a circle which resembles Figure 22, and she appears to be holding the bull by both horns, another first for this project. Otherwise, I cannot see anything extraordinary in the portrayal. Its greatest significance might be in that it shows us how widespread gems of Europa were.

Coins

I turn now to briefly consider the numismatic evidence, for which we have several examples, especially from Crete (see Figure **37A** and **37B**), Europa's legendary adopted homeland. This provides a nice segue from the previous section in that we are still dealing with very small-scale works. The numismatic evidence is important because it implies that a significant number of people would have encountered the image as the coin changed hands. As such, the coin, like the myth of Europa, and even the mythological Europa, would have circulated widely as it travelled from one place to the next.

²²¹ Taranto, Mus. Nat. 2150. Becatti (1955, pl. 85, 340).

Robertson has five coins listed from this time period. He provides photos for three of them, which are the same ones I analyze, although I have provided additional examples of Cretan types. I begin with a *stater* coin ca. 450 BC from Cyzicus, in modern Turkey (see **Figure 36**).

Europa sits on the bull here, wearing a pleated chiton, with her hair tied up. She holds the bull's horn with one hand and has the other on its flank, as it swims right to left over a large fish. In the physical appearance of Europa and the bull, this image is most like Figure 34, particularly the stiff angularity of Europa's arms. Here, however, they are moving in the opposite direction, and the bull's head is not so severely contorted. Among other examples, it also closely resembles **Figure 33**, the scarab from Cyprus (I 84) with regards to scale and proportion. This seems logical given the relative close proximity in place and time for their production.

The second coin is an AR stater ca. 440 BC in the British museum collection (see **Figure 37**).²²² It comes from Gortyn on the island of Crete, which is reportedly where Zeus took Europa after they landed. I have included examples of several coin types taken from Cook (**Figure 37A** and **Figure 37B**) in order to show the diversity of types as well as to highlight one particular aspect of the myth in this area. According to later literary sources (which I examine in the following chapter), there grew an evergreen tree in the spot where Europa and Zeus copulated, which is presumably why so many

²²² Gortyn, *BMC Crete* 37, 3 pl. 9,3. Svoronos (1977, pl. 12, 21-23, 26.35).

of these Cretan coins feature not only Europa on the bull, but also her sitting on or near a tree.²²³

In this depiction, Europa sits side-saddle on the bull moving from left to right over sea-life. She appears frontally, and in the foreground, in front of the bull. She has her left hand on the bull's horn, and her right rests on the bull's flank. Loose, diaphanous drapery reveals her elegant body below. Except for the obvious fact that she is sitting on the bull, not floating beside it, this coin shares strong stylistic similarities with the clay model for the metal vase (Figure 31), our first example from Crete.

The third and final coin I discuss is a *stater* ca. 400 BC from Crete now in the British Museum (see **Figure 38**). The most significant feature is that Europa is off the bull here, which, as I have explained, becomes more popular over time, especially as we progress through the fourth century BC. Here, she appears to be sitting on a rock, holding her hand up as the bull approaches. This likely is meant to illustrate the moment before she climbs on the bull's back and travels overseas. One notable detail is the downward curved horn of the bull which appears to be a design innovation to accommodate the curved shape of the coin. On the reverse side of the coin, we observe Hermes, whom we have observed in vase painting repeatedly alongside Europa in

²²³ Cook (1914, i. 527-37) discusses these Cretan coins, while also emphasizing the close association between Europa and Hera as goddesses of fertility.

connection with marriage and death. Here, he likely appears in his role as a god of merchants and trade, with which Europa herself also would have been associated.

Mirrors

As we consider works done in metal from the Classical period, we shift now to a new visual medium: mirrors. Mirrors, like jewelry, are intimately associated with the world of women. They are also very personal and closely tied to their owner's self-perception. As such, they offer us a new perspective on how the myth of Europa fostered a sense of personal identity for the women who possessed them. My main conclusion here is that artists used Europa imagery on these works to encourage their audience to see themselves as Europa, which is not too far off from what they seem to have been doing with the Locrian plaques. Only here, with mirrors, the association would have been encouraged on a more regular basis, and not just for special occasions. That does not necessarily imply, however, that their owners would have seen themselves the same way every time, only that when they did see themselves they inevitably also would have seen Europa.

Artists readily appropriated the myth of Europa to the technology of mirror making in the fourth century BC. We have parts of at least seven mirrors, all of them interestingly enough from Italian sites, which indicates a strong regional interest in the subject. These include mirror handles, mirror covers, and a mirror back, all done in

bronze. These mirrors exhibit as many differences among one another as they do similarities with portrayals in other media. They showcase the myth of Europa's diversification within a single genre, while also pointing to the continuity of certain stylistic traditions.

Scholars have commented about the special nature of mirrors and how they interact with their viewers in dynamic ways.²²⁴ Since mirrors are designed to show a person her/his own image, they give a special opportunity for artists to intervene in the ongoing process of self-identity construction. The work of art on a mirror becomes a kind of filter or lens through which the viewer comes to see herself.

I begin with a bronze mirror handle attachment ca. 420 BC recovered from the site of Locri (see **Figure 39**). Situated in the bottom of the tip of the boot, Locri was founded by Greek Locrians, who were reported to have journeyed there from central Greece and the area around Mt. Parnassus. A voyage like that of Europa would have appealed to these people, since their ancestors also had travelled overseas to establish a new home. We know the Europa myth was popular near their reported homeland in central Greece, including at Dodona and Lebadeia. They may have brought the Europa myth with them when they first came. The myth certainly was very important at Locri, as the clay plaques indicate.

²²⁴ Stewart (2008, 184-185) describes girls looking into mirrors and identifying themselves within the visual program. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011, 175) concludes the viewer assumes the identity of the figure on the mirror.

Europa appears in the foreground here, almost entirely frontal, draped across the front of the bull. Her body positioning is remarkable. Clearly, the artist's intention was not to show her clinging in fear to the bull as he sped along, but to romanticize her beauty and erotic appeal. She wears a long flowing chiton, with one breast revealed, and a crown on her head that is designed with a tongue design much like the mirror edge above her. Palmettes appear where the tips of her hand meet the mirror handles, creating a wing-like effect. The muscular anatomy of the bull is worked in considerable detail. He appears to be rather jovially meandering along.

Europa is almost completely exposed to the viewer here. Certainly, this is a much more erotic portrayal of her than Figure 28 with which I began this chapter.²²⁵ The artist has positioned her so that she looks directly into the viewer's eyes whenever the viewer holds up the mirror to see her own reflection.²²⁶ Whenever the viewer sees her own reflection, moreover, she is bound to see the face of Europa looking back at her from below.

We can imagine a young woman grabbing hold of this mirror and seeing the image of Europa looking back at her from beneath her own reflection. This would have been the first visual cue for her to associate herself with Europa. Europa does not just face the viewer in a visual exchange, however. She actually appears to be sliding off the

²²⁵ Frontisi-Ducroux (1997, 89) emphasizes the erotic nature of mirrors.

²²⁶ Frontisi-Ducroux (1997, 85) argues we should understand these frontal addresses as a kind of pictorial apostrophe that implicate the viewer into the scene.

back of the bull, and falling into the viewer's space. We have captured this moment of action. She is becoming a part of the viewer as it were through the illusion of a falling movement. The effect of this that the viewer herself, by holding up the mirror, also keeps Europa up on the back of the bull.

This association of the viewer with Europa is reinforced by the fact that Europa's outstretched arms are welded to the base of the mirror in such a way that she too appears to be holding it up. I surmise the artist intended to create a collapse between audience and work of art. The viewer *becomes* Europa when she holds up the mirror, and not just once or twice, but every time she picks up the mirror and sees herself. They are both engaged in the same fundamental act of holding up a mirror, and seeing one another. This is a perfect illustration of the polyvalent nature of Greek religion. It was always happening on a regular basis, as artists continued to explore novel ways of integrating myths into new emerging media and peoples' lives.

Although they are located on physical objects, these important points of contact between Europa, the mirror, and the viewer serve to connect more than Europa to the mirror, or even to the viewer. They serve to connect humanity as a whole to Zeus, and to unite people and gods through a heroic maiden into a continuous chain of being, and not just once, but on a recurrent basis. In that sense, the presence of Europa on this mirror functions much like a hymn or religious prayer. It conjures up the divine and makes a polite request on a person's behalf. Although we are dealing with material

objects, we are perhaps not so far away from the kinds of religious hymns that women probably once sang at Locri in honor of the heroine Europa as they deposited clay statuettes in temples, or placed mirrors into tombs.

This is a powerful illustration of what I have been arguing for all along regarding artists' use of the Europa myth to give meaning to people's lives. Europa was not just a role model for people (and especially women) to emulate, but she actually participated in their lives. Graham Zanker explains how art and poetry in complex ways integrate viewers into the works of art.²²⁷ As Zanker argues, Hellenistic artists and poets develop all kinds of visual strategies for involving viewers and readers. These include novel ways of invading the viewer's space, such as, for example, the overhanging foot of the giant on the stairs at Pergamum.²²⁸ A related technique is the use of heightened *enargeia* to bring the object before the viewer's eyes. Other scholars besides Zanker have developed these and other related theories to understand the dynamic relationship between audience and work of art, but they focus on much later works of art.

Our next example is on a mirror cover ca. 380 BC recovered from Eretria but now in Athens (see **Figure 40**). It is the only other mirror I discuss in detail, although I have provided an image with four different types to give the reader a clearer idea of the different types (see **Figure 39B**). Located on the island of Euboea, off the Greek

²²⁷ Zanker (2012).

²²⁸ Zanker (2012, 27)

mainland, Eretria was a major sea power from an early date, with Eretria and Chalcis having sent ships to the Trojan War according to Homer. Euboeans also founded settlements in the Aegean, on mainland Greece, and even in Italy at Pithecusae and Cuma.²²⁹ They would have been experienced with traveling, living, and working abroad. They likely also would have circulated the myth of Europa. As a myth about overseas travel and cultural fusion, it may have had a special appeal for them.

In this depiction, Europa again appears to be hanging off of the bull as in the previous example, but the bull is in rapid motion, and also moving in the opposite direction. Europa does not appear frontally, either, but in a three-quarter profile view. She gestures in an apparent act of *anakalypsis*. A dolphin is depicted swimming beneath them to make clear that this is sea travel. The artist has rendered the dolphin, bull, and Europa all with considerable detail and in relatively high relief. One notable feature besides the dolphin is Europa's exaggerated billowing garment like a sail behind her. This is an important visual element we first observed a century before in vase painting that continues to inform visual productions from here onwards.

Vase Painting

For the next section, on late Classical vase painting, I return again to South Italy, since we have such a preponderance of evidence from here. I emphasize the region of

²²⁹ Cf. *Strab.* v. 4.

Apulia in particular. The Apulians, it is important to recall, were descended from Iapygians, who themselves were believed to have descended from Europa's son Minos.²³⁰

Perhaps for this reason, the Apulians took a special interest in the myth, producing some dozen or so vases during this period of the mid to late fourth century BC that are well-preserved because of the find spot for most of them in tombs. This find spot is not coincidental, either, but directly arises from Europa's afterlife associations, related integrally to her function as a benefactress of marriage. Given the vast number of relevant works here from South Italy and Apulia, I have chosen to focus on a few that most succinctly encapsulate my arguments.²³¹

I begin this section with a small group of select examples from the Black Sea region, including in and around the Ukraine. The vases were not produced by local workshops, but by Athenian ones. They were then exported to different settlements dotting the shores of the Black Sea. This area remained an important area of consumption for the Europa myth throughout the fourth century BC. The styles of these vases share a great deal in common with vase depictions of Europa from South Italy, although we also detect unique points of emphases and areas of experimentation as we

²³⁰ *Hdt.* 7.170.2. Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson (2014, 41ff.) contain relevant passages by Antiochus, Strabo, and Athenaeus.

²³¹ Apulian vase paintings constitute nearly one-half of all South Italian vase paintings, which means that there are approximately 10,000 total (Schmidt (447). Fifteen are identified by Zahn as containing depictions of Europa, but they all fall within a very short time of less than a century.

move between the different regions. This illuminates the remarkable malleability of the myth of Europa, and its ability to transcend traditional boundaries.

After briefly analyzing these Black Sea works, I introduce a handful of non-Apulian Italian vase paintings from South Italy. I discuss only one in extensive detail, the Asteas krater, because it is one of the only vases of Europa to have received considerable scholarly attention. This is owing, in part, we shall see, to its dubious provenance.

All of the following works of art, but especially the Apulian ones, exhibit a remarkable level of sophistication and innovation never observed before in depictions of Europa. These striking formal and stylistic innovations represent peak production in portrayals of the Europa myth during the period covered by this project. They reveal the Europa Network operating at full capacity and maximum extent, churning out works that seek to engage the viewer in ever new ways.

We are struck by more complex scenes overall during this period, with added characters, tiered compositions, and elaborate embellishments that seek to bring the event before the viewer's eyes. Gone for now are simple scenes of Europa sitting on the bull as they move forward with a fish or two below them. Europa appears off the bull, first greeting the bull, with her playmates by the water, but very rarely on the bull, or alone with the bull. These scenes must have been too mundane for the unrestrained

creative artistic impulse of these Apulian vase painters who sought to maximize the effect of every visual detail.

We observe multiple wedding features here in connection with Europa's marriage and afterlife associations. These certainly would have struck the ancient viewer, especially the ancient woman, whom these vases repeatedly engage and implicate *into* the scene. The wedding features include flying *erotes*, garlands, fillets, mirrors, baskets, and of course elegant Aphrodite presiding over the scene of Europa's conquest of Zeus. This reminds us of Europa's greatest power, her ability to invoke desire in the king of the gods.

In some ways, as a result of the rich material remains, this portion of my work represents a kind of culmination or crescendo. All of the themes that have been percolating and building up to the surface now come running over. The multiple aspects of Europa's character, as a hero and bull tamer, bride of Zeus and mother of divine children, benefactress of marriage and death, and facilitator of cultural exchange are on display as never before and receive their fullest creative artistic expression. These scenes explode with visual fireworks in a dazzling extravaganza that must have seemed like rock-and-roll – to borrow an anachronistic analogy – at the time to a cultural taste accustomed to simpler, more conservative scenes.

These vases initially led me to the topic of Europa, for the mere goal of aesthetically appreciating them. The more I examined them, however, and the more

questions I asked, the more I became captivated by their manifold complexity, an experience the ancient viewer too must have had. This became a particular curiosity for me, to know and understand how these works of art interacted with ancient viewers, how they forced people to ask questions as their eyes raced around the composition in a search for meaning.

I begin with the area of modern Ukraine and south Russia on the northern shores of the Black Sea. This far-away region was familiar to the Greeks both through the world of myth, and through practical experience and trade. The Greeks had established overseas settlements and habitations all around the Black Sea, wherever their ships would take them. That includes contacts with various groups of people as they sought out the region's rich mineral and agricultural resources.

We have approximately ten depictions of Europa from this period and region, all included by the *LIMC*. They provide some of the most dynamic and visually appealing scenes of Europa ever produced. In their fluidity, motion, and grace, these scenes most closely resemble South Italian vase paintings from this time period. They prove that stylistic innovations caught on in both the east and west.

First are two *hydria* which date to the same general decade of 370 BC. One might claim that we can observe an inter-ceramic dialogue taking place between them in which one artist consciously responds to the other in a kind of competition of one-upmanship. The first *hydria* ca. 370 BC attributed to the Europa Painter is now located in

the British Museum (see **Figure 41**). In this image, the bull appears fully visible in the foreground, painted white. We have observed Europa in the foreground before on numerous occasions, but rarely the bull. In fact, the only example that comes to mind is the Tarquinian bell-krater ca. 480 BC attributed to the Berlin Painter, which also is the earliest surviving portrayal of Europa off the bull.

Aside from Europa and the bull, the cast of characters includes a seated male figure questionably identified as Zeus by Robertson in the *LIMC*, Hermes striding forward, a hovering, winged *eros* both in front of and behind Europa and the bull, a man seated behind the pair, and a few marine animals below.

One of the most striking features about this depiction is how well Europa, the bull, and this elaborate cast of characters accommodate the circular shape of the vase as they pass before our eyes in an elaborate procession. I have commented already on the interplay between content and surface in association with other images of Europa. This procession, with the striding Hermes, *erotes*, and marine entourage, all securely place the vase into a class of vase paintings associated with weddings.

The most obvious effect of placing the two *erotes*, one in front of, and the other behind Europa and the bull, is to emphasize the mastery of erotic desire over Zeus. The repetitive body positioning of other figures should not be overlooked here, either. As Ann Steiner argues, repetition is a key to understanding Greek vase painting, and here we have lots of it. Hermes and the seated Zeus, for example, both have their right arms

similarly elevated and bent. This provides a kind of visual path for the eye to follow from one character to the next as she ponders the lively procession. This same arm position more or less also is used with Europa performing *anakalypsis* as she consents to Zeus.

Other significant details here include the intricate overlap of different characters and body parts, which creates multiple planes of discernment for the viewer. This overlap includes, for example, the bull's penis and testicles which align perfectly with Europa's gown as a way of emphasizing the erotic nature of this image and the fertility of the bull.

The second *hydria* dates ca. 370 BC, is attributed to the Europa Painter, and is now in St. Petersburg (see **Figure 42**). The image shows Europa sitting side saddle on the bull as they move forward in rapid motion. The perspective of the painted white bull as it wraps around the curved surface of the vase is nearly identical to that in the previous rendering. Here, significantly, however, Europa is sitting on the bull, not floating beside it, and she is in the foreground entirely visible. She holds her left hand on the flank of the bull with her right arm extended outward. Behind Europa and the bull sits a young nude man, while in front of them is a striding Hermes and seated adult male figure, again presumably Zeus. Two *erotes* are present but there are not fish or other marine life.

I wish to highlight Europa's extended right arm in the second portrayal. This same arm position is more or less repeated with the young man seated behind her as well as the *eros* hovering above and reaching out to touch her hand. The three raised right arms of these characters create a strong horizontal line leading the viewer's eye to the raised right arm of the seated figure in front of them. In fact, both he, and Hermes, who strides in front of the bull, have their right arms raised, as does the *eros* flying beneath Europa and the bull. Everybody is raising their right arms in this portrayal so full of motion and *enargeia*. A raised right arm is, among other things, associated with dedicatory offerings.

This is the same cast of characters as before, with Europa, the bull, Zeus, Hermes, and *erotes*, but in a new arrangement. The *eros* flying beneath Europa and the bull in this portrayal is a significant first. Usually this place has been reserved for fish and aquatic life, but never the winged gods of desire. The previous vase had a dolphin in that place. This placement of the *eros* beneath Europa and the bull might simply be for fun, since the ancient viewer would have been accustomed to seeing fish there. It also might have something to deal with the fact that the artist is trying to emphasize Europa's erotic appeal. This is done not by revealing her breast, as in the previous image, but by establishing a direct chain between Europa and the two *erotes*, one of whom appears to be on the verge of touching her fingers, while the other is poised right beneath her toes.

Next, I consider a *pelike* ca. 350 BC also attributed to the Europa Painter now in St. Petersburg. We have at least two *pelikes* with images of Europa from this time period, but I have chosen only to include one. The vase itself has significant surface damage, so the depiction is difficult to make out compared to the previous two examples, but enough is visible for us to draw conclusions. Europa and the bull move from right to left here. She holds one hand on the bull's horn, and the other is on her chiton. She is bare-breasted, and floating beside the bull again rather than sitting on him. We observe a young male figure questionably identified as Hermes in front of them, and Poseidon with a trident behind.²³²

In conclusion, I wish to draw attention four fish plates identified by Zahn. I have included photos for two ca. 370 BC now in St. Petersburg (see **Figure 44** and **Figure 44A**).²³³ Because they also depict a procession of sea creatures and *erotes*, they fall into the same general class as these other regional portrayals we have been examining. In **Figure 44**, Europa appears again to be floating beside the bull. She is accompanied by Poseidon, Nereids, and marine life, as well as hovering *erotes*. Zeus sits enthroned. The other fish-plates apparently are variations of this same particular type. They demonstrate how slight variations of these same complex scenes were able to

²³² For the other *pelike*, cf. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ol. 1256 (1903.14389), UKV # 491. It is fragmentary, but nevertheless shows clear stylistic continuity with other contemporaneous examples. Europa appears alongside the bull, behind it from the viewer's perspective. She is painted white, and performing *anakalypsis* with her right arm raised. A hovering *eros* flies in front of the bull, and appears to be leading him by the nose. Once again, a bearded man is seated in front of the pair.

²³³ Zahn (1983, 118-119, Cat. 51-54).

accommodate yet another entirely new medium, fish plates. Their meaning would have changed slightly in this context, perhaps drawing more attention to Europa's associations with overseas travel in places where fish constituted an important part of their diets.

Italian Production

Zahn includes four Attic, and six local Italian depictions of Europa on non-Apulian South Italian vase paintings from this same general period.²³⁴ They represent a diversity of locations, some of which we already have encountered. These places include Paestum, Genoa, Spina, Lucania, and Campania. They are rather widely distributed across an area from northern to southern Italy.

I focus on one outstanding example, a calyx krater ca. 340 BC attributed to Asteas now in Paestum (see **Figure 45**). Before embarking on my analysis of it, however, I wish to make a few general comments about the group as a whole. Stylistically, these scenes share much in common with vases from the Black Sea region. We repeatedly observe Hermes in nearly the same identical striding position. This position, as I argued before, likely relates to his function as escort of brides to their new homes and of dead souls to the underworld. It certainly is not confined to scenes of Europa, but present also in

²³⁴ Zahn (1983) Attic = 120, Cat. 62; 122, Cat. 66; 122, Cat. 69; 126, Cat. 79. Non-attic = 119, Cat. 56; 119, Cat. 57; 119, Cat. 58; 120, Cat. 59; 120, Cat. 60; 120, Cat. 61. Cf. *LIMC* IV (1988) | 56, | 61, | 62, | 63, | 64, | 65, | 68, | 74, | 75

several scenes of weddings and funerals on vases all throughout the Mediterranean, and not just in association with Hermes.

We observe similarly elaborate scenes of procession, with other added characters, like *erotes*, Zeus, Poseidon, unidentified young men who may be Europa's sons, and various marine animals. Because these South Italian vases are so clearly related to their Athenian-manufactured counterparts from the Black Sea region, it is quite likely that Athenian potters and vase painters working alongside local artisans in Italy helped to disseminate visual templates for the Europa myth. These then were modified by Italian potters, who gave them their own local flourishes.

The Asteas krater I have chosen to discuss is a calyx krater used for mixing water and wine. It was painted by the Paestan vase painter Asteas, whose signature appears on the vase. Asteas was active in Paestum during the middle of the fourth century BC. I discussed Paestum in Chapter 2 in association with Figure 3 (a terracotta statuette) and Figure 8 (a sandstone metope), both found there. As I stated then, Paestum, like nearly all of south Italy, had experienced waves of migration since at least the middle Bronze Age. It was home to hybrid, culturally-diverse societies for several centuries before 350 BC when this particular vase was produced. These mixed population communities included the descendants of Minoans, Mycenaeans, Phoenicians, Etruscans, Greeks, and various others, as confirmed by an abundance of literary and archaeological evidence.

This particular vase has an intriguing history. It was discovered in the modern town of Santa Agata dei Goti about 35 miles northeast of Naples. After discovering the krater in 1970, a tomb robber allegedly sold it for 1,000 *lira* and a piglet. In 1978, a private Swiss collector acquired the piece, before selling it in 1981 to the Getty Villa Malibu for close to 400,000 euros. The Getty owned it until 2007, when it was repatriated with much fanfare to Paestum, Italy.

Shortly after its acquisition by the Getty, the vase entered into academic publications. In her work *Europa auf dem Stier*, Eva Zahn first discussed it in 1983. That same year, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen produced a Getty publication article with a brief analysis. Arthur Trendall later included it into his monumental collection of South Italian vase paintings as part of a 1987 supplemental volume. Most recently, in 2009, Cipriani, Greco, and others collaborated to produce a short article after its repatriation to Italy. These scholars and others all have contributed to our understanding of this exceptional vase painting. Still, not a lot of interpretive work has been done, particularly with respect to how the work of art might have interacted with its audience and endowed peoples' lives with meaning.

Let us examine the vase in more detail. We begin with Side A. In the central image, we observe Europa seated side-saddle on the bull. The bull moves from right to left. With her right hand she grabs the left horn of the bull, and with her left hand she clasps the mantle billowing behind her. Above we read her name inscribed 'Europa'.

The bull does not have an inscription to identify it as Zeus, although in *most* traditions the king of the gods does himself put on the form of the bull during his encounter with Europa.

The sea monster Scylla swims in front of the bull. Like Europa, her name is inscribed above. Behind Europa and the bull, another sea creature, Triton, swims, also with an identifying inscription. Fish and octopus painted black, white, and gold mingle in the waters below. A winged eros hovers above Europa and the bull. An inscription identifies him as the personified *Pothos*, a brother of *Himeros* and *Eros*, who each represent different kinds of desire. Like the bull, *Pothos* moves from right to left, sprinkling libations on Europa.

The composition on side A forms a pentagon enclosed by two upper triangular pediments. In the pediment to the upper left, we observe Zeus, the personified Crete, and Hermes, all with identifying inscriptions. In the upper right pediment, moving from right to left, we observe Aphrodite, Adonis, and a poorly preserved small *eros*. Aphrodite and Adonis both have their names inscribed above. The small winged *eros* is the only major figure on Side A besides the bull without an identifying inscription.

On Side B, Dionysus occupies the prominent central image (see **Figure 45A**).²³⁵

He strides forward from left to right, holding two eggs in one hand and a thyrsus in the

²³⁵ The role of Dionysus and his band of followers in South Italian, and especially Apulian, vase painting is well-documented. Schmidt (1976, 449) associates his repeated presence with the afterlife. Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson (eds., 2014, 226) argues that Dionysus and Aphrodite symbolize sexuality and fertility especially in relation to human marriages.

other. Behind him a maenad follows with her head turned upwards in ecstasy. In front of Dionysus, a satyr runs forward while turning around to look back at the god. In a separate smaller register above, we observe Silenus. In front of him, a maenad turns to look back, while in front of her, Pan moves forward. Behind Silenus stand two other maenads. All in all, this is a much more complex vase painting than, say, an Archaic one with Europa alone on the bull. As such, it requires closer inspection.

How might we interpret the visual program on this particular vase? One immediate move would be to compare the central images on each side, of Europa and Dionysus. Both, after all, are in motion in a kind of procession. For Europa, it is her wedding procession to the home of the groom, Zeus. Wedding related imagery proliferates here, including, for example, the hovering *eros* holding a *phiale*.²³⁶

Dionysus, on the other hand, appears in a different kind of procession (*thiasos*) with his drunken revelers.²³⁷ This procession probably reflects cult rituals in which participants dressed up, sang, and danced in the god's honor. It might even reflect his original procession to Greece as a God, as described in Euripides' *Bacchae*. The reverse image of Europa also possibly corresponds to a theatrical production of her myth given

²³⁶ Oakley (1993, 8-11) discusses the hovering *eros* with *phiale*, as well as other related wedding imagery in Athenian vase painting.

²³⁷ Schöne (1987) has a useful work on depictions of the *thiasos* in Athenian vase painting from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Kerényi (1976) provides a comprehensive work on Dionysus from Minoan through Roman times, including into his discussion a wide array of visual and literary evidence.

the overall popularity of dramatic portrayals in South Italian vase paintings. We cannot be certain.

This krater was used to mix water with wine, and its two central images fundamentally involve water and wine. In that sense, form and function overlap here. The myths of Europa and Dionysus contain several notable parallels. They both are associated with passing from one state of existence to another, whether it is marriage or drunken intoxication. The two figures also bridge the divide between mortals and gods. Europa bears mortal children to Zeus, while Dionysus is the product of Zeus' sexual union with a mortal woman. They also both come from the East. The Athenian Hegesippos, writing in the fourth century BC, even describes Europa coming from Thrace, Dionysus' reported place of origin. In addition, both gods have strong ties to Crete: Europa gives birth to the first line of Cretan kings; and Dionysus marries Ariadne, the daughter of one of those kings, Minos.

Perhaps most importantly, however, Europa and Dionysus both experience death and rebirth. As I have emphasized repeatedly, in Greek art and literature, marriage was tantamount to death for a young Greek woman. The same imagery appears in scenes. Depending on the original context, Europa's procession here might be interpreted as a wedding, funeral, or both.

Europa's two sons Minos and Rhadamanthys, are also judges of the dead, and in at least one tradition that I have cited before, her foster son Triptolemus also is

associated with the underworld at Lebadeia in Boeotia. Other literary and visual evidence confirms Europa's strong ties to the underworld and afterlife from the Archaic period onward. *Pothos*, or the desire for somebody not present, also is important in this regard. In art and literature, *Pothos* repeatedly appears, for example, in connection with people's longing for the dead. This increases the likelihood of Europa's journey functioning as a metaphor for the journey of the deceased, especially if we consider the krater's original find-spot in a tomb.

Dionysus, most obviously, as a god of vegetation, is associated with the vine which dies and regrows each year. Through his identification as Zagreus, including his dismemberment by the Titans and subsequent rebirth, his worship also involved cultic beliefs about a human afterlife. A death-rebirth ritual connection also is evident in the worship of Adonis, which might help explain his appearance on the upper right side of this vase.²³⁸

In one of the few interpretive remarks made about this vase, Cipriani, Greco, et. al. comment on the strategic placement of Zeus and Aphrodite on the outer edges of the pediments, since the power of both gods fundamentally informs the central action of Zeus' love for Europa.²³⁹ We can, however, advance this visual interpretive strategy

²³⁸ Kondoleon, Karageorghis, and Segal (eds., 2011, 32) have more to say about Aphrodite's and Adonis' ritual associations with fertility.

²³⁹ Cipriani, Greco, et. al. (eds., 2009, 16-17).

further. Aphrodite, like Europa and Dionysus, is of eastern origins.²⁴⁰ Likewise, the worship of Adonis is acknowledged to have come from the East. In fact, some ancient Greek mythographers, as we have seen, identify Adonis as one of Europa's Phoenician brothers. The figures behind Europa represent all that she is leaving behind: the east, her old home, family, and way of life. She looks forward to Crete and her new life as a Greek mother. This future destination is highlighted by the appearance of Zeus and his personified homeland of Crete in the pediment ahead of and above Europa.

To give the myth strong local appeal, the artist has included Scylla, herself reported to have occupied the waters off the south Italian coast, so that the myth would resonate more intimately with a local audience, especially during weddings and funerals. In short, on this vase, we have a snapshot of Europa passing before our eyes in a wedding or funeral procession, in route from her old to new home. Hermes' presence in the upper left pediment likely calls to mind his role as escort of the bride and groom to their new home in numerous vase paintings of weddings from the late fifth century BC onwards. Hermes also likely doubles here as *Hermes psychopompos*, guide of souls to the underworld, further enriching the death-marriage metaphor.

²⁴⁰ Smith and Sadie (2010, 8) discuss Aphrodite's eastern origins, including her apparent accompaniment of Europa on the overseas journey to Crete (330). Kondoleon, Karageorghis, and Segal (2011) includes several references to Aphrodite's origins as a near-eastern goddess, and her parallel role as a benefactress of human marriages. Rosenzweig (2004, Fig. 59, Fig. 60) includes related imagery of Aphrodite riding side-saddle on a goat or swan while a hovering *eros* holds a crown above her.

In the context of a funeral or wedding – and it is well-attested kraters of this type would have been used in funerals and given as wedding gifts – this vase would have offered hope to all present. It would have reinforced their beliefs in a happy afterlife for the deceased and a prosperous marriage for newlyweds by postulating something hopeful on the other side of the great divide. It would have held special significance especially for a young woman of Phoenician origins marrying a man of Cretan heritage, assuming such marriages took place in this multi-cultural settlement. Situated in the middle of a banquet hall, this large krater would have signified important values for residents and visitors alike.²⁴¹ Like a religious hymn or dramatic performance, it would have engaged its audience in a divine experience by invoking the gods as paradigms while simultaneously endowing human existence with meaning.²⁴²

Apulian Vase Paintings

Vase painting depictions of Europa reach their peak in scene complexity and elaboration of detail in fourth century Apulia more than any other place. These local Apulian painters inherited the tradition of vase painting from Athenians, Corinthians, and others. After the defeat of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War, entering into the fourth century, they began to separate and distinguish themselves from their

²⁴¹ Lissarague (2001, 36) identifies large kraters like this one, situated at the center of the room, expressing people's values.

²⁴² Platt (esp. *Ch. 7*) for paradigmatic extension.

teachers and predecessors by inventing a rich, distinct style replete with never-before-seen enhancements and innovations.²⁴³

Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson describe the figurative language of Apulian pottery as defining the values and interests of the people.²⁴⁴ Margot Schmidt summarizes how Apulian vase-painters created a system of symbols to describe life in transition with a pictorial language.²⁴⁵ These scholars demonstrate that Apulian vase painters were interested in the potential of tragedy and myth as expressive tools for dealing with the difficulties of life. They frequently employed a message that life also was hard for famous heroes to endure in order to bring people comfort and solace amidst their own losses and sufferings. Also critical to these vase-painters and their shared visual vocabulary, Schmidt explains, were the longstanding visual parallels between weddings and funerals.²⁴⁶

I intend to contribute to these and other scholars' findings about the rich language of Apulian vase painting, but with special focus on portrayals of Europa. Few scholars have attempted to interpret any of these depictions of Europa systematically side-by-side, which is shocking given their sheer beauty. We have a dozen or so

²⁴³ Trendall (1973, 13-20, 255ff.) has several insightful discussions on the distinct tradition of Apulian vase painting, including its concern with the afterlife, drama and theater, and the world of women as defining elements. Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson (2014, 5ff.) also has useful information for understanding Apulian vase painting, including a look at workshops and more technical aspects of pottery production. Schmidt (1986, 443ff.) also discusses the very rich Apulian vase painting tradition including its complex associations with marriage and death.

²⁴⁴ Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson (2014, 4).

²⁴⁵ Schmidt (1986, 448ff).

²⁴⁶ Schmidt (1986, 456).

portrayals from this period that were produced in Apulia. Rather than analyzing them all, I first discuss them as a group very generally, before focusing on three individual ones to substantiate my arguments.

The dominant trend of including extra characters in the scene, which we have observed already through examples from the Black Sea and other parts of Italy, is expanded even more. We observe Aphrodite in multiple depictions, as well as Pan, playmates of Europa, and other human beings and gods alike. Aside from being full of more characters, these scenes of Europa and the bull are full of more details, in general. This includes more realistic landscapes, for example, with rocks, flowers, and pools of water, in addition to copious wedding imagery.

These numerous enhancements would have captivated and enthralled viewers. Figuratively speaking, they would have spurred them to the edge of their seats, and forced them to ask questions, as they shifted their eyes around from one part of the composition to the next in an attempt to make sense out of and give meaning to everything. Ultimately, after capturing the audience's attention, these works would have implicated them into the scene itself. The boundary between object and audience would have collapsed, and the work of art would have become reality. These works would have accomplished this interactive breakdown in barriers through references to contemporary events, for example, and especially to real-life transitions like death and marriage.

Europa almost always appears off the bull in these depictions. The favored scene appears to be the moment of her first meeting the bull, especially when she initially reaches out to touch him. Apulian artists appear to have had an innate desire to capture and reproduce the beginnings of the Zeus-Europa love affair. By conjuring up the wonders of the initial meeting, artists used these vases to make those magical moments of first love last forever, and keep on happening again and again. Besides wedding imagery and real-life wedding associations, we also should keep in mind the death-marriage analogy. This is especially relevant considering how many of these vases were recovered from tombs. From that perspective, a deceased individual also would relive forever those magical first moments of falling in love, but in their case, it would be as a metaphor for rebirth.

My first example is a bell-krater ca. 370 BC attributed to the Iliupersis Painter now in Paris (see **Figure 46**). The central image is of Europa sitting on a rock beside a body of water with an arc of trees above her. From that perspective, it is like some of the earliest images we saw of Europa, which featured her in a similar contorted body position, but sitting on the back of the bull. We did observe her sitting on a rock on one of the Cretan coins I discussed (see **Figure 38**), and we have seen her before surrounded by trees and vegetation.

This is entirely new, however. Flanking Europa is an arc of characters watching the event unfold. This includes, moving clockwise from left to right, a woman holding a

hydria, two women in conversation, *eros* and Aphrodite, and the bull. The woman holding the *hydria* is fully clothed with her head covered. The position of her right arm, supporting the vase on her head, and the angle of her downward-turned face, correspond nicely with Europa's own arm and face.

This repetition of form is not accidental. Likely, it is intended to correlate the two characters. Since a woman plausibly would have filled and carried this bell-krater with water, she likely would have identified herself with the woman holding the *hydria* on her head, and looking at the central image of Europa. Rather than the vase becoming a part of the viewer's reality, the viewer is integrated into the vase's visual program.

Above the woman holding the *hydria* is a hanging fillet. Though seemingly out of place, this hanging fillet is common in scenes of Aphrodite and marriage. Robertson offers no explanation as to who the two women talking might be. The woman on the left resembles Europa, if only in her hairstyle and clothing. The woman on the right has her left arm in the same raised position as Europa and the woman holding the *hydria*.

As we continue moving right, the next scene is of a standing *eros* talking to Aphrodite. Although we have grown accustomed to seeing *erotes* in Europa scenes, and we have seen Aphrodite before, here an *eros* is engaged in dialogue with Aphrodite. Given the close connections between South Italian vase painting and dramatic productions, this might even reflect a scene in which Aphrodite conspires to send her son down to earth and fill the heart of the bull (Zeus) with desire. Finally, we have the

snow-white bull, with his head lowered to the ground as he courteously bows to greet Europa.

Among previous examples, this vase, with its complex cast of characters, is most like the *Asteas* krater, perhaps. It also is different, however, including most obviously perhaps that Europa is not on the bull. Can we make any sense of these characters, or are they arbitrarily placed? Why did the artist choose to position them in a semicircle around Europa? Is there some kind of progression, for example, from one character to the next? Are we meant to read them in a certain way?

I can only speculate based on my analysis of other visual and literary portrayals of Europa. My inclination is to read from left to right, since that is how the Greek eye was trained to read. I would begin with the woman holding the *hydria*. Given that she is fairly young, fully covered and veiled over suggests to me that she is meant to represent an unmarried woman alone. Of the two women talking or facing off above her, the one on the right is Aphrodite. I say that because she has the same clothes, jewelry, hairstyle, and profile appearance as Aphrodite in the next scene. Here, Aphrodite is persuading the young woman with desire. Through the power of *eros* and Aphrodite, who appear next, the bull appears (or the young woman's husband), and they go away to consummate marriage. In other words, the trajectory of characters takes us through a young girl's life, when she was alone, growing up with her friends, and then, after she meets her husband through the intervention of *eros*. As such, it tells how a young

woman comes to be married and lose her maidenhood, which is precisely what the myth of Europa itself, the central image, is all about. Put another way, the outside and inside are telling the same story.

Admittedly, this is not a concrete, analytical reading. Still, I think it taps into the basic meaning of this vase, fundamentally associated with the world of women, and the critical transition for a girl from life with her friends and playmates to life with her husband and a new home. As we move from left to right, therefore, we move from the world of women and maidenhood to the world of erotic desire and marriage. The power of *eros* and Aphrodite in this maturation process is emphasized by their physical placement above Zeus the bull. In some ways, then, despite the radical innovation of separating Europa from the bull, this vase still functions in a similar manner to other, earlier vases. It serves to endow with meaning the transition for a girl from maiden to mother, with Europa serving as a role model.

Likely there is no single intended reading for this vase. That is part of the polyvalent nature of Greek myths, that they can be interpreted differently by two different people, or even differently by the same person at two different points in her/his own life. The main point is that the added cast of characters and numerous other embellishments force us to ask these very questions. In so doing, they also force us to participate in the artwork and give it meaning.

The next depiction is on an amphora dated ca. 330 BC (see **Figure 47**).²⁴⁷ It features Europa crouching down to touch the bull's horn. The bull has his own head lowered to the ground as if to signal subservience. On different planes behind Europa, we see images of, presumably, Zeus enthroned, and a young woman holding a mirror. Behind the bull, on the other side, we see Aphrodite and Hermes. Above Europa and the bull, an *eros* hovers, presiding over the erotic encounter. In a separate band below, various marine animals appear, and beneath that, another band of flowers and vegetation.

Europa and the bull both lower down to the ground here, perhaps foreshadowing their future moment of copulation. In the small space between Europa's hand, the bull's horn, and the ground, a flower grows. This flower is not an arbitrary detail, but symbolizes the fertility of Zeus' and Europa's impending union, Europa's origins as a fertility goddess, and to the audience, hope for marriage and the afterlife. Another flower springs up directly beneath the bull's genitals to reinforce the productive nature of this erotic encounter.

The woman on the far left is an interesting and noteworthy character. She appears just as fascinated as Europa with the bull. She looks physically similar to Europa, in fact, bending down to get a closer look. She holds an upraised mirror in her right hand, with a raised arm position generally reserved for *anakalypsis*. Only here, in a

²⁴⁷ Rome, Vatican X7 (inv. 18106). Trendall *RVAP* II 523, 227, and *Vat.* pl. 54c-d, g-h.

kind of role-reversal, Zeus seated behind her appears to be the one performing *anakalypsis* and consenting. Why? Because he is the bull, I would argue. It is as if he is in two places at once, enthroned on Olympus, and in the bull's body about to touch Europa. Perhaps the woman is holding the mirror up to Zeus, so that when he looks away from the bull, he will see his own reflection, which means he will still be seeing himself again. Or, perhaps she is raising the mirror for us the audience, so that we see our own reflection given that we, like her, are observing the central scene of Zeus and Europa. She becomes the audience, as we become her. Perhaps the mirror does both at once.

The co-appearance of Aphrodite and Hermes is predictable. It likely relates to their primary function in weddings and funerals. We already have observed them on Europa vase paintings since as early as 510 BC. But this is different. Hermes is not in his customary position striding forward at head of a procession. He leans over his propped up leg watching the action unfold, while clutching his caduceus and a garland.

Aphrodite has the bull's tail in her left hand to emphasize her mastery and control over Zeus. The only vase paintings I have observed of somebody holding a bull by the tail involve Theseus and Heracles taming the Cretan or Marathon bull.²⁴⁸ Over the bull, an *eros* hovers, holding a lotus flower in his hand to signify the fertility of this union. The

²⁴⁸ Boardman (1974) has Herakles fighting the Cretan bull (Cat. 194) on a belly amphora by the Antimenes Painter, and Theseus taming the Marathon Bull (Cat. Cat. 249) on an oinochoe by the Theseus Painter.

placement of the hovering *eros* directly above the bull – indeed, he appears to be standing on top of the bull’s back – emphasize the power of love over the bull.

The placement of *eros* directly above the bull appears to have been an Apulian obsession of sorts, as we observe it in multiple portrayals. I close by referring to an Apulian amphora ca. 330 BC attributed to the Darius Painter now in Naples (see **Figure 47A**). On this vase, *eros* appears riding on the back of the bull, instead of Europa. He has one hand on the back of the bull, and the other hand raised aloft. This raised arm position possibly recalls the arm position of Europa performing *anakalypsis* in portrayals where she is the one on the bull’s back. It also might allude to the raised arms of heroes like Heracles and Theseus when they are depicted in acts of conquest. Perhaps it does both at once, given the close overlap of love and war in ancient Greek thought.

Eros’ mastery over the bull, and over Zeus, is key to everything. In the world of myth, Eros always has been the one in control, ever since Homer’s *Iliad*, when Zeus is “conquered by desire” for Hera. It is not just the power of love over Zeus, however, or even the power of Zeus’ love for Europa that is most important. It is all that Zeus’ love and the Zeus-Europa affair signify and encapsulate for human beings: affirmation of the life-death cycle, a unity of the cosmic order, including human beings and animals, human beings and gods, the physical and unphysical, timeless and ephemeral. It is optimism in life as divinely sanctioned, especially at its most important moments of crisis and transition. It is the courage to go on, and to not be afraid, especially when

venturing into the unknown. It is the strength to stand tall, and endure suffering, especially when the weight of life is gravest. And not just to have courage or strength, but to have peace, joy, happiness, and hope, above all else. Zeus' love for Europa gives people all of this. In that sense, he does not just carry Europa or *Eros* on his back, but he carries all of us as well. It is our divine wedding too. Love reigns supreme over everybody, over everything, in both the timeless mythological world of Europa, and also in the temporal world of the audience.

Collectively, these Apulian vase paintings set the standard for all that comes before and after them. They highlight key moments from the myth of Europa like no other visual portrayals ever again. Perhaps these key moments are taken from actual dramatic performances of the Europa myth we know once existed and were performed in South Italy. Or, perhaps they are dramatic performances in their own right, and just as capable of producing *catharsis*.

Conclusions

The image of Europa on the back of the bull remains the definitive moment for visual artists throughout the course of this study, and continuing well into the future, although notable exceptions do exist. During the middle to late fourth century BC, with Apulian vase painting, however, something special happened, a renaissance of sorts,

which led to the production of some of the most beautiful and powerful works of art ever conceived by the human imagination. Many of these featured Europa off the bull.

All of the visual evidence in this chapter, including works in clay, stone, metal, and vase paintings, indicate the Europa Network was operating at full capacity throughout the Classical period. Portrayals of her had spread to far-away regions of the northeastern Black Sea, Egypt, Crete, Spain, Italy, Greece, and several other places between and beyond these, reaching wherever the ships of the Greeks would take them.

In the end, several factors combined and contributed to make the Europa myth so timeless and enduring. These include its near universal appeal, based on Europa's associations with phenomena that everybody could relate to, especially death, marriage, and other difficult life transitions. Europa was conspicuously present for people on vases, mirrors, coins, jewelry, cups, plates, and more. Through her constant interaction with people in their daily lives, she became more than just a mythological character. She became a friend they could relate to in tenuous times, and a bridge across the great divide.

Chapter Five – *From Mother to Maiden*

Classical through Hellenistic Literature (ca. 480-200 BC)

Europa was in the ancient world what Europe is now to some extent, a symbol of unity across traditional boundaries. As peoples' lives and realities changed throughout the Classical period, so too the Europa myth changed in conjunction with them. Despite these significant external changes, however, the Europa myth's fundamental function remained intact. Europa still continued to serve as an important figure whom women could relate to and emulate in their own lives, but now in a period torn apart by more regular large-scale conflicts, she provided them with a sense of common suffering, among other things. During this period, authors significantly reworked many key aspects of the myth of Europa into a reflection of cultural tensions in their own times. This is not unique to the myth of Europa, either, but common to other myths which also experience highly sophisticated versions when myths are no longer transmitted as part of an oral tradition. They developed new ways to portray Europa as somebody with whom people living then could identify, such as, for example, by making her the grieving mother of a son killed in east-west conflict.

Given its many forms and expressions, the Europa myth was readily available for adaptation to the changing times. By the end of the Classical era, however, literary emphasis on this aspect of her myth fades away. We observe references to her through

her male relatives again, and to events on Crete after she lands, as well as an alternative tradition of her not having landed on Crete at all. Based on Moschus' poem *Europa*, there is also continued interest in the magical moments of her first meeting the divine bull, which calls to mind South Italian vase painting from two centuries prior. In fact, numerous parallels in imagery between Moschus' poem and these vase paintings are evident, which I explore in this chapter when I turn to examine his poem in the second part.

I bookend my discussion of literary depictions of Europa at the beginning and end of my work because they are fewer than the visual. We do not have any full surviving literary accounts of the myth of Europa from the Classical or Hellenistic periods. We have fragments, excerpts, and summaries of plays and epic poetry, and references to her sons or brother, but nothing substantial enough to warrant an independent study until Moschus' *Europa* ca. 150 BC. His is the fullest surviving account of the Europa myth. Given its position at the end of a long line of evolution, we can use it to resituate all the literary and visual evidence preceding it. With appropriate caution, we also can use it to recreate what some now lost material might have looked like. This process allows us to better understand the underlying dynamics of the Europa Network, as well as one particularly poignant illustration of it in Moschus' version. I wish to end with the giant exclamation mark of Moschus' *Europa* at the end of the Hellenistic period.

I begin with Classical and Hellenistic works from diverse poetic and prose genres like tragedy, lyric, mythography, history, oratory, and more. I refer to very well-known authors such as Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Bacchylides, as well as to lesser known ones, like Praxilla and Hegesippos. Europa's connections to her male relatives remain paramount here, especially to her three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. Europa often is referred to through these three sons, as well as through her brother Cadmus, legendary founder of the infamous house of Thebes. Next, I focus exclusively on Moschus' *Europa*. The myth of Europa's versatility across these many different genres relates to the network's general adaptability and Europa's own malleability of character. She appears, at different times, as an innocent young maiden, seductive bride, and bereaved mother. She is taken up as a topic by authors living and travelling in diverse locations across the Mediterranean, where we know her myth was popular across a range of visual media.

Various geographical locations cited here include places in which different authors were active, as well as places emphasized internally by the literary references themselves. In the first, more diverse part, we see that the authors who treat Europa's myth are associated with a variety of different city-states throughout the Mediterranean. Many of the authors have notable connections with South Italy, however, having lived or travelled there at some point during their lives. This is in keeping with the myth's regional popularity in visual and literary media since the

Archaic. Moschus, whom I save for the end, is himself closely identified with Syracuse on the island of Sicily, where he is believed to have lived, died, and produced his poetry.

As we progress into the Hellenistic period, we begin to notice multiple authors active in Alexandria, Egypt. Alexandria seems like an ideal place for Europa's myth. I say this, both because of its designation as a center for higher learning, where all of the Greek myths were collected and studied, as well because of the general diversity of its citizen body. In the Hellenistic, Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city made up of a hodge-podge of people from Africa, Asia, and Europe. Europa herself was both a forerunner and expression of this changing cultural identity towards an increasingly complex, interconnected world.

Classical through Hellenistic Literature

Europa in Drama

I apologize for any stress caused to the reader by a sudden return to the literary evidence, and for going back to the early Classical period after previously examining late Classical vase painting. This design was a result of the evidence distribution more than anything else, in that we have little literary evidence as compared to visual, and no full literary accounts until Moschus in 150 BC, while on the other hand, we have several visual portrayals that are fully intact. The design is also a deliberate effort on my part to

break people out of their traditional frameworks for strictly segregating literary and visual evidence, as so often occurs with field specialization. This has led to several dangerous unintended consequences, including failing to appreciate the extraordinary rich intermedia exchanges that take place when words paint pictures, and pictures tell stories, as is the case with the myth of Europa. The more fluid approach I adopt, while perhaps initially jarring, does, in the end, I believe, afford us a more comprehensive interpretation of the literary and visual evidence. It certainly coincides with the dynamic nature of Greek religions and myths, in general, and their ability to freely move between different contextual presentations.

We have a diverse array of literature from the Classical through Hellenistic periods. For convenience sake, I have subdivided these literary examples into categories based upon genre. I begin with Drama, concentrating primarily on depictions of Europa in tragedy. I also make a few concluding remarks about comic references to her affair with Zeus which are few. My main source for tragedy will be Aeschylus, although I also discuss and Phrynicus and Euripides.

After drama, I consider references to the myth of Europa in lyric poetry. I analyze Bacchylides in rather extensive detail. His reference to the Europa myth shares certain important elements with Aeschylus' presentation, we shall see, as well with other literary and visual depictions of Europa that we have considered. Afterwards, I mention a few miscellaneous examples from other literary genres. I conclude with the

genre of history, for which Herodotus provides the only pertinent evidence. The time period under consideration here is roughly 480-200 BC.

I begin the section on drama with Phrynicus, considered by some ancient authors to have been a student of Thespis, and the real father of tragedy.²⁴⁹ Phrynicus is credited with important innovations to stage performance. These include adding an actor independent of the chorus, as well as creating the first female roles. Phrynicus continued to write later in his life and died in Sicily, which means his plays would have been known to Sicilian audiences.²⁵⁰ His role is important for understanding how visual depictions of Europa from Sicily and South Italy might have reflected actual dramatic performances from a very early date.

Phrynicus first gained fame through his depiction of the sack of Miletus. It was so painful for the audience to witness, according to Herodotus, that they scolded him afterwards for moving them to tears and reminding them of their recent misfortunes.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Futo-Kennedy (2017, 111), M. Wright (2016, 24-26), and J. Gregory (2008, 273) fill out the details of his life and works. Cf. Suidas *Lexicon*, sv. *Phrynichus*: "Son of Polyphradmon or of Minyrus; of Athens, writer of tragedy, a pupil of Thespis the first to introduce that art. He was victorious in the 67th Olympiad (510-507 BC). This Phrynichus was the first to bring a female character upon the stage, and invented the tetrameter. His tragedies are these nine, etc." P.W. Buckham (1827, 108): "The honour of introducing Tragedy in its later acceptation was reserved for a scholar of Thespis in 511 BC, Polyphradmon's son, Phrynichus; he dropped the light and ludicrous cast of the original drama and dismissing Bacchus and the Satyrs formed his plays from the more grave and elevated events recorded in mythology and history of his country."

²⁵⁰ Futo-Kennedy (2017, 111).

²⁵¹ Cf. *Hdt.* 6.21.2: "The Athenians made clear their deep grief for the taking of Miletus in many ways, but especially in this: when Phrynichus wrote a play entitled "The Fall of Miletus" and produced it, the whole theater fell to weeping; they fined Phrynichus a thousand drachmas for bringing to mind a calamity that affected them so personally, and forbade the performance of that play forever." Cf. *TrGF* 1.3 T2. Among modern scholars, Futo-Kennedy (2017, 111), M. Wright (2016, 25), and J. Gregory (2008, 273) discuss this important event in his biography.

Afterwards, he produced the *Phoenician Women*, another work inspired by recent conflicts with Persia. Its first *stasimon* we are told, repeated the foundation story of Thebes by Cadmus that had been told in Stesichorus' earlier version.²⁵² In his account, Phrynicus also apparently included reference to a snow-white colored bull as having conveyed Europa overseas.²⁵³ The snow-white colored bull is a feature we observed on vase paintings beginning in the Classical period. In sum, all we know about Phrynicus' play is that it included a white bull and reference to Europa through her brother Cadmus. The reference occurred in the context of a play about women vanquished by war, which related to the recent contemporary conflict with Persia. Admittedly, it is not a lot, but is still useful for allowing us to understand how Phrynicus' version resonated with still extant literary depictions.

For example, this theme of women vanquished by war is important for our next reference to the myth of Europa by the famous playwright Aeschylus. Aeschylus appropriates the myth as a kind of social indictment of war and conflict based on the suffering of women and children. His example is the first in a series of examples from the Classical period that illustrate Europa as a victim of cultural hostilities, and not as a heroic maiden of marriage, or goddess of fertility and the afterlife. This is predictable

²⁵² Page (*PMG* Fr. 195). Cf. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 670.

²⁵³ Gommers (2001, 44-45).

given the Europa myth's general malleability and the versatility and context-dependent nature of Greek religion.²⁵⁴

Scholars have noted similarities between Aeschylus' play the *Persians* and Phrynicus' *Phoenician Women*, including most superficially treatment of the same historical event of the Persian Wars.²⁵⁵ They have been identified as exceptional works because they depict recent events and not the distant remote mythological past. I mention this because it coincides with my impending reading of passages about Europa by Bacchylides and Herodotus from the same general period.

Grieving women repeatedly appear in Aeschylus. Europa takes center stage in a now lost play about her abduction and the death of one of her sons, Sarpedon. Only one fragment survives from this relatively obscure play, which was titled either *The Carians* or *Europa*. The fragment stands out, however, as one of the most telling and provocative passages about how the myth of Europa could be used in entirely different contexts.

It is believed to be part of the prologue, and features Europa speaking:

²⁵⁴ Eidinow, Kindt, and Osborne (2016, *Intro.*).

²⁵⁵ M. Wright (2016, 24-25).

ταύρω τε λειμών ξένια πάμβοτος πάρα.
 τοιόνδε μὲν Ζεὺς κλέμμα πρεσβύτου πατρὸς
 αὐτοῦ μένων ἄμοχθον ἤνυσεν λαβεῖν.
 τί οὖν; τὰ πολλὰ κείνα διὰ παύρων λέγω.
 γυνὴ θεῷ μειχθεῖσα παρθένου σέβας 5
 ἤμειψε, παίδων δ' ἐζύγη ξυνάονι.
 καὶ τρεῖς γοναῖσι τοὺς γυναικείους πόνους
 ἐκαρτέρησ' ἄρουρα, κούκ ἐμέμψατο
 τοῦ μὴ ἕνεγκεῖν σπέρμα γενναῖον πατρός.
 ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων δ' ἠρξάμην φυτευμάτων 10
 Μίνω τεκοῦσα

* * *

Ῥαδάμανθυν, ὅσπερ ἄφθιτος παίδων ἐμῶν.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀύγαῖς ταῖς ἐμαῖς ζόη σφ' ἔχει
 τὸ μὴ παρὸν δὲ τέρψιν οὐκ ἔχει φίλοις.
 τρίτον δέ, τοῦ νῦν φροντίσιν χειμάζομαι, 15
 Σαρπηδόν', αἰχμὴ μὴ ἕξ Ἄρεως καθίκετο.
 κλέος γὰρ ἦκειν Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα
 πάσης, ὑπερφέροντας ἀλκίμῳ σθένει,
 αὐχεῖν δὲ Τρώων ἄστῳ πορθήσειν βία.
 πρὸς οὗ δέδοικα μὴ τι μαργαίνων δόρει 20
 ἀνυπέρβατον δράση τε καὶ πάθη κακόν.
 λεπτὴ γὰρ ἐλπίς ἦδ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μένει
 μὴ πάντα παίσασ' ἐκχέω πρὸς ἔρματι

[My father unwittingly facilitated my abduction by welcoming Zeus' treacherous agent (?)] and <providing (?)> for the bull a rich grazing meadow as a guest-gift. Such was theft that Zeus succeeded in committing at the expense of my aged father, without moving from his place and without any toil. Well then, I shall tell the long tale of the past in a few words. I, a mortal woman, united with a god, gave up the honour of virginity, and was joined to a partner in parenthood; three times I endured a woman's pain in childbirth, and my fertile field did not complain nor refuse to bear to the end the noble seed of the Father. I began with the greatest of my offspring, giving birth to Minos...[missing line]

[Secondly I bore] Rhadamanthys, who is the immortal one among my children; but the life he has is not seen by eyes, and absence brings no joy to loved ones. The third child I bore was the one over whom I am now storm-tossed with anxiety, Sarpedon – anxiety lest an enemy spear-point may have pierced him. The story is that <spear-wielding men (?)> the best in all Greece, have come <to fertile Asia (?)>, men outstanding in martial strength, and boast that they will storm and sack the city of the Trojans. <My son has gone out there at the head of his troops to keep the hostile army of Argives out of Troy;> I fear that against them he may go berserk with his spear and both do and suffer the greatest possible harm. My hope is slender, and it rests on the razor’s edge whether I may strike a rock and lose everything.”²⁵⁶

Here, for the first time, we hear Europa’s words in a poetic context. It is a momentous event, and a significant first, certainly not something a vase painting could provide. Earlier literary depictions were in the third person, and not as intimate or connected to human emotions as hearing her own words imagined. In this portrayal, Europa is exasperated and regretful about every aspect of her union with Zeus. The fragment picks up with Zeus’ disregard for the pleas of her father (2-3), which has the effect of emphasizing the rapaciousness of Zeus in seizing her. Afterwards, she rhetorically asks why she should even dwell on her union with Zeus (4). She presents the copulation as forced, and complains about trading her “maidenly honor” (*parthenon sebas* 5) for the “womanly pains” (*gunaikeious ponous* 7) of childbirth. Everything seems negative here from her perspective.

²⁵⁶ Fr. 50 *Europe/Carians*. *TrGF* III (Fr 99). Sommerstein (tr., 2008). For more on the actual papyrus, cf. Weil, *Un Papyrus inedit de la bibliotheque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot* (1879), and Weil *Revue de philologie nouv*, IV (1880) 10-13, 145-150. There has been disagreement about whether the fragment is even by Aeschylus. Radt (*TrGF* III, 218) includes it. West (2000) attributes it to Aeschylus’ son Euphorion. Cousland and Hume (2009, 284, n.37).

One of the significant points scholars have made about these opening lines is that Zeus clearly sends the bull without moving himself. This derives from a reading of line 3, *autou menon*, which has been translated as “remaining where he was” in reference to Zeus himself. They suggest that Zeus stayed where he was while he sent the bull in his place. This is certainly the favored version in the translation I have provided by A.H. Sommerstein. A close reading of the Greek offers us an alternative, however. One also conceivably could translate the *autou menon* introducing line 3 as “waiting there” to refer us back to the meadow, the subject of line 1. This has the effect of emphasizing the meadow as Europa’s place of abduction. In this reading, significantly, Zeus is still the bull, and he does not send it in his place. It takes the *autou* as an adverbial genitive of place. To my knowledge, this is in keeping with rules of Greek grammar.²⁵⁷

The *paran* in line 1 is a problem, but I would take it as *parehn* meaning “there was near”. Thus, my reading of the opening lines would be: “There was a welcoming, rich meadow for the bull. Zeus, with such a great cry from my old father, waiting there untroubled, decided to take me.” This keeps the bull as Zeus.

The phrase used to describe Zeus deciding to take Europa (*ehnusēn labein* 3) is epic in origin. The verb *anuō* used in association with Zeus always emphasizes his irrevocable will, and reinforces Europa’s role here as a helpless victim. Europa’s

²⁵⁷ H.W. Smyth (1920, 1449): “Many adverbs of place are genitives in form (αὐτοῦ there, ποῦ where? οὐδαμοῦ nowhere).”

subjection to Zeus remains paramount here. When seen alongside other Aeschylean depictions of Zeus, such as the god as a merciless tyrant in *Prometheus Bound*, we notice a clear trend of portraying Zeus as a cruel, tyrannical king. This likely has something to do with the generally negative view of tyranny in Athens at this time and a parallel rise of democratic values.

While Europa laments her childbirth, she claims she did not “reject the plow” as she bore the “seed from a noble father” (8-9). This conception of her love affair with Zeus in agricultural terms might deliberately evoke the *hieros gamos*, and the original love affair of Ouranos and Gaia. These references also include subsequent mention of the children who shoot up like plants (*phuteumatohn* 10) as a result of the union.²⁵⁸

After reminiscing about her forced union with Zeus, Europa grieves for her children. She regrets that her two sons Minos and Rhadamanthys bring her no delight since they are in the underworld (10-13). Then, she cries out at the thought of her other son Sarpedon’s imminent demise at the hands of Greek troops in Troy (14-23). The death of Sarpedon was a key pivotal part of Europa’s myth across multiple genres, media, and periods. It takes up nearly half of this fragment, and likely was a main topic in this poem. It was narrated in the *Iliad* and Hesiod (MW Fr. 141), and illustrated by

²⁵⁸ For Zeus’ fertility in agricultural terms, Cook (iii.180, 451ff.). Cook refers to a tradition of Zeus impregnating the earth as rain. He references passages from Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides. K. Dowden (2006, 54-56) also discusses Zeus as the sky-god and storm-god who impregnates the earth with rain.

numerous vase paintings.²⁵⁹ I mentioned an Apulian vase painting of Europa in the previous chapter (*LIMC* I 221) thought by some scholars to be inspired by this same scene in which Europa laments the death of her son Sarpedon. There, she appears sitting in a *naiskos* wearing an elaborate costume as Death and Sleep convey her son's dead body to her.

As a grieving mother, fearful of the death of her son at Troy, Europa sounds remarkably similar to Thetis in Book 18 of the *Iliad*.²⁶⁰ There, Thetis mentions how she gave birth to a strong son, raised him, and then sent him away to Troy to meet his death, all the while coming across as one doomed by forced marriage and childbirth. The much later fourth century CE writer Quintus Smyrnaeus gives a similar account of Thetis' reaction to the actual death of her son Achilles.²⁶¹ In this version, Thetis' words sound remarkably similar to her words in the *Iliad*. They also sound very much like

²⁵⁹ Obviously, in the *Iliad*, we have an alternative genealogy for Sarpedon as a descendant of the line of Bellerophon (his grandson) [*Il.* 6.196-199]. By the Archaic period, the narratives of the two heroes become conflated. Cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* 3.1.1.

²⁶⁰ Cousland and Hume (2009, 284-285). Cf. *Hom. Il.* (18.54-64): "Ah, wretch that I am, most miserable in my splendid offspring!/A son indeed I bore, incomparable and mighty,/preeminent among heroes: like a sapling he shot up/and when, like a tree on an orchard knoll, I'd reared him,/I sent him out to Ilion in the curved ships, to fight/the Trojans; but now I'll never welcome him back/to his new home, he'll never return to the house of Peleus!/Now, even while he still lives and sees the sunlight/he has sorrow, nor can I be of help by going to him;/but go I will, so see my dear child, and learn what grief/has come upon him while he's still keeping out of the war." P. Green (tr., 2015).

²⁶¹ *Quint. Smyrn.* 3. 611-624, [Thetis]: "As for me, I'll go to Olympos and at the feet/of immortal Zeus I'll lie and loudly make lament./He gave me against my will to be the bride of a man,/a man whom pitiless age has quickly overtaken/and near him are the Fates that bring his appointed death./But my concern is less for him than for Achilles,/The mighty son in the house of Aiakos promised to me/By Zeus because I found the marriage so distasteful." A. James (tr., 2004).

Europa's words in the *Carians*, regarding the double burden of an unjust marriage and her son's imminent demise.

In short, Europa rejects nearly every aspect of her person here. She rejects her own heroism, and participates in rewriting her own tale as the victim of violence and aggression. She becomes a tragic hero in whom women could identify with in times of war and suffering, and in whom men could see their own mothers, wives, and daughters as suffering victims. Through her pain and frustration, Europa brings to life the figure of a sorrowful mother, wronged through no fault of her own, and in spite of her repeated loyalty and good-will.

One of the key ways to bring Europa to life for the ancient audience was to give her human emotions. People watching this performance would have been familiar with seeing the death of their fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons quite regularly, especially during peak years of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Europa is a vulnerable, life-like character, with whom women, and mothers especially, could empathize. Her final words about how she fears that her son might fall in blood, for example, would have resonated strongly with any women in the audience, and probably even had a therapeutic effect in terms of helping them cope with misfortune.²⁶²

²⁶² D. Roselli (2011, 158-194) devotes an entire chapter to the contentious issue of whether or not women would have been in the theater audience at Ancient Athens and elsewhere. He cites authors such as Aeschylus, Plato, Plutarch, Menander, and others. Although a debate has existed around this very issue since ancient times, Roselli concludes that women likely would have been in attendance at some theatrical presentations particularly given their close associations with various aspects of theater and religious rituals.

With men, it would have reminded them perhaps of how women suffered as a result of their own aggression, and possibly even made them feel less inclined to violence since they would have had insights into how women suffer. The effect of this stage performance was essentially therapeutic in helping them cope with the stresses of ongoing war and conflicts.

We have observed with visual media how artists sought to involve viewers of artwork in the scene through frontal addresses, added details, and references to everyday life. This same basic strategy of engaging the audience also applies to ancient authors. They sought to engage readers in novel ways, such as, for example, by enhancing the *pathos* and introspection of their characters. These emotional flourishes might be thought of as the literary equivalents of added glazes and perspective, intended to prolong and intensify the audience's attention.

In Aeschylus' now fragmentary play, we meet Europa, not at the moment when she is a young maiden and first encounters the bull, for that would be a happy, joyful moment, and this poem is a somber tragedy. Instead, we meet Europa much later in life, as a middle-aged mother about to witness her son's death. In a sense, we see Europa at her worst moment. This has the clear effect of allowing people grieving from war to identify with Europa. It also has the effect of uplifting the audience, since Europa was a legendary, heroic woman, and she experienced loss and suffering as they did.

Within Aeschylus, we also should look for parallels to assist us in understanding Europa's appearance in this fragment. For example, in the aforementioned *Prometheus Bound* play, where Zeus is depicted as a cruel, merciless tyrant, Io laments how she was forced to endure all kinds of torture as a result of Zeus' love for her.²⁶³ Much of what she says also can be applied to Europa. I will revisit the Io-Europa connection again later in this chapter, when I examine Moschus' *Europa*. There, Io's union with Zeus functions as an important parallel to Europa's own bovine love affair through her appearance on Europa's wedding basket.

Another important Aeschylean stage character to consider alongside Europa as a woman suffering through war is Atossa from the *Persians*. During her exchange with the Chorus beginning at line 159, Atossa details her fears as the wife of king Darius and mother of Xerxes. She knows her son's death is imminent and feels helpless to prevent it. As an eastern mother of one of the Greeks' main adversaries in war, Atossa shares at least a few things in common with Europa. Certainly, these parallels should enhance our understanding of Europa's character. I consider Atossa again later during my discussion of *Moschus' Europa*. As we shall see, Aeschylus' constructions of both Europa and Atossa influenced Moschus' portrayal of Europa.

Aeschylus' significantly adapts the Europa myth to the changing circumstances of his time. His time included, most notably as we have seen, wars against Persian

²⁶³ Cf. *Aesch. PV* 640-686.

tyranny from the East in which he himself had participated. His treatment of the Europa myth reflects Europa's status as a woman caught up in large-scale cultural conflicts. Europa gave a voice to all the mothers who had lost their sons to war as she had done, or perhaps their fathers and brothers. Even men could relate to her experience of loss, as a substitute for their own wives, daughters, and mothers. Europa becomes an outlet for people to express their own frustrations as the subjects of rulers and city-states fixed on self-destruction. Europa's personal frustrations include at the loss of childhood innocence through her forced marriage to Zeus. In that sense, her words can be interpreted as a kind of social indictment on the institution of marriage. Strange to think, this is the same Europa who elsewhere has functioned to endow human weddings with meaning and value. Perhaps that is part of the reason Aeschylus has put the words into her mouth, to make them even more forceful and relatable.

Aeschylus' life includes a few details worth mentioning.²⁶⁴ He was born in Athens, in the deme of Eleusis. He was active as a playwright throughout much of the fifth century BC, primarily in Athens, where he won the city *Dionysia*, but also Sicily, where he is known to have travelled for commissions such as the now lost *Women of Aetna*. His plays were popular in Sicily, including the *Persians*, which he staged to great acclaim. He fought against the Persians in their war with the Greeks, and was a

²⁶⁴ For more on the life of Aeschylus, important works include Lattimore (1953), Gilbert (1978), Lefkowitz (1981), Griffith (1983), Goldhill (1992), Sommerstein (2008), and Futo-Kennedy (2017).

participant in battles of Marathon, Salamis, and probably even Plataia.²⁶⁵ He relocated to Sicily later in life, and died near the city of Gela.²⁶⁶

Moving beyond Aeschylus, we have a couple of references to Europa by the tragedian Euripides. In a fragment from his *Cretans*, the chorus addresses Minos, Europa's son, as Phoenix' seed, but that is all.²⁶⁷ This continues her associations with the island of Crete. It also shows a preference for the preexisting tradition of Phoenix as her father rather than Agenor, and reflects more generally the tendency to refer to Europa through her male relatives, including her son Minos. One additional example from Euripides is his *Rhesus*, where Sarpedon is identified as the son of Europa.²⁶⁸ Again, we have Europa mentioned in the context of her male genealogy.

Finally, Europa appears in late fifth and fourth century BC comedies by Plato, Hermippos, and Eubolus.²⁶⁹ We do not know anything about these, but it is likely they involved her amorous adventures with the bull in some form. Certainly, the love affair between a woman and bull would have made suitable material for a comedy. This was made clear in my Chapter One analysis of the passage from the *Batrachomyomachia*

²⁶⁵ His renown as a soldier is well-attested to in antiquity. His epitaph makes reference to this primary role as a soldier, and not a poet: "Beneath this stone lies Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, the Athenian, who perished in the wheat-bearing land of Gela; of his noble prowess the grove of Marathon can speak, and the long-haired Persian knows it well."

²⁶⁶ Futo-Kennedy (2017, 111) has more on his life and death in Sicily. Cf. *Val. Max.* 7.2 and *Plin. HN* 10.3 for mention of his death near Gela, Sicily.

²⁶⁷ Austin (1968, 51, Num. 79) and Nauck (1889, Fr. 472) in which the Chorus addresses King Minos: "Son of Europa, daughter of Phoenix, and of great Zeus, who rules over Crete with its hundred cities," [Translation my own] Also, Cook (i. 648) and Reeves (2003, 34).

²⁶⁸ Cf. Coleridge (ed., 1915, 29) in which the Chorus asks: "Who will go to the son of Panthus? Who to Europa's son, captain of the Lycian band?" Reeves (2003, 34).

²⁶⁹ Gommers (2001, 50) and Reeves (2003, 34), who cites Kock *CAF* (i. 610, 230).

where Europa's overseas journey was invoked in the context of a satire about a mouse riding on a frog's back overseas.

Europa in Lyric Poetry and Miscellaneous Genres

The post-Persian war period in the Greek world was punctuated by the recurrent theme of east-west conflict in both the literary and visual arts. We just observed its effect on Aeschylus' portrayal of Europa. During this period, Greek literary and visual artists sought out novel, interesting ways to recast traditional myths in order to resonate with contemporary reality and violent conflicts. The exploits of Theseus, for example, during this period, served as metaphors for the triumph of the Athenians and Greeks over the barbarians. Perhaps this helps explain why a relative paucity of visual evidence remains from in and around Athens and Sparta during the Classical era, because Europa was identified with the eastern "other".

The earliest mention of Europa, in the *Iliad*, occurs in the context of the Trojan War, the original east-west conflict in the distant mythological past, in which Greece and all of its western allies, attacked Troy and its eastern allies. The Trojan War becomes a kind of metaphorical substitute for the Persian Wars during the Classical

period. At the same time, the notion of ongoing, perpetual east-west conflict becomes deeply embedded in the collective Greek psyche.²⁷⁰

The following literary passages are taken from diverse authors who write about Europa's connections to places all around the Mediterranean. These places include Crete, where Europa makes her final landing, as well as Thrace and Boeotia. Authors discussed here were active most notably in South Italy and Alexandria, Egypt. This widespread geographical distribution of the Europa myth, both in relation to where certain authors were active, and places referred to by the myth itself, helps explain the myth's remarkable resilience and popularity.

Our next author, Bacchylides, the nephew of the poet Simonides, was born on the Aegean island of Keos.²⁷¹ He traveled to Athens, the Peloponnese, South Italy, and several other places in his lifetime, before settling down at Syracuse on the island of Sicily. He continued to write under the tyrant Hieron I, and eventually died there.

We know that Bacchylides had his own particular version of the myth of Europa (as the scholia to *Iliad* 12.292 makes clear). This now lost version shared in common certain notable attributes with Hesiod's version, which the *Iliadic scholia* also cites.

²⁷⁰ Greek attitudes to the Persians were complex. On the one hand, they portrayed Persians as the lovers of kings, luxurious, and effeminate, and yet on the other hand, they were quick to appropriate various aspects of Persian culture. Bridges et. al. (ed., 2007, i.e. 36-37) has more on the ambivalence of Greek attitudes to Persia following the Persian Wars. M. Miller (1997, 1).

²⁷¹ For more on the life of Bacchylides, as well as translations of and notes to his works, Jebb (1905), Fagles (1961), A.P. Burnett (1985), Campbell (1992), Mähler (2004), and Herwig (2004). For biographical elements of his life among ancient authors, cf. *Plut. de exil.* 14.605c, *Strab* x 486, and *Ath.* 10, 456 F.

These include the same basic storyline of Europa playing in the meadow with nymphs when Zeus appears as a bull, breaths a crocus from his mouth, deceives her, and then carries her overseas to Crete, where she gives birth to Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys. We should keep in mind that same basic storyline now as we read this reference to Europa by Bacchylides. To my knowledge, nobody has ever attempted such a reading of this well-known, popular poem.

The reference to Europa occurs during Bacchylides' famous *Ode 17* celebrating the exploits of Theseus. The scene is, in general, one of conflict between Theseus and Minos, that involves a woman being victimized. It shares these important features in common with the Aeschylus' fragment from before, as well as with Herodotus' account of the Europa myth, which we shall consider in a short while.

In response to Minos' provocative attempt to violate Eriboea, Theseus calls out:

Διὸς νιῆ φερτάτου,
ὄσιον οὐκέτι τεᾶν
ἔσω κυβερνᾶς φρενῶν
θυμόν: ἴσχε μεγαλοῦχον ἦρως βίαν.
ὅ τι μὲν ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα παγκρατῆς
ἄμμι κατένευσε καὶ Δίκας ῥέπει τά-
λαντον, πεπρωμένα
αἴσαν ἐκπλήσομεν, ὅταν
ἔλθῃ: σὺ δὲ βαρεῖαν κάτε-
χε μῆτιν. εἰ καὶ σε κεδνὰ
τέκεν λέχει Διὸς ὑπὸ κρόταφον Ἴδας
μιγεῖσα Φοίνικος ἔρα-
τώνυμος κόρα βροτῶν
φέρτατον, ἀλλὰ καμὲ
Πιτθέος θυγάτηρ ἀφνεοῦ
πλαθεῖσα ποντίῳ τέκεν

Ποσειδᾶνι, χρύσειον
τέροι δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι
κάλυμμα Νηρηΐδες.

“Son of greatest Zeus, the spirit you guide in your heart is no longer pious. Hero, restrain your overbearing force. Whatever the all-powerful fate of the gods has granted for us, and however the scale of Justice inclines, we shall fulfill our appointed destiny when it comes. As for you, hold back from your oppressive scheme. *It may be that the dear lovely-named daughter of Phoenix went to the bed of Zeus beneath the brow of Ida and bore you, greatest of mortals* [emphasis added], but I too was borne by the daughter of rich Pittheus, who coupled with the sea-god Poseidon, and the violet-haired Nereids gave her a golden veil.”

(*Bacchyl.* 17.20-38)²⁷²

Although the reference is very brief and only in passing, we still can extract a fair amount of information from it and the surrounding context. We can supplement this then with our readings of Aeschylus and Herodotus to produce a rather comprehensive explanation.²⁷³

First, this passage states the alternative tradition of Phoenix as Europa’s father rather than Agenor. Second, it makes mention of Mt. Ida as the place where the union of Zeus and Europa takes place, which, in all likelihood, puts the event in Crete, the birthplace of Zeus. There is, however, interestingly, a well-known second Mt. Ida, located in modern day Turkey. It is, not by coincidence, I would argue, the place where

²⁷² Translation Svarlien (tr., 1991).

²⁷³ Important discussion and analysis of this Ode in M. Beaulieu (2017, 69-79), M. Pavlou (2012, 510-539), Fearn (2007, 242-244), van Oeveren (1999, 31-42), D. Schmidt (1990, 18– 31), R. Scodel (1984, 137–143), Segal (1979, 22-37), and J. Stern (1967, 40-47).

the union of Zeus and Hera takes place in the *Iliad*, and Aphrodite and Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.²⁷⁴ Mt. Ida, in either location, it appears, is a place where the famous love affairs of gods and goddesses take place.

Afterwards, Theseus boasts that he too was born of a goddess, and that his mother had a divine golden veil given to her by the Nereids. This mention of the wedding gift likely is meant to recall and even challenge the wedding gift of the golden necklace given to Europa by Zeus. It was mentioned in the fragment of Hesiod, and reportedly also contained by Bacchylides in his version.

This passage takes on enhanced significance when we consider it further with respect to the larger poem, as well as what we know about Bacchylides' version of the Europa myth. A short while later, for example, when Theseus challenges Minos to prove his greatness, Minos calls on Zeus his father through reference to Europa: "Father Zeus, great in strength, hear me! If indeed the white-armed Phoenician girl bore me to you, now send forth from the sky a fire-haired lightning bolt, a conspicuous sign."²⁷⁵

This back-and-forth exchange between Theseus and Minos is reminiscent of a Homeric duel on some level.²⁷⁶ Next, Minos throws a ring into the sea and challenges Theseus to retrieve it if he is indeed the son of Poseidon. Theseus jumps into the sea, and miraculously returns with the ring a short while later.

²⁷⁴ Cf. *Hom. Il.* (14.158-159), and *Hom. Hymn Aph.* (54).

²⁷⁵ Cf. *Bacchyl.* 17.53-58.

²⁷⁶ G.W. Peiper (1972, 395).

This particular ode clearly is meant to honor Theseus. The end, which I have not mentioned, is attached as a kind of victory paean for the young hero.²⁷⁷ The poem accomplishes Theseus' heroic glorification at the expense of Minos, with whom he is involved in conflict. On Crete, Theseus will again prove victorious against Minos, through Ariadne's assistance against the Minotaur. In that sense, his victory here foreshadows that later, more important victory.

We should remain cautious in how we interpret this passage by Bacchylides. It is impossible for us to know what the ancient audience was thinking. One prudent step might be to read this passage of Theseus' victory over Minos alongside other literary and visual portrayals of the popular hero. Collectively, they indicate that Theseus' victory in this poem is somehow synonymous with Athenian, or even Greek, victory over the Persians, an idea suggested before.²⁷⁸ In this basic scheme, Theseus represents Athens, and Minos the Phoenicians, who themselves were assimilated to Persians, we have seen, in the dramas of Aeschylus. In other words, the duel of Theseus and Minos correlates to Greco-Persian conflict, and by extension, to the Trojan War.

²⁷⁷ Cf. *Bacchyl.* 17.120-130: "Oh, from what thoughts did he stop the war-lord of Knossos, when he emerged unwetted from the sea, a marvel to all, and the gifts of the gods shone on his body. The splendid-throned maidens cried out with new-founded joy, and the sea resounded. Nearby the young people sang a paean with lovely voices. God of Delos, may the choruses of the Ceans warm your heart, and may you grant god-sent noble fortune."

²⁷⁸ M. Pavlou (2012, 510-539) has much to say about the date, structure, and interpretation of the poem as intrinsically Athenian. She references multiple scholars who view it from a pro-Athenian perspective (2012, 512, n. 10), while also identifying "the avowed and undeniable political overtones of the poem (with regard to Athenian dominion over the Aegean)," (2012, 513).

Since the Athenians had become kings of the Mediterranean after the Persian Wars, and possessed the strongest navy, they were thought of by themselves, at times, and others, as in control of the marine element. The Athenian hero Theseus, as the son of Poseidon, is the most poignant expression of their mastery over the sea. We observe this same basic line of pro-Athenian thought at work in Bacchylides' poem.

The language and imagery Bacchylides uses to describe Theseus swimming down to retrieve the ring, for example, details an elaborate procession of dolphins, Nereids, and sea-creatures in accompaniment.²⁷⁹ This procession likely calls to mind visual portrayals of Europa's own sea voyage to Crete, which also included an entourage of marine life as the visual evidence has repeatedly shown. Considering Bacchylides had his own version of the Europa myth that included her abduction and overseas journey to Crete, he plausibly alludes to that overseas voyage here through his selection of language and imagery.²⁸⁰ If so, he engages in a kind of revision of his own work, or, at least, of Europa's traditional marriage procession assuming this Ode dates later.

²⁷⁹ Cf. *Bacchyl.* 17.97-119: "But sea-dwelling dolphins swiftly carried great Theseus to the home of his father, lord of horses; and he came to the hall of the gods. There he saw the glorious daughters of prosperous Nereus, and was afraid; for brightness shone like fire from their splendid limbs, and ribbons woven with gold whirled around their hair. They were delighting their hearts in a dance, with flowing feet. And he saw in that lovely dwelling the dear wife of his father, holy, ox-eyed Amphitrite. She threw a purple cloak around him and placed on his curly hair a perfect wreath, dark with roses, which once deceptive Aphrodite had given her at her marriage. Nothing that the gods will is unbelievable to sensible men. Theseus appeared beside the ship with its slender stern."

²⁸⁰ This need not imply that the Europa poem necessarily date before *Ode 17* either.

The net effect of this on the interpretive level is to highlight that Theseus and the Athenians have replaced Crete and Minos as new power players in the Mediterranean. Bacchylides appropriates aspects of Europa's overseas journey to Crete in the context of this overseas journey to Crete by Theseus in order to glorify the Athenians as new rulers of the sea and show that the dolphins, Nereids, and marine element now are theirs to use and tame. Unfortunately, we do not possess Bacchylides' full account of the Europa myth, or likely we would observe other parallels. It is clear that he invokes the Europa myth invoked in a new genre, lyric poetry, and in an overtly political context.

We find additional mention of the Europa myth via the Greek poetess Praxilla, a contemporary of Bacchylides.²⁸¹ She was active in the city of Sicyon, which dedicated a treasury at Delphi with a depiction in a metope of Europa on the bull. Sicyon's first king, moreover, Europs, whom I mentioned in my earlier discussion of the treasury, was a son of Europa according to one tradition. We know the Europa myth also was popular at nearby Corinth, where Eumelos, for example, produced an epic about her.

Pausanias is our source for Praxilla's treatment of the Europa myth. He claims that "Praxilla represents Carneüs as the son of Europa, Apollo and Leto being his nurses."²⁸² We cannot be certain this is the same Europa as the famous one from

²⁸¹ Gommers (2001, 52). J. Snyder (2017, 54-59), Plant (2004, Ch. 5), and Rayor (1991, 185) discuss Praxilla's dates, relationship to Sicyon, and works, including drinking songs, hymns, and dithyrambs.

²⁸² Cf. *Paus.* 3.13.3. J. Snyder (2017, 58).

Phoenicia. We should assume it is, however, since Pausanias gives us no reason to think otherwise, and he likely would have, based on his meticulous attention to genealogy. If it is the same woman, it shows Europa's importance in the deep Peloponnese, a place we have not observed her myth before (except for Olympia). It also shows her in association with Leto and Apollo, which is a first, and indicative of the kinds of regional variation that can occur with the myth of Europa.

In a fragment from his epic *Thebaid*, Antimachos of Colophon mentions another version of the Europa myth. Colophon is situated on the western shores of Turkey, and was founded by Cretans.²⁸³ This might help explain why the Europa myth would be of special interest there. According to Gommers, Antimachos' version of the Europa myth included mention of a cave in Boeotia where Zeus apparently hid her after her abduction.²⁸⁴ This, of course, introduces an entirely different tradition of Europa as not having gone to Crete, at least not right away, after her abduction. It might function to explain how she became so popular in central Greece, including in Boeotia at Lebadeia, where she was assimilated to Demeter, and worshipped as the mother of Trophonius in an underground cavern.

²⁸³ Cf. *Paus.* 7.3.1: "The people of Colophon suppose that the sanctuary at Clarus, and the oracle, were founded in the remotest antiquity. They assert that while the Carians still held the land, the first Greeks to arrive were Cretans under Rhacius, who was followed by a great crowd also; these occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but the greater part of the country continued in the possession of the Carians."

²⁸⁴ Gommers (2001, 52).

In addition, we have a version of the Europa myth in which she went to Thrace after her abduction given by the middle fourth century Athenian orator Hegesippos.²⁸⁵ His version also reflects an urge to situate Europa in mainland Greece. We know from visual media that she was popular throughout Greece, including at its holiest sites.

From authors living in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, during the later Hellenistic period, we have multiple references to Europa. The famous mythographer Apollonius of Rhodes tells how Zeus gave the bronze giant Talos to Europa as a wedding gift to be a guard over the island of Crete.²⁸⁶ This story reinforces Europa's connections to Crete, as well as the theme of an important wedding gift. It also is, significantly, the only story we have even remotely dealing with Europa's life on Crete. Usually, Crete is just mentioned as the place where she lands and gives birth to three sons.²⁸⁷

Europa's Cretan connections also are a topic for Theophrastus, the successor to Aristotle in the Peripatetic school at Athens. He writes of a plane tree on a river bank there that never loses its leaves.²⁸⁸ He claims it is the very tree under which Zeus slept

²⁸⁵ Gommers (2001, 52).

²⁸⁶ Cf. *Ap. Rhod. Argona.* 4.1638-1650: "And Talos, the man of bronze, as he broke off rocks from the hard cliff, stayed them from fastening hawsers to the shore, when they came to the roadstead of Dicte's haven. He was of the stock of bronze, of the men sprung from ash-trees, the last left among the sons of the gods; and the son of Cronos gave him to Europa to be the warder of Crete and to stride round the island thrice a day with his feet of bronze. Now in all the rest of his body and limbs was he fashioned of bronze and invulnerable; but beneath the sinew by his ankle was a blood-red vein; and this, with its issues of life and death, was covered by a thin skin." R. C. Seaton (tr., 2012). Cf. *Eust. ad Hom.Od.* 20.302. Cook (i.719).

²⁸⁷ *Apoll. Biblio.* 2.5.7 also refers to the Cretan bull captured by Heracles as the same one that ferried Europa across the sea to Crete. Cf. *Paus.* i. 27.9, v. 10.

²⁸⁸ Gommers (2001, 50). Reeves (2003, 35). Cf. *Theophr. Hist. pl.* 1.9.5: "It is said that in Crete in the district of Gortyna there is a plane tree near a certain spring which does not lose its leaves; (indeed the story is that it was

with Europa. This likely helps explain the presence of Europa with trees on so many Cretan coins we examined, and reinforces her continued close associations with the earth and fertility. Antigonos of Karystos specifies this tree is beside the stream where Europa bathed after her union with Zeus. He claims that a person sitting under it in the rain always remains dry.²⁸⁹

Other prominent scholars in Alexandria take up the Europa myth in some way. Callimachus of Cyrene in Libya, for example, has two references to Europa bathing after her union with Zeus, including in a stream in Sicily.²⁹⁰ Europa's regional popularity in Sicily by this time is incontestable, and this is likely part of the reason why. Callimachus also identifies her as the mother of Minos. Another well-known Hellenistic literary figure, Eratosthenes, also originally from Cyrene, writes that the bull that ferried Europa to Crete was the same bull later killed by Heracles.²⁹¹ This corresponds to the account given by Akousilaos that is echoed by Apollodorus. Eratosthenes adds the same bull afterwards was put in the sky as a constellation along with a dog Europa gave as a gift to her son Minos which became the constellation *Canis*.²⁹² Zenodotus, of Ephesus, who succeeds him as head of the Library, also has

under this tree that Zeus lay with Europa), while all the other plants in the neighborhood shed their leaves." [A. Hort, tr., 1916].

²⁸⁹ Gommers (2001, 50).

²⁹⁰ Reeves (2003, 35) mentions these two fragments by Callimachus: "In a fragment, he states that after her union with the god, Europa washed herself by a small stream. In another fragment, one learns that Europa was bathed in warm waters by the daughters of Kokalos." Cf. *Callim. Fr.* 407, 132-35 (Pfeiffer), and *Callim. Aet. Fr.* 43.48f. (Pfeiffer).

²⁹¹ Cf. *Apollod. Biblio.* 2.5.7.

²⁹² Gommers (2001, 46).

Europa as Minos' mother. Lycophron of Chalcis mentions Europa as the mother of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys.²⁹³ Finally, the plausible fourth century BC author Palaephatus, famous for his work on rationalizing Greek myths, claims that Tauros was the name of a king on Crete who went to war with Tyre in Phoenicia. Tauros abducted Europa from Phoenicia, and for that reason people mistakenly told of how a bull (*tauros*) had abducted her.²⁹⁴ This seems to coincide most closely with the rationalizing story told by Herodotus which we shall examine next.

Europa in Herodotus

In the genre of history, Herodotus also attempts to rationalize the myth of Europa. In the beginning of his *Histories*, he refers to her abduction as an actual historical event eventually leading to the outbreak of east-west hostilities in the Persian wars. Before I introduce that passage, however, I should make a few observations about the life and writings of Herodotus.²⁹⁵

During the course of his life, Herodotus travelled extensively. He went to Babylon, Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Greece, and South Italy, among several other places.

²⁹³ Gommers (2001, 46).

²⁹⁴ Reeves (2003, 22-23) and Gommers (2001, 46). In explaining authors who rationalized the myth, Gommers (2001, 56) references Syrian records from the ninth century BC showing bull-headed ships used by Phoenicians.

²⁹⁵ Holland (2014), Blanco (2013), Stein (2013), Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (eds., 2007), and Grene (1987) all have texts, translations, notes, and commentaries, including useful biographical information about Herodotus. Herodotus' own writings are our primary source for the events of his life. Cf. *Suidas sv. Herodotus*. Among ancient authors, Plutarch and Eusebius.

Herodotus would have encountered the Europa myth in nearly all of these places. He would have been intimately familiar with its many different versions, and possibly even related to it on a personal level given his own propensity for traveling. It is significant that Herodotus gives the myth such prominence early in his work. Perhaps part of the reason why is he knew most people would be familiar with the myth, and that by reworking it, he could maximize his audience.

Herodotus presents the myth of Europa at the very beginning of the *Histories* to help explain the outbreak of hostilities in the Persian War.²⁹⁶ In leading up to this passage, he proceeds systematically, first clarifying his goal to preserve for posterity memory of the Greeks' victory against the Persians. Afterwards, he professes to give the record of the Persians, who claim that the Phoenicians started the quarrel between east and west. This account indicates that, as great seafarers and merchants, the Phoenicians travelled extensively throughout the Mediterranean. They eventually made landfall at Argos in Greece, where they abducted Io, and took her to Egypt. "This, although the Greeks tell a different version of the story, is the Persians' account of how Io came to end up in Egypt – the first of many crimes," Herodotus explains.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (eds., 2007, 1, 7, 72ff.) discuss the proem in extensive detail, including this "first digression" dealing with "the so-called Persian (1-4) and Phoenician (5) accounts of the mythical origins of the conflict between Asia and Europe," (73).

²⁹⁷ Holland (tr., 2014). Herodotus (1.5) gives the Phoenician version a few paragraphs later: "Regarding, Io, however, the Phoenicians do tell a rather different story. Far from bringing her to Egypt by force, they say, there was no need, for she had been sleeping with the ship's captain – and when she found out that she was pregnant, so mortified was she at the thought of having to face her parents that she opted to sail off with the Phoenicians rather than suffer shame of exposure."

As a result of this abduction of Io, Cretan Greeks retaliated by abducting Europa (1.2): “Next, they say, same the reprisal: some Greeks docked at the Phoenician city of Tyre, and abducted the king’s daughter, Europa. It is likely – although the Persians themselves are not certain as to their identity – that those pirates were Cretan.”

Herodotus goes on to explain how the Greeks also abducted Medea afterwards as a second, unprovoked offense (1.2).²⁹⁸ A generation or so later, he adds, Paris abducted Helen, and thus began the Trojan War (1.3). Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen are the four key mythological women whose stories involve acts of aggression between east and west, at least according to the Persians. It is interesting how Herodotus repeatedly refers to the conflicting accounts of Greeks, Persians, and Phoenicians. Their disagreement over the truth about what really happened reflects their conflict on a broader level, and shows appropriation of the myth of Europa into the realm of cultural conflict and international politics. It is quite possible that Herodotus himself is inventing these supposed Persian and Phoenician sources, he mentions.²⁹⁹ There certainly appears to be a hint of irony in his repeatedly referring to them.

In concluding his Persian account of the outbreak of hostilities between east and west, Herodotus continues (1.4): “Granted, the Persians acknowledge, stealing women

²⁹⁸ Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (eds., 2007, 74) discuss these passages in detail. They draw attention to the different conflicting accounts in this process of retribution and revenge, emphasizing rationalization of the myths through the transfer of blame from gods to human beings: “All the elements in this series of events are drawn from Greek mythology; but whereas in the original versions of the myths the responsibility ultimately rests with the gods, this version is rationalized and politicized.”

²⁹⁹ Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (eds., 2007, 74).

is never acceptable behavior; but really, they ask, what is the point, once a woman has been stolen, in kicking up a fuss about it, and pursuing some ridiculous vendetta, when every sensible man knows the best policy is to affect an utter lack of concern? It is clear enough, after all, that women are never abducted unless they are open to the idea of it in the first place." By these words, the abduction of Europa appears to be both an act of violence and free-will.

I do not think it is coincidental that our two fullest sources for the Europa myth during the Classical period both mention Europa in the context of east-west hostilities. Aeschylus presents Europa as the grieving mother of Sarpedon at the Trojan War, which he in turn uses to allude to the contemporary war with Persia. If we are to believe Herodotus' report of the Persians, Europa's abduction is one event in a long chain of events of tit-for-tat violence between East and West. This identification of Europa with the east possibly helps explain similarities between Europa and Atossa, the mother of Xerxes from Aeschylus' play the *Persians*. It likely also has some bearing on Bacchylides' *Ode 17*, in which Theseus' struggle with Minos, serve as another instance of the Europa myth's re-appropriation into a context of intercultural conflict.

The myth of Europa's function in Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Bacchylides is inextricably tied to the time periods in which they were active. The Greeks had not just experienced a few Persian invasions, but they had been involved in conflict against the Persians in Ionia from 530 BC or so onwards. In addition to the two Persian invasions of

Greece, there were also numerous land and naval battles both before and after 480 BC, including in the Peloponnesian Wars against Sparta. There was simultaneously an active theater in the west involving war against the Carthaginians, Phoenician descendants. That war culminated in a Greek victory at Himera in 480, perhaps on the very same day as victory in the Battle of Salamis against the Persians.³⁰⁰ The Greek attitudes to Persians was much more complex than mere enmity, however, as they also had a kind of love affair with various accoutrements of the Persian lifestyle.³⁰¹

I should make a few concluding remarks about the numerous foregoing literary examples. They have traversed a wide range of genres, both prose and poetry. Authors who wrote about Europa had travelled extensively during their lifetimes, including to places where the Europa myth would have been well-received such as South Italy and Alexandria. We have seen Europa as a mother grieving for one son on the tragic stage, and through the conflicts of another son (Minos), as a renowned bride of Zeus. We have observed her magical union with Zeus as the source of miraculous fertility, and seen her magical overseas procession re-appropriated and applied to Theseus. We have noticed different sons for her, and encountered multiple references to her father and brother. In fact, Europa is more often than not referred to through her male relatives.

³⁰⁰ Cf. *Hdt.* 7.166.

³⁰¹ Miller (1997, 1) remarks that Athenian attitudes to Persians were more complex than hatred and animosity: "the claims of contempt are disproved by the evidence of archaeology, epigraphy, iconography, and literature, all of which reveal some facet of Athenian receptivity to Achaemenid Persian culture."

All of this evidence collectively indicates the Europa myth was just as diverse and malleable among literary authors as visual artists. The myth could be taken and applied to so many different life situations. It could be used in relation to hostilities between east and west, including Greeks and Persians, as well as with the Trojan War, voyage of the Argonauts, and the founding of Thebes, among many other important mythological episodes, just as in visual media it could be applied to a multitude of presentations and contexts.

This adaptability was key to the network's survival. Yet, I need to emphasize that the myth of Europa was not so malleable that it could be applied to any and every life situation. As we have seen, it was used especially in association with weddings, funerals, and cultural interactions. These relate to my primary arguments for Europa as a heroine of fertility and the afterlife, and as a symbol of east-west alliance.

Even for the ancients, a tension existed as to whether Europa was a willing victim or not, and hence how much consent there was in that east-west alliance. Regardless of her willingness, she still was a symbol of an east-west unity since she successfully assimilated to her new culture and gave birth to three future heroes who went on to exercise authority over a diverse range of peoples, and even in the underworld. Europa was still the embodiment of unity, even amidst all the apparent

plurality and divisions.³⁰² Even as an abducted maiden and grieving mother, Europa still makes that overseas journey and becomes a famous mother of heroes, and hence remains a vital force for uniting east and west.

Europa in Moschus

Moschus' 166-line *Europa* is our most detailed account of the Europa myth. It begins with morning on her final day as a maiden. It carries us through her preliminary encounter with Zeus, including her overseas journey to Crete, and her subsequent giving birth to three sons. It ends at that point, without going into the lugubrious details of her as a mother grieving for her dead son Sarpedon. In that sense, it presents a refreshing change.

This is a much happier work, overall, compared to Aeschylus' snapshot of Europa at the Trojan War. This is a younger, more jovial, more curious, and certainly more willing Europa, clever, confident, and ready to meet what lies before her. She is an independent agent with volition and free will. Moschus' poem *Europa* is the literary equivalent, I would argue, of South Italian vase painting. His poetic scenes are full of sparkling vivacity and dazzling appeal, carefully designed to beguile and seduce readers into believing that the spectacle of Zeus' love for Europa is unfolding before

³⁰² Versnel (2011,6-7) who considers the "potentially chaotic" nature of Greek religion: "If indeed a potential chaos prevailed, Greeks had their own ways of coping with it. They had an extensive range of divine images in store, and boasted an uncommon capacity of evoking different identities of a god in rapidly shifting perspectives, generating (seemingly) incompatible statements to the distress of the modern observer."

their very eyes. To that extent, Moschus uses the myth in order to open up a channel of communication between the human and divine much as South Italian vase paintings do.

We sleep and dream with Europa in the beginning of the poem, and then wake up with her on her final day as a maiden. We venture out with her and her friends to the lush meadow, where, next, we watch the beautiful, shining, human-like bull appear. We stare in disbelief as Europa mounts the bull's back, and then listen in on her talking to the bull during their magical journey overseas. We hear Zeus' voice in response, then, identify himself to Europa as the king of gods, and prophesy her future greatness. Finally, we land with the pair on Crete, and watch them lay down to consummate their union.

All we have had up until this point have been passing references, allusions, fragments, and anecdotes. Finally, we are able to see the Europa myth as a continuous narrative, and Europa herself as an active character we can relate to and understand. Other authors also had extended versions of the Europa myth similar to this one, but unfortunately they have been lost in the passage of time.

One prominent trend among scholars of Moschus' poem has been to look for prototypes in Archaic Greek epic. Faulkner (2008) lists a preponderance of textual and thematic parallels between the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and Moschus' *Europa*.³⁰³

³⁰³ Faulkner (2008, i.e. 51, 75-76, *Index Locorum*).

Gutzwiller (1981) also cites multiple parallels between Moschus' *Europa*, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, and the *Iliad* Book 14. She identifies Moschus' poem as the "witty elaboration" of Homeric and Hesiodic unions of gods and mortals, while Fantuzzi-Hunter (2002) emphasizes the principle influence of Hesiod fragment MW 140 on Moschus' poem.³⁰⁴

The relationship between Moschus' poem and Archaic Greek epic has been well-established. Less clear is how we are supposed to interpret these various connections and allusions. This touches on the larger scholarly debate of what is the *epyllion* genre. Bierl identifies the *Homeric Hymns* as a form of proto-*epyllion*, indicating a very strong relationship with Moschus' *Europa*.³⁰⁵ Graham Zanker persuasively argues Hellenistic poets like Moschus took up cues from their Hellenic predecessors and developed new modes of viewing traditional poetic material.³⁰⁶ They altered Greek epic diction, themes, and imagery to create unique works of art firmly entrenched in their own place and time. In elaborating these connections between Homeric and Hesiodic epic and Moschus' poem, Baumbach points to Crump's observation that "Greek *epyllion* is the outcome of a tradition that took rise in the Homeric Hymns."³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Gutzwiller (1981, 63-75) and Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, 215)

³⁰⁵ Baumbach and Bär (eds., 2012, 113-115). Merriam (2001, 1-5), also traces problems confronted by scholars attempting to define the *epyllion* genre. He references Allen, Perotta, Crump, and other scholars who have contributed to the ongoing scholarly debate about what exactly constitutes an *epyllion*. Gutzwiller (1981, 4) claims epic and *epyllion* are the same genre.

³⁰⁶ Zanker (2004, 6-7).

³⁰⁷ Baumbach and Bar (eds., 2012, 145).

While discussing numerous similarities between Moschus' *Europa* and Greek Archaic epic, scholars also have emphasized divine seduction scenes. I mentioned this already in my Chapter One analysis of the *apate Dios* from Book 14 of the *Iliad*. Gutzwiller, for example, explains how Moschus reproduces the old divine seduction tale from Homer and Hesiod.³⁰⁸ Richard Hunter reinforces this fundamental observation, but takes it a step further. He points out that divine seduction scenes are actually an ancient Near Eastern motif, which is backed up by early literary evidence from the region.³⁰⁹

One of my primary arguments in this section is that Moschus inherits and recreates the divine love affair found in Archaic Greek epic. Based on a preponderance of shared similarities, it is likely the same basic type of scene also influenced Hesiod's and Bacchylides' productions of the myth of Europa. This illustrates how divine seduction scenes, like the myth of Europa, are translatable across genres and times periods. It might even suggest that the notion of genre itself as we conceive of it is problematic and in need of serious refinement, with more blurring around the boundaries and less rigorous lines of demarcation. This is something Bierl, for example,

³⁰⁸ Gutzwiller (1981, 6, 63).

³⁰⁹ In Baumbach and Bär (eds., 2012, 94). For more on Near Eastern divine seduction scenes, cf. Pritchard (1969).

appears to indicate.³¹⁰ In the same work, S. Tilg echoes this argument by declaring a neat definition of the *epyllion* genre is impossible.³¹¹

I expand on the findings of previous scholars who claim Moschus' *Europa* problematizes traditional definitions of the *epyllion* genre. Like Petrovic, I view this poem as actively recreating a divine experience for the purpose of giving thanks and bestowing meaning on real-life human weddings.³¹² I read it as a kind of religious hymn, and not just a light-hearted unserious attempt at epic with marginalized, unheroic characters as some scholars have done.³¹³ My reading is conducive with all the visual and literary material up until this point which repeatedly has emphasized Europa as an important heroic founding figure. This is not to suggest that Moschus' poem is not light, fun, or playful – it can be both at once – only that failing to recognize its more serious aspects, deprives us of understanding its complexities.

I begin this section by making a few introductory remarks about Moschus' style, time period, and the place in which he lived and wrote, Syracuse. Afterwards, I proceed to examine the poem scene by scene, keeping in mind key important concepts, like *ekphrasis*, *epiphany*, *enargeia*, metatheater, and other methods by which Moschus strives to bring this scene of Europa to life before the reader's eyes. This relates to my primary

³¹⁰ In Baumbach and Bar (eds., 2012, 133-135).

³¹¹ Baumbach and Bar (eds., 2012, 29-30). Tilg also notes that although the *Homeric Hymns* are excluded from the *epyllion* genre, they bear very strong similarities.

³¹² Petrovic in Baumbach and Bar (eds., 2012, 160). Petrovic persuasively argues that by narrating the epic, Moschus activates and brings to the present Zeus' and Europa's divine marriage.

³¹³ Merriam (2001, 5-6).

argument about how these works of art and literature engage their audiences across multiple periods and genres, which, in turn, helps explain how the myth of Europa continued to evolve and change with the changing times and circumstances.

Living in Syracuse in the middle to late second century BC, Moschus would have grown up in a diverse cultural melting pot under Roman governance. There were, and had been for a long time, communities with mixed populations on the island, as well as on the nearby Italian mainland, cohabiting and competing for the area's rich mineral and agricultural resources. These people were the descendants of Mycenaeans, Cretans, Phoenicians, Greeks, Etruscans, Carthaginians, North Africans, and others, all familiar with the vital need for cooperation and interaction. Greek culture, however, was by this time dominant, and Syracuse itself was a model of Greek urban culture for Rome.

Not much is known about the life of Moschus.³¹⁴ He is regarded as an important author of works of bucolic poetry. He is reported to have been a pupil of Aristarchus of Samothrace in Alexandria, Egypt. Aside from the Europa poem, a shorter poem with reference to Europa also has been attributed to Moschus.³¹⁵ It presents a kind of jest or threat by Eros to Zeus to make the harvest full or he will yoke the bull of Europa and

³¹⁴ Campbell (1991, *Introduction*), Porro (1999), Edmonds (1912, xxii), and Chisolm (1911, s.v. *Moschus*) have more on the life of Moschus. The scant evidence includes a note in the *Suidas*, and a note in the anthology to Moschus' works.

³¹⁵ Poem VII *Of Love Plowing*: Λαμπάδα θείς καὶ τόξα βοηλάτιν εἴλετο ῥάβδον/ οὔλος Ἔρως, πῆρην δ' εἶχε κατωμαδίην,/ καὶ ζεύξας ταλαεργὸν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα ταύρων/ ἔσπειρεν Διοῦς αὐλακα πυροφόρον./ εἶπε δ' ἄνω βλέψας αὐτῷ Δί: 'πλήσον ἀρούρας,/ μὴ σε τὸν Εὐρώπης βοῦν ὑπ' ἄροτρα βάλω.'

"Putting down his torch and bow, Eros took his pointed wand, placed a whip in front, yoked a pair of bulls, and began to sew the crops of Dea; and as he did so, looking up, he spoke to Zeus himself: "I hope you plow a great deal, or I will put the bull of Europa beneath the yoke." [Translation my own].

force *it* to plow. This implies Zeus himself would be put to work, and continues the theme of his subjection to Eros.

We observe the primacy of *eros* elsewhere in Moschus' poems. Other titles include *The Runaway Love*, *A Lesson to Lovers*, and *A River in Love*. He shared this in common with vase painters who came before him, who always include at least one *eros* in depictions of Zeus and Europa. A portion of Moschus' small body of extant works, including the *Europa* poem, collectively might be classified as didactic love poetry, dispensing advice for how to love and deal with issues pertaining to love. This puts him among the predecessors of Ovid in the genre of love poetry. In Moschus' hands, the *Europa* poem becomes a kind of instructional for young women on how to be ideal wives by offering Europa as a paradigmatic example.

Moschus would have had access to an abundance of literary and visual evidence on the myth of Europa. It is clear that he draws not only from Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Bacchylides, and other important authors, but also from vase painting and likely other visual media for his portrayal. Moschus offers us a unique perspective for reconsidering all that has come before. These many previous *Europa* portrayals take on added significance when viewed from the perspective of Moschus' poem, just as Moschus' poem is significantly enriched by all of these previous portrayals.

We can assume Moschus expresses what had been in the background for authors and artists for centuries when they produced their own accounts of the *Europa* myth, a

sustained narrative with key moments of emphasis. His version survives, and theirs do not. Moschus absorbs more than half a millennium of tradition, and then significantly makes it his own. The result of this process of filtration and diffusion is a Europa whom women can identify with in their own transition from bride to mother, and who embodies the cosmopolitan spirit of the Hellenistic period. At the same time, given the overwhelming power of Rome over southern Italy at this time, we also might read into Moschus' handling of Zeus in this poem a reflection on absolute Roman rule as a vehicle for bringing about love and harmony.

Analysis of the Poem

A 166-line poem like Moschus' *Europa* is in need of an entire book to do justice to its many layers of complexity and intricate detail. In fact, such works exist, including in Malcolm Campbell's 1991 translation with introduction, text, and commentary.³¹⁶ Other prominent scholars also have treated this relatively popular poem by an otherwise unpopular poet.

The opening line of Moschus' *Europa* is loaded with significance (see **APPENDIX D**).³¹⁷ Just the first few words, "Europa once Cypris" (*Europe pote Cupris* 1), reinforce the centuries-old tradition of associating Europa and Aphrodite in literary and visual

³¹⁶ N. Hopkinson (2015), A.S. Gow (1952), and W. Bühler (1960) have text, translation, and notes. Also, N. Hopkinson (2006) and Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004).

³¹⁷ I have included both the text of Moschus' *Europa*, and a 2015 translation by Neil Hopkinson.

portrayals. The “sweet dream” (*glukun oneiron* 1) mentioned in the second part of the line, returns us to the importance of sleep and dream in various scenes of divine seduction.³¹⁸ These include, most notably, the *Iliad* Book 14, in which Hera deceives Zeus with Sleep, and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, in which Aphrodite sheds sleep over Anchises after they make love.³¹⁹

Previous scholars have noted similarities in the dream of Europa that follows and the dream of Atossa in Aeschylus’ *Persians*.³²⁰ This comes despite the fact that the two dreams are in entirely different genres, which, as Kuhlmann argues, problematizes our definition of the *epyllion* genre.³²¹ Additionally, I suggested before close parallels in the characters of Europa and Atossa since they are both mothers who grieve for the loss of their sons in war.

Here, Moschus presents a dream of Europa being torn between two continents. It has clear strong parallels with the dream of Atossa, in which her son Xerxes is torn apart by two continents.³²² Here, however, Europa is the one being ripped in half, and in a dream by two women. Moschus significantly takes away the real-life abduction of Europa, emphasized by Herodotus and Aeschylus, and transfers it to the esoteric world

³¹⁸ This is pointed out by Faulkner (2008, 76) and Olson (2012, 25).

³¹⁹ *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 170.

³²⁰ Kuhlmann in Baumbach and Bär (eds., 2012, 477), Merriam (2001, 55-56), and Gutzwiller (1981, 65-66). Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004, 2017) argues the dream exploits the double nature of female sexuality expressed through marriage and rape.

³²¹ In Baumbach and Bär (eds., 2012, 477).

³²² Cf. *Aesch. Pers.* 178-199.

of dreams. This allows Moschus to portray Europa's abduction by Zeus in his poem as a non-violent act and the result of curious desire, not intercultural conflict. Through this simple innovation, Moschus significantly rewrites Aeschylus and Herodotus, and signals a shift to the Hellenistic, a more modern, outward looking age, with greater emphasis on individuals and human emotions rather than widespread cultural conflict.

After Europa awakens from the dream, she remarks that "desire had seized her heart" (*m elabe kradiehn keinehs pothos* 25) for the second woman in the dream. We have observed the integral role of desire in these parallel scenes of divine seduction, as well as in numerous visual portrayals of Europa across the centuries. Here, we find the word *pothos* used to describe Europa's desire rather than *eros*, for example, or *himeros*. *Pothos* also appeared on the Asteas krater from nearby Paestum a few centuries earlier. In that depiction, *Pothos* seemed to be leading Europa on towards Crete, which coincides with its identification here in connection with encouraging her onward.

Next, Europa joins her companions outside in a meadow to play beside the water. This calls to mind numerous vase paintings, especially those from Apulia, in which Europa and her friends appear playing and dancing in flowery meadows beside the water. Moschus goes out of his way here to engage us as viewers and activate our senses. He paints the scene for us just as a visual artist would do, but with sounds and smells, emphasizing the "outpourings of the water-brooks", the "odorous lily-flowers", the "springing roses", and the "sound of the waves". Here, we do not just see Europa

and her friends playing beside in a meadow with flowers and water, but we smell the pungent aromas, and we hear the pleasant sound of lapping water.

Moschus' technique of engaging the reader through *ekphrasis*, and painting a picture with words, reaches its fullest expression in the description of Europa's basket that follows.³²³ We have observed baskets in vase painting portrayals going back several hundred years. Baskets generally are considered to be symbols of weddings in these portrayals. In fact, this particular basket of Europa is described as a wedding gift given to Libya for her wedding to Poseidon, and then handed down to Europa's mother Telephassa (40).³²⁴

Much has been said already about the elaborate description of this basket. Its importance as an object of *ekphrasis* and an embedded symbol cannot be denied. At 25 lines long (37-62), description of the basket constitutes its own distinct architectural element within the poem, similar to, but not on the same scale of course, as Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*.

My main concern here is how the basket engages the audience. The object is introduced as a "great wonder" (*mega thauma* 38), which puts it into a unique class of

³²³ Gutzwiller (1981, 67) discusses the basket as a wedding gift. Merriam (2001, 61) references the shield of Achilles in her own discussion of the basket as an object of *ekphrasis*. Zanker (2004, 50) argues that the spectators who appear on the basket provide depth and perspective, and likely relate to South Italian visual portrayals with tiers of spectators.

³²⁴ This is, significantly, one of the few mentions we have of Europa's mother. An alternative name of her mother is given in Asios as Perimede.

objects in Greek literature that overwhelm the beholder with aesthetic splendor.³²⁵

Other similar objects include, notably, the necklaces of Aphrodite in her love scene with Anchises, also characterized as a “wonder” to see.³²⁶ It helps to underscore the very solemn nature of this encounter between Zeus and Europa, which is formulated with language and imagery taken in large part from religious hymns. The basket also is identified as “finely wrought” (43 *daidala polla*).³²⁷ This is another important epic phrase used in association with objects of *ekphrasis*, including most notably, Hera’s gown in Book 14 of the *Iliad* during her divine seductions scene with Zeus.³²⁸

Moschus’ description of the basket draws us in by reaching out to us and activating our senses. It “sparkles” (*marmaironta* 43), shining “bright white” (*argureos* 53), “bronze” (*chalkeieh* 54), and, of course, with much “gold” (*chrusou* 54; *chruseiou* 61). Moschus also draws us in as readers and viewers here through the brilliant use of *metatheater*. For example, he describes spectators watching the action of Io cross the sea. Zanker argues these spectators help to make the event more real by creating a “sympathetic landscape” in which the viewers of Io are integrated with the viewers of Europa.³²⁹ Among visual examples, we observed this same technique with the Asteas

³²⁵ Marconi (2015, 23-25) discusses works of art and literature that aim for performativity and inspire *thauma* in their audience.

³²⁶ *Hom. Hymn Aphr. (thauma, 90)*. Hunter in Baumbach and Bär (eds., 2012, 95) discusses the phrase in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

³²⁷ Marconi (2015, 25) mentions the word *daidala* along with *poikilos* and *thauma* in connection with objects of *ekphrasis*. *Daidala* also is a word used to describe multi-layered, erudite poetry of the time, including, for example, by Callimachus. Gutzwiller (1981, 7).

³²⁸ *Hom. Il. 14.179 (“daidala polla”)*.

³²⁹ Zanker (2004, 50).

krater. There, Zeus, Crete, Hermes, *Eros*, *Pothos*, Aphrodite, and Adonis all look down at the spectacle of Europa riding the bull overseas, which is also a connection Zanker makes.³³⁰

These spectators draw our attention to the central action of Europa and the bull as one worth watching. They open a direct channel of communication with us as readers and viewers, since we tend to identify with them in watching Io cross the sea. It makes the event more real, having somebody to witness it alongside us. Much as these spectators in Moschus' poem look at one another, marvel, and ask questions about the "sea-faring bull" (*pontoporon boun* 49), so too, we know from Anacreon's poem that viewers marveled at images of Europa and asked the same kinds of questions.

Moschus' description of Io's sea passage to Egypt is interesting on multiple levels. On one hand, it leads us geographically nearer to the place of the basket's genesis as a wedding gift to Libya. It also opens up a complex web of relationships by which peoples living in diverse parts of the Greek-inhabited Mediterranean identified themselves as sharing common ancestors, including in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Libya is the granddaughter of Io, and the grandmother of Europa. This makes Europa Io's great, great-granddaughter. Most importantly perhaps, the *ekphrasis* of the basket allows the poet to foreshadow Europa's own overseas passage, which also will be looked upon by the audience with wonder.

³³⁰ Zanker (2004, 51).

After the *ekphrasis* of the basket, Moschus resumes his sensual description with Europa and her friends picking flowers in the meadow. He mentions the “odorous narcissus”, while also throwing in splashes of different colors with the “violet”, “yellow saffron”, and “red rose” (65-70). Moschus makes an explicit comparison between Aphrodite and Europa by claiming that Europa was foremost among her friends “as the Child of the Foam among the Graces,” (71), setting the stage for what follows.

As soon as Zeus sees Europa, he is overcome with desire. Moschus describes him “conquered by the shafts of the Cyprian” (*upodmehtheis beleessi Kupridos* 75-76), whom he refers to as “the only one who is able to conquer Zeus” (*heh mouneh dunatai kai Zehna damassai* 75-76). This feeling of love at first sight, and immediate capitulation to *eros*, is essentially the identical reaction Zeus has when he sees Hera in Book 14 of the *Iliad*, and Anchises when he sees Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.³³¹ It appears to be a stock element of divine love scenes, and signifies Europa’s power and control over Zeus through sexual desire.

Afterwards, Zeus contemplates how he might “deceive” (*exapatehsei* 78) Europa by putting on the appearance of the bull. This act of deceit is yet another shared element of divine seduction scenes. Hera deceives Zeus, for example, by pretending she is on her way to Oceanus and Tethys, before she lulls him to sleep. Aphrodite feigns a mortal

³³¹ Cf. *Il.* 14.293-296: “And as soon as he saw her, desire covered over his shrewd heart, just as when they first made love, escaping the notice of their parents.” [Translation my own] Homer uses a combination of *eros* and *amphekalypsen* to describe how “desire clouded over” Zeus’ heart and mind. Cf. also *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* (93): “And Anchises was seized with love.”

identity when she seduces Anchises, without revealing herself to him until after they copulate. This association between divine love scenes and acts of deception likely relates to the Greek conception of the sexes as hostile and antagonistic to one another, and may reflect the idea of sexual arousal as a vulnerability. This may be seen in the relationships of Ouranos and Gaia, the first cosmic couple, as well as Cronus and Rhea, their successors.

Zeus' subsequent appearance as a bull receives its own *ekphrasis*, with reference to "a bright-white circle" (*kuklos argupheos* 85) that "shined" (*marmaire* 85) from the center of his face. "Desire" (*himeros* 86), Moschus adds, "was flashing like lightning" (*astraptesken* 86) from his eyes. This is predictable for what we have here, the appearance of a god in disguise as a bull, but it seems more appropriate for description of a goddess or woman. Zeus could not appear as any bull to Europa, of course, but only as one of the most outstanding type, particularly given this important moment in the poem as an epiphany.³³² It is important that in his description of Zeus' appearance as a bull Moschus engage our senses sufficiently to produce a reaction of awe and wonder. This emphasis on Zeus' physical appearance also on some level has the effect of reinforcing his passivity here and submission to Europa as a heroic bull-tamer.

³³² Platt (2011, 173-174) discusses epiphanies and *ekphrasis* as provoking human encounters with the divine. Lovatt (2013, 54), describes the appearance of gods as heightening the epic sublimity.

Next, the bull enters the “meadow” (*leimona* 89), the place of Europa’s abduction just as in Hesiod and Aeschylus, and on so many vase painting portrayals. After initial mention of Europa’s *pothos* in the dream, and then the *himeros* flashing out from the bull’s eye, we now have mention of a third kind of “desire” (*eros* 90) to describe the girls’ reactions to seeing the bull. This is the more common *eros*, noted above.

“A heavenly scent” (*ambrotos hodmeh* 91) emanates from the bull, which, aside from being an appeal to the sense of smell, is also used in association with Hera’s scent in Book 14 of the *Iliad*, and Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.³³³ This further reinforces already strong connections between these parallel scenes of divine seduction, and Zeus’ role as a passive member in a kind of role-reversal where Europa plays the active role.

Moschus’ appeal to the audience’s five senses in order to convince them of the reality of the spectacle before their eyes continues. The poem becomes more tactile, through mention of the bull licking Europa’s neck (94), the girls “touching and toying” (95) with him, and Europa wiping the foam away from her mouth, before kissing the bull (96-97). Note, Europa is the one who is aggressive here, while Zeus is the receptive party.

Then, a sudden break occurs, and we go to the sound of the bull mooing. Within five lines or so, we move from the scent of the bull, to the feel of his touch, to the sound

³³³ Cf. *Hom. Il.* 14.170 (*ambrosiehi*) and 14.172 (*ambrosioi*). *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 62 (*ambrotoi*) and 63 (*ambrosioi*).

he makes as a result of Europa's kiss. We see it. We smell it. We feel it. We hear it. This is a crescendo moment.

Europa calls out to her playmates, encouraging them to join her and jump on the bull's back. She tries to persuade them by arguing he is humanlike and not at all like other bulls (100-106). This appeal to her friends is an intimate, important moment in the myth, that vase painting and visual sources cannot possibly convey. It purports to give us Europa's own words at the actual moment of her abduction. One thing is clear from her words at this point. Europa is not a hapless victim as she comes across in Aeschylus, but an eager, willing participant, possessed of divinely inspired, heroic courage.³³⁴ At the same time, they also contain a kind of *pathos* and nostalgia for the loss of her childhood friends as she turns to look at all that she is leaving behind.

The next moment is the real climax that everybody would have been waiting for, Europa's overseas journey, the key moment of her timeless, magical myth. It was the popular subject of visual and literary artists for at least six hundred years before Moschus ever produced this version, which means the expectations on Moschus to deliver here would have been significant. Moschus does not let down or disappoint the reader in any way either. He presents the spectacle of Europa's overseas journey with the same refinement and detail as countless visual artists before him. His visual painting shares most in common with the portrayals of Athenian and South Italian

³³⁴ Her words can be read as a kind of exhortation, on par with speeches of encouragement by epic heroes.

vase-painters of the fourth century BC, who took depictions of Europa to another level, through more complex scenes, added characters and details, and special emphasis on engaging the audience and prolonging their attention.

Moschus mentions the “sea-beasts”, “dolphins”, “Nereids”, “Earth-Shaker” [Poseidon], and “Tritons” (115-124), all of whom appear in vase-painting depictions of Europa. This entourage also shares much in common with the one accompanying Theseus described by Bacchylides in Ode 17.³³⁵ Literary-visual correlations are reinforced by the image of Europa clinging to the bull’s horn with one hand, while she holds up her dress with the other. She has one arm in front, and the other behind her, in a position we have observed her repeatedly. Her garments, billowing in the wind, are analogized to the fluttering sails of a ship. This nautical reference is likely a deliberate allusion to sea-faring, and to the Phoenicians as masters of the sea.

We receive special access then to another intimate moment, when Europa begins to speak to Zeus as they journey across the water. This is a part of her myth the visual sources again could not convey. Europa reveals considerable insight and maturity of character when she asks the bull whom of the gods he is. She realizes he cannot be a normal bull since ordinary bulls do not travel by water (135-152).³³⁶ She proves to be entirely cognizant. This is not a random fact, either, but important for appreciating

³³⁵ Cf. *Bacchyl.* 17.96-100.

³³⁶ Her request that the bull identify itself and indicate where it is going recalls, for example, Anchises’ request to Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (94).

Europa's strength of character, even amidst difficult life transitions like marriage, which would have provided a virtuous role-model for women to emulate in their own lives.

Then, Zeus speaks. Surely, this is not a trivial moment, I argue, but one of the utmost significance. It is a kind of second, verbal epiphany of the god, even if it is as a bull with a human voice. Anytime a god appears, or speaks, it is a climatic event. This applies to Zeus' initial appearance in the poem as a dazzling, spectacular bull, and here again when he reveals his plan. It is rare, overall, to have Zeus address a mortal directly in conversation. This humanization of Zeus by giving him a speaking voice makes him more accessible to the audience. Figuratively speaking, it puts him into the same room as them, so that they too, like Europa, might feel reassured by his words of encouragement, and even apply them to their own dealings with their husbands as faithful, understanding wives.

Zeus' initial words, "be brave young woman" (*tharse parthnikeh* 154) resemble Aphrodite's to Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (*tharsei* 193) when she first reveals her divinity to him. Anytime a human being comes face-to face with a god, a potential for danger exists, and there is a need for steadfastness of character. The gods, after all, are difficult for mortals to comprehend, and present potential danger. Like visual artists and other authors, Moschus uses the myth of Europa to facilitate a divine-human interaction, as he seeks to break down the barriers separating people and gods.

Zeus explains to Europa how he has been smitten with “desire” for her, using the same word *pothos* (157) she used before in reference to the personified continent of Europe in her dream. He then proceeds to prophesy the future to Europa. He tells her that they will soon land in Crete, his homeland, where they will be married, and she will give birth to three glorious sons (158-161). This epiphany and subsequent prophecy calls to mind most directly the appearance and prophecy of Aphrodite to Anchises, but also other gods, such as Demeter, for example, in the hymn to her.³³⁷

Just as Zeus speaks, so it comes to pass. The pair land on Crete, where Zeus transforms himself back into his original form from a bull (162-164) and makes a kind of third and final epiphany, this one in his anthropomorphic form. He undoes Europa’s girdle, and consummates their union (165). Quickly then, in the final line of the poem, Europa gives birth to children (*tekna tikta*), and becomes a mother (*gineto mehtehr*). The emphasis on her transition to a mother is emphasized by placement of *mehtehr* as the final word of the poem. A suspenseful buildup to this final word is accomplished through repetition of multiple dental d and t sounds in the final words (*Kronideh tekna*

³³⁷ Cf. *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 193-201: “Anchises, most glorious of mortal men, take courage and be not too fearful in your heart. You need fear no harm from me nor from the other blessed ones, for you are dear to the gods: and you shall have a dear son who shall reign among the Trojans, and children’s children after him, springing up continually. His name shall be Aeneas, because I felt awful grief in that I laid me in the bed of a mortal man: yet are those of your race always the most like to gods of all mortal men in beauty and in stature.” Cf. also *Hymn Dem.* (266-274): “Lo! I am that Demeter who has share of honor and is the greatest help and cause of joy to the undying gods and mortal men. But now, let all the people build me a great temple and an altar below it and beneath the city and its sheer wall upon a rising hillock above Callichorus. And I myself will teach my rites, that hereafter you may reverently perform them and so win the favour of my heart.” E. White (tr., 1914).

tikte kai autika gineto mehteher). These provide a kind of drumroll ending with the final syllable of the last word.

Moschus brings the union of Zeus and Europa alive for us in a way we never observe before or after him. His version remains the *de facto*, standard version of the Europa myth for thousands of years to come, continuing until the present. Part of the way Moschus makes his version timeless is by ingeniously engaging the audience and making the myth directly relevant to people's lives. He accomplishes this through the repeated build-up of details and emotions, accentuated by the final epiphany of Zeus, king of the gods. He also does it by engaging with the world of epic, with which most of his erudite audience would have been intimately familiar.³³⁸ He summons dramatic and lyric models too, presenting a hybrid literary art form that challenges and defies readers to this day who seek to understand it. My argument is that we should emphasize the poem especially as it relates to the *Homeric Hymns*. By conjuring up Europa's marriage to Zeus through the language and imagery of hymns, Moschus' poem serves to legitimize the heroism and worship of Europa as a benefactress of human marriage.

Moschus always engages at least one or two of the senses, but often three or more in order to make the event more real for us. He wants the audience to participate in the action; indeed, he needs the audience to supplement the poem with meaning. He uses epiphany, *ekphrasis*, *enargeia*, *metatheater*, and other techniques to captivate and

³³⁸ Gutzwiller (1981, 7).

enthrall his readers. The result is, when the moment finally arrives for Europa's magical procession on the bull's back, the audience is clinging to his every word, much as Europa is to the bull's horn, waiting for that fateful, ensuing leap into the great unknown. This poem by Moschus brings Zeus down to earth, as layer by layer, line by line, it assaults the reader with a plethora of sights, smells, sounds, feelings, and emotions. The poem portrays a divine-human encounter in order to initiate a divine-human encounter. It shares this integral function in common with religious hymns and votive reliefs referenced by Platt, for example, which cross the gap between human artifice and divine reality, and through each visual detail, actively negotiate the relationship between human and god in the construction of a religious experience.³³⁹ Much as the religious hymns of Homer explain the worship of a particular divinity, so too this poem serves to sanctify the worship of Zeus and Europa.

The epiphany of Zeus, and his direct address to Europa, are the most powerful expressions yet of how the Europa myth can engage the viewer. It brings them face to face with the divine. Half a millennium before in Selinous, the bull addressed the viewers by looking out frontally, implicating them into the scene. Here, the bull speaks and talks at length as he swims across the sea with Europa on his back, also engaging the viewer. The fact that Zeus' epiphany in Moschus' poem shares so much in common with the *Homeric Hymns*, in particular, suggests to me that the poem might have had a

³³⁹ Platt (2011, i.e. 8, 49).

more serious function than before has been acknowledged, although, like the *Homeric Hymns*, it also has playful and capricious qualities. Moschus' work is a hodgepodge of multiple genres, including epic, lyric, tragedy, comedy, and *epyllion*. Moschus taps into the repository of all Europa portrayals before him to create a largely traditional portrayal, both from the perspective of literary and visual antecedents. He appears most interested in Europa's traditional role as a benefactress of marriage and role model for young women to emulate in their own lives. He also portrays her as a joyful symbol of cultural synthesis during cosmopolitan Hellenistic times, and as evidence for the almighty power of love and desire.

Moschus' poem is beautiful to see, hear, smell, and feel. It has all of the aesthetic allure and charm that makes works of art and literature beautiful and appealing to the senses. It also importantly recreates a divine experience by capturing the happy moments of a young woman about to unite with a god in order to make that joy happen for real young women in their own lives and marriages. In that sense, it is art that looks beautiful, but also, importantly, art that does something, and that has a positive effect on peoples' lives by giving them hope and optimism. In some ways, Moschus' work adheres to tradition, which makes it more immediately identifiable to us, but in others, it innovates on and departs from tradition in order to reveal his individual stroke of genius. This genius consists in bringing the Europa myth to life in a way that nobody else could have done.

Conclusions

As with the visual evidence, the Europa myth was ubiquitous among literary genres and authors, and functioned in a variety of different contexts. Based off of what remains, which admittedly is not much besides Moschus, we know that Europa was a character of epic, *epyllion*, lyric, tragedy, comedy, history, oratory, and mythography. Just as the myth of Europa crosses cultures, periods, and other boundaries, including those between life and death, maiden and mother, human and animal, so too it crosses literary and visual genres and media. This ability to be everywhere and in everything is part of what has ensured survival of the Europa Network.

Since the myth of Europa is dispersed across multiples centuries, continents, literary genres, and visual media, it has functioned in different ways at different times and places. Sometimes, Europa is the blushing young bride who gives young women something to smile about when it comes to the abrupt life-change of going off to the home of the groom, while other times, she is the grieving mother, who vents her frustrations about life, love, and loss. She is a changing expression of the changing times.

In all cases, Europa is more than just a woman abducted by a bull. She is a real, in some sense, living force, who exerts a positive effect on people's lives. In times of war and conflict, she helps to express our suffering, while in the titillating throes of first

love, she partakes in our joy and excitement. She is human, just like one of us, and by emulating her, we can help raise ourselves to the level of the divine.

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APPENDIX A

CHAPTER 2 Catalog Works in Clay

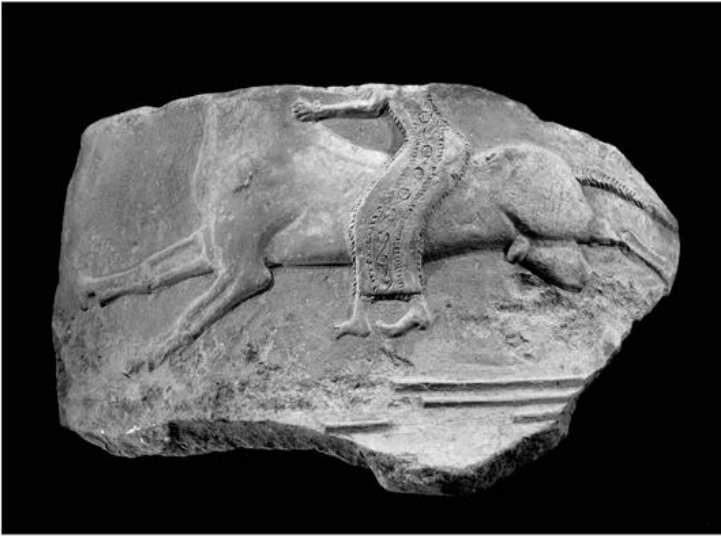


Figure 1 Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale 3003

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Fragment is roughly rectangular in shape. Prominent point on right side. Small protrusion on bottom right. Slightly curved surface. Three damaged fillets run across the bottom, now visible only on the right side.

SUBJECT Europa sits on the bull, leaning slightly forward. She grabs hold of the bull's neck with her left hand. She wears an elaborate full-length chiton. The bull

gallops quickly to the left with outstretched legs both in front and behind. Its tail also extends to near horizontal.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 640 BC. Thebes

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .22-.25m, W .44m, D .025m

Fragment is broken on all sides. The bull's hind hooves are missing, as is the tip of its tail. The heads of Europa and the bull also are entirely missing, as is Europa's neck, shoulder, and right arm. The surface of the clay is fairly well preserved, but pitted throughout. Surface damage exists to the lower part of the image, especially the bull's rear right leg, rubbed completely away, and the front left hoof. Europa's right shoe also is damaged.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Clay is a grey color with traces of calcite and slight oxidization. Europa appears in the foreground, sitting side-saddle on the bull. Incised lines and spirals enhance her highly-embellished dress. Chiseling is evident along the edges. She wears upward-pointed shoes, and a bracelet, identified as Assyrian in type (CVA). The muscular anatomy of the bull is wrought through varying degrees of relief. His sinewy legs, stout neck and shoulders, well-rounded haunch, cloven hooves, and testicles are nicely preserved. Chiseling apparent along his tail. Traces of paint preserved in various spots.

BIBLIOGRAPHY A. de Ridder (1902) 166, Taf. 34; H. Möbius (1916) 204, Anm. 2; F. Courby (1922) 67, F 71; CVA Bibl. Nat. (2) 94,2; R. Hampe (1936) 56ff., 67 f.; L. De Brauw (1940) 53; J. Schäfer (1957) 73 B 5, 82; K. Schefold (1964) 29, 63, Abb. 11b; Bühler (1968) 51; Brommer (1973) 518 Num. E 1; M. Caskey (1976) 27; R. Edwards (1979) 77, Anm. 70; E. Zahn (1983) 61-62, Cat. 99; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 91; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 134, Num. 153, Fig. 244; S. Kansteiner, K. Hallof, et. al. (eds. 2014) 98-122

COMPARANDA Caskey (1976, 19-41) provides various comparable relief *pithoi* of the Tenian-Boeotian type from the first few quarters of the seventh century BC. These include, for example, the Dance *pithos* and the Birth *pithos* from Xobourgo.

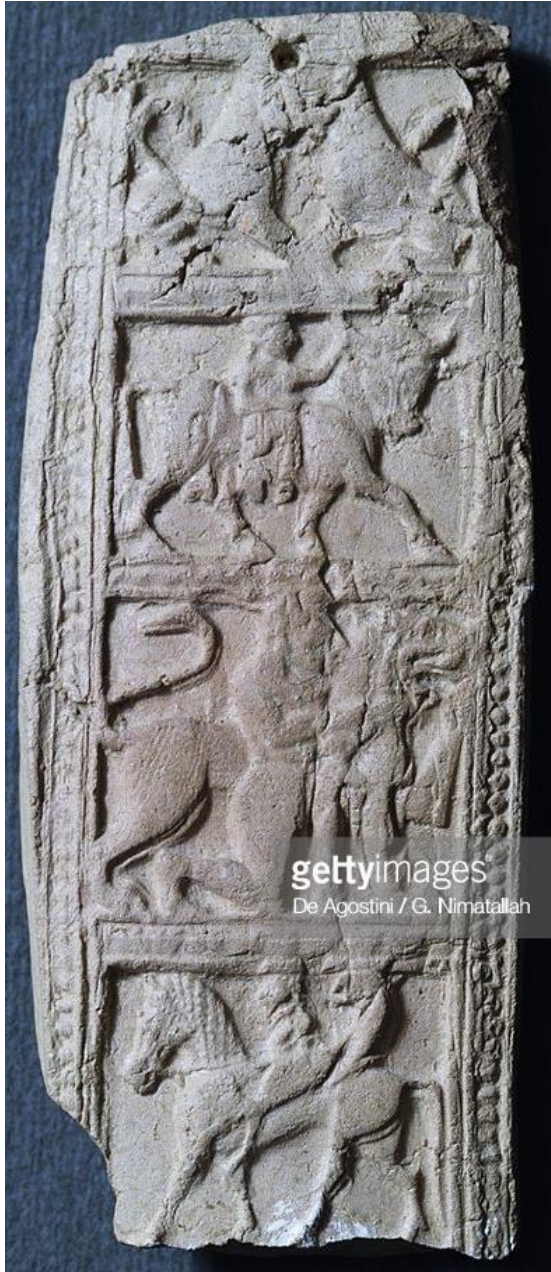


Figure 2

Agrigento, Mus. Arch. 1269

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Rectangular jewelry box cover. It preserves four, equal-sized metopes running vertically from top to bottom. Each metope separated by a horizontal band. Braid design runs vertically on both sides of cover from top to bottom.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, looking forward. She holds the bull's right horn with her left hand. Her right hand rests on the bull's flank. She wears a long chiton bound at the waist and a headdress. Her body faces the viewer. The bull appears to be walking slowly to the right, and turns its face frontally. Its face and head is oversized compared to the rest of its body and Europa's, and calls to mind the frontal heads of Gorgons in contemporary art. The second metope from the top portrays Europa on the bull. Above her are two opposing sphinxes. Below are Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, and Bellerophon riding Pegasus.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 560 BC. Agrigento, west of *Olympieion*.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .25m, W.35m

Quite well-preserved. There is slight wear, pitting, and cracking to the clay surface. This includes to the bands separating the metopes. A small chip appears above the bull's head, and a smaller one above Europa's. Breaks around the other metopes, including on the bottom left and top right of the cover.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Minor details of Europa's dress and facial features are incised. The bull's facial features are slightly more pronounced as he turns frontally. Incised lines and circles demarcate his nose, eyes, hair, and horns. The bull's face is disproportionately large.

BIBLIOGRAPHY W. Fuchs (1964) 731, Abb. 47; Bühler (1968) 68c; Brommer (1976) 126, TcRel 1; E. Zahn (1983) 108, Cat. 12; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 88; Calderone (1991); Pugliese, Carratelli, and Fiorentini (1992) 72-73, Fig. 60; De Miro (2000) I, 100, II pl. 47; C. Marconi (2007) 94, Fig. 39

COMPARANDA Relevant *comparanda* include various shield bands with similar tiered metopes, subject matter, and themes. See **Figure 5**, **Figure 6**, and **Figure 6B** for relevant examples, including in Payne (1940, i.e. Pls. 47-49) and Kunze (1950). Marconi (2007, 94) identifies Peloponnesian or Sicilian shield bands as possible models for these clay works.



Figure 3

Paestum, Paestum Museum

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Irregular shaped terracotta fragment. Broken on all sides. This is the earliest known sculpture of Europa in the round.

SUBJECT Europa seated on the bull. Once visible from all sides.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FINDSPOT

Unattributed. Ca. 520

BC. Near Basilica, just south of Temple of Hera.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION Unknown. Von Matt describes it as nearly life-size, but others associate it with small figurines. The sculpture is very poorly preserved. Only part of the bull's head and neck and Europa's left leg remain.

TECHNICAL FEATURES The bull's face is most clearly preserved. Incised lines and spirals appear in his facial features and in tufts of curly hair across his brow. The artist has devoted considerable attention to details of his nose, mouth, and smooth, bulging eyeballs. Elaborate ornate folds with incised lines preserved on Europa's partial left leg. A large chunk of clay is missing from the bull's neck, as well as from his left cheek, eye-socket, and the top of his head. Traces of silver and blue paint are preserved. The head and neck of the bull are worked separately. Pin holes are evident near the breast of the bull where the two pieces join.

BIBLIOGRAPHY B. Neutsch (1956) 422, Abb. 139; L. von Matt (1961) 72, Taf. 61; Bühler (1968) 51; M. Napoli (1970) 39, Abb. 45; Brommer (1976) 126, Num. 11; Zahn (1983) 126, Cat. 80; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 113

COMPARANDA Any number of terracotta figures found near temples especially in nearby southern Italy. Various examples are published in Hutton (1899), Higgins (1967), Neutsch (1956), and von Matt (1961). Marconi (2007, 95, Fig. 40, n. 57) mentions several small Archaic figurines of a woman, possibly Europa, seated on a bull, including several unpublished ones at the museum in Palermo. He also shows a small bull with nearly identical facial features as this one on a probable Archaic *arula* (95, Fig. 41).

Works in Metal



Figure 4
Delphi, Delphi
Museum 8867

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Shape is round with extended face guard cover. Corinthian type, but probably from Crete. Double outlines with hatching run along contours.

Neck guard ornamented with dart and tongue pattern.

SUBJECT Europa and the bull appear embossed on both sides of the helmet. They occupy a majority of the surface area. The images are identical. On one side, the bull moves from left to right, and on the other from right to left. Europa sits on the bull facing forward. She wears an elaborately decorated chiton. Her upper body appears in profile, while her legs turn slightly to the viewer. She holds the bull by a rope around his neck. The bull is disproportionately tall. He appears to be moving very slowly. He turns his head to face to the viewer.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 620 BC. Near the Lesche of the Cnidians.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .22m

The condition of the helmet is fair. Right side is in much better condition than the left. The left side is damaged badly on the upper front. All of the bull's head is missing, as is the face and cheek guard. The right side has slight surface erosion and damage to the cheek guard. There is also a large indentation near the bull's belly. Otherwise, the image of Europa and the bull is preserved fully.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Embossed details evident in the bull's body and face. This includes to his legs, tail, neck, eyes, nose, and mouth. The figure of Europa is also rendered with considerable detail. This includes in her face, hair, limbs, dress, head-band, and the woven rope with which she holds the bull's neck.

BIBLIOGRAPHY J. Marcadé (1949) 421 ff., Pl. 21; A. Snodgrass (1964) Fig. 16; C. Christou (1968) 161ff.; H. Hoffmann (1972) 22, Pl. 18, 1-2.4; P. Blome (1982) 75-76; Floren (1987) 144, n.109; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) 196; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 134, Num. 154, Fig. 245a-b; C. Marconi (2007) 92

COMPARANDA Various Cretan and Corinthian helmets are included by Hoffmann and Snodgrass. Marcadé (Fig. 1) provides a close parallel in another Cretan helmet found at Delphi.

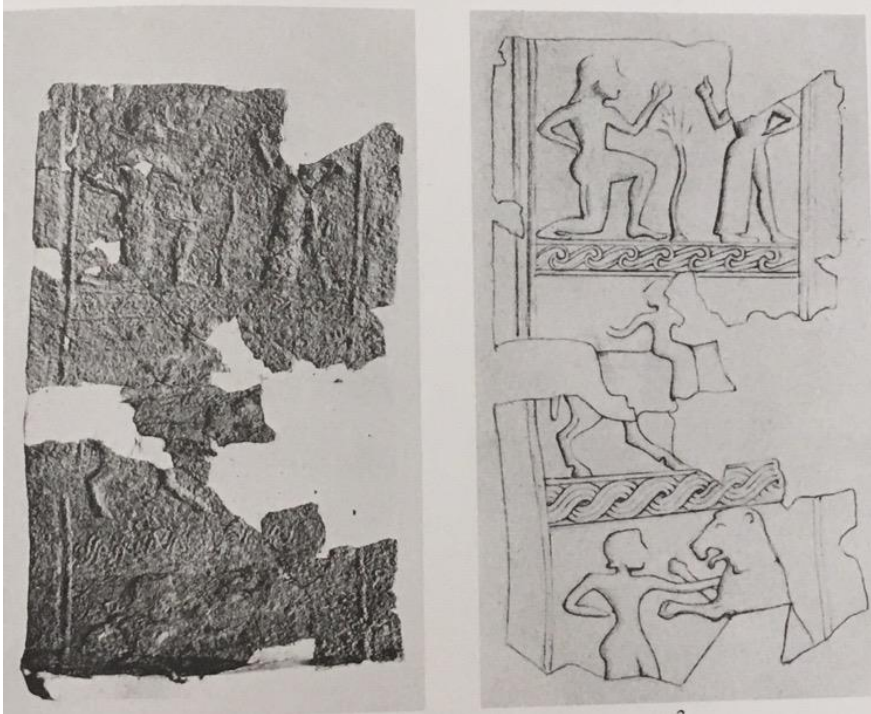


Figure 5
Athens, National
Museum

**SHAPE AND
ORNAMENT**

Bronze shield-band. Vertical strip. Shape is rectangular. From what remains, three metopes are partially preserved. Europa on the bull appears in the middle one. Above her is Peleus and Thetis with a tree between them. Below is Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion. There are plain bands running

vertically along the sides with horizontal wave and chain designs between the metopes.

SUBJECT Europa sits on the bull, moving from left to right. The bull's leg placement indicates slow movement. Europa turns around to look behind her, with her right hand raised.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 580 BC. Perachora, *temenos* of Hera Limenia.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION W 7.1 cm

The condition is rather poor, especially on the right side. Payne initially identified it as a centaur. Europa's left arm, shoulder, and both feet are missing. Part of the bull's rear also is broken off. Its entire front body, including the head also are missing. The surface is badly pitted and worn.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Details are difficult to make out because of poor condition. Preserved features include the outlines of a woman in a long chiton and the rear half of a bull's body. A few physical details of the bull are distinguishable, including its sinewy legs and cloven hooves.

BIBLIOGRAPHY H. Payne (1940) 147-148, Taf. 49.2-.3; Kunze (1950) 90-91; Brommer (1976) 120, Num. 16; Zahn (1983) 107, Cat. 9; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 97; Marconi (2007) 93, n.48

COMPARANDA Payne (1940, Taf. 47-50) includes similar clay reliefs from Perachora, although not shield bands. Kunze (1950, 90-91) references this shield band in relation to ones with images of Europa from Olympia. His work includes several other relevant shield bands from Olympia with similar themes and designs.

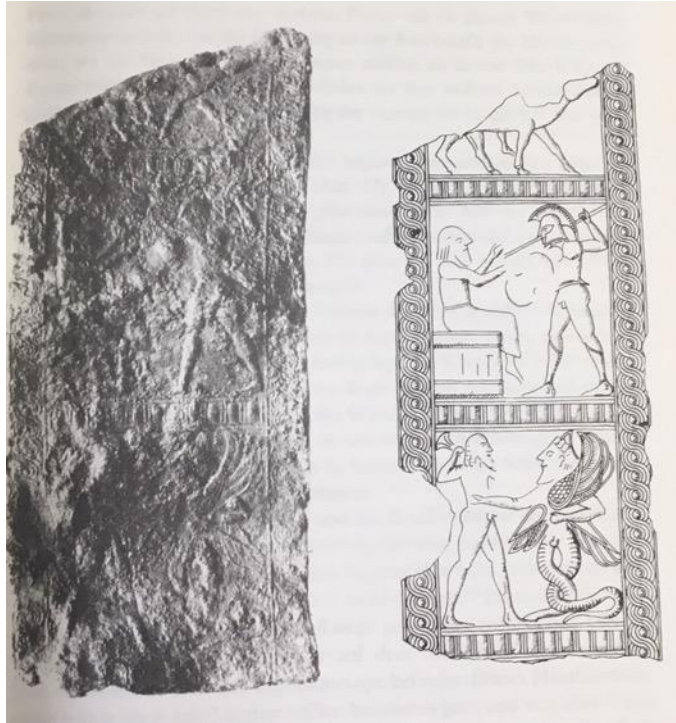


Figure 6 Olympia, Museum B 315

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Iron shield band. Thin, rectangular vertical strip. It is broken off at the top and pointed on the right side. Two metopes are partially preserved, and the middle one is well preserved. A woman on a bull, presumably Europa, appears in the upper scene. Beneath that is a depiction of the death of Priam, then of Zeus slaying Typhon. A columned band runs horizontally between the metopes. An entwined spiral design runs vertically along the left and right sides.

SUBJECT Only the lower left leg and foot of the rider remains. Based on the size and shape, it appears to be a

woman. Scholars have identified her as Europa. The preserved parts of the bull, including its leg position and spacing, indicate slow left to right movement.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 560 BC. Olympia, upper surface of southern Archaic wall of Temple of Hera.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION W 7.7 cm, H 2.5cm

This image of Europa and the bull is very poorly preserved. It is broken in half along a diagonal from lower left to upper right. Only the lower parts of the bull's body are preserved, including all of his front and part of his rear legs. Half of the left leg and foot of Europa is preserved. The surface is badly pitted and eroded, and the only images are grainy.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Details are very difficult to make out. Only the outline of the bull's lower body and Europa's lower left leg are preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Kunze and Schleif (1937-1944) 83-84, Taf. 30; Kunze (1950) 37, 90-91, Cat.58; Brommer (1976) 120, Num. 13; E. Zahn (1983) 107, Cat. 10, Abb. 1; C. Marconi (2007) 93, n.47

COMPARANDA Various other shield bands, especially from Olympia. See especially Kunze (1950) and **Figure 6A** below.



Figure 6A Olympia, Museum B 985

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Iron shield band. Shape of preserved fragment is thin, vertical, roughly triangular strip. It is nearly twice as tall as wide. It forms a point on the right side at the bottom and top, and on the left side near the middle. In the lower register a palmette volute is partially preserved. Above this a horizontal band with tongue design.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. She looks forward as the bull moves slowly from left to right. She wears a long chiton. Her feet hang off the bull. Her upper body is not preserved. The bull's head is chipped away, but it appears to have looked frontally.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT
Unattributed. Ca. 560 BC. Unknown.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION W 5.2 cm

The shield band and central image of Europa are poorly preserved. There is much erosion,

pitting, and chipping away at the surface. The entire left side is broken off, as are the top and bottom. It is unclear how many metopes existed but only one and a half remain.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Details are very difficult to make out. The photograph is grainy. There is some preserved evidence of elaborate folds on Europa's peplos. The bull's legs also include definition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Kunze (1950) 42, 90-91, Cat.72, Pl. 62; Brommer (1976) 120, Num. 14-15; E. Zahn (1983) 107, Cat. 10, Abb. 1; C. Marconi (2007) 93, n.47

COMPARANDA Various other shield bands, especially from Olympia. See especially Kunze (1950) and Figure 6 above.

Works in Stone

Figure 7 Palermo, Museo Nazionale N.I. 3915



SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Sculpted limestone metope. High relief.

SUBJECT Europa sits on the bull, moving from left to right. She appears mostly in a three-quarter profile view. Her head is in profile and looks straight ahead. She wears an elaborate chiton and head band. She holds the bull's right horn with her left hand. Her right hand rests on the bull's flank. The bull appears in profile, but turns to look at the viewer. He is swimming. Two fish are depicted below.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

Unattributed. Ca. 560 BC. Selinous (Acropolis, Temple Y)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .84m, W .695m, D .3m

Very well preserved. Significant break to lower front part of frame. Left side broken off at frame edge from top to bottom, but

image unaffected. Slight damage to upper design band. Image surface has very minor chips throughout.

TECHICAL FEATURES This portrayal is one of the most elaborately detailed images of Europa from any time period. The artist has put tremendous effort into various details of Europa's hair and dress, as well as the bull's lifelike face and body. Incised lines are evident in the overlapping folds of Europa's chiton. Its chiseled edge drapes across her arm and torso. She wears an elaborate head band. Flowing locks of hair separate into strands upon her shoulders. The bull is notable for its muscular form and elaborately incised lines to head, face, and neck. The effect of this is to draw the viewer's eye to the bull's eyes, deliberately exaggerated in size. His tail reaches forward to touch Europa's elongated foot. The bull's muscular anatomy is full of elaborately incised details and varying degrees of relief. Gills and eyes of fish incised. Red, blue, green, and black paint preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Salinas (1892) 959; Klein (1904) 81ff.; Katterfeld (1911) 15; Cook (1940) iii. 615, n.1; Pace (1935-1949) II, 13-15, Fig. 13; La Coste Messelière (1936) Pl. 9; De Brauw (1940) 53; van Ufford (1941) 27-28; H.M. Schwarz (1945) Abb. 114; Kähler (1949) 37, 44, 51, Abb. 22; Villard (1955) 299, Pl. 8; Langlotz (1965) 253-254, Abb. 8; Bühler (1968) 51; Fuchs (1969) 402, Abb. 446; Brommer (1976) 119, Num. 14; Ridgway (1977) 243; Schefold (1978) 24, Abb. 15; Giuliani (1979) 43 ff., Taf. 10; Zahn (1983) 106, Cat. 5; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 78; Conti (1996), 61-63; Marconi (2007) 225-226, SM 2; Wescoat (2012) 177-178

COMPARANDA Other well-preserved metopes on this and other temples at Selinous. Also any number of sculpted metopes from the same general period and region.



Figure 8 Naples, Museo Nazionale

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Roughly triangular preserved block of sandstone metope. Fairly high relief. Ninety-degree angle at upper right corner. Hypotenuse from upper left to lower right dissects the preserved image of Europa. Twin rosettes appear on either side of her head.

SUBJECT Bull is entirely lost, but seems to have been moving right to left. Europa sits frontally, wearing an elaborate chiton and headdress. Her left hand likely rested on the bull's haunch, and her right seems to have been raised in a gesture of *anakalypsis*.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 520 BC. Sanctuary at Santa Venera (450 meters east of South Gate).

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .35m, W .65m

Only the upper part of the metope remains. It is broken along the bottom and left side. The upper right corner is preserved in full. The sandstone is eroded, chipped, and pitted throughout. Some of Europa's face is worn away on the surface as is the upper half of the rosette on the right.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Europa's hair, face, and dress are wrought in maximum detail. Locks of hair fall down her back and wrap around the left shoulder. Incised lines delineate the draping folds of her chiton. The lines are especially dense and complex around her sleeves. The curvature of her breast, torso, and arms are visible though her diaphanous garment. Her head extends beyond the frame of the metope. Twin rosettes, about the same size as her face, appear on either side.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Quarles van Ufford (1940) 26, Anm. 5, Abb. C; Kähler (1949) 58, Taf. 52; Zancani, Montuoro, and Zanotti-Bianco (1951) Fig. 39; B. Neutsch (1956) 405; Bühler (1968) 51; O. Hertwig (1968) Taf. 6; Brommer (1976) 119, Num. 8; Zahn (1983) 107, Cat. 8; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 79; Wescoat (2012) 177, n. 339

COMPARANDA Any number of sculpted metopes from the same general period and region.



Figure 9 Delphi, Museum Inv. 1321

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Fragment of sculpted limestone metope. Roughly pyramidal in shape, turned on its right side.

SUBJECT Europa sits on the bull, moving from left to right. She leans forward to clasp the bull's now lost neck. She wears a long chiton that hangs down over the bull's neck and right side. The bull

appears to be moving rather slowly. He probably turned his head to face the viewer.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 560 BC. Delphi (Sikyonian Treasury floor, face-down)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .58m, W .70m, D .18m

The metope is badly damaged on the right side. The top and bottom are completely broken off. The head of the bull and Europa are entirely missing. Europa's right arm and shoulder are badly damaged. Her feet also are broken off. Only the bull's rear left leg remains. His tail is broken off near the haunch. Prominent testicles preserved. Surface chips and dinks throughout.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Both the bull and Europa appear in fairly high relief. Incised lines and graduating contrasts in relief accentuate the stark folds of her downward hanging chiton. The elegant curvature of her body appears through its diaphanous folds. The artist has chiseled lines into the shaggy neck of the bull, and pronounced his muscular legs and testicles. The tail appears to have been hanging straight down but is badly damaged. Slight traces of paint are preserved, including to the bull and Europa's dress. Europa's name also is added in paint.

BIBLIOGRAPHY T. Homolle (1909) 18ff.; E. Löwy (1911) 14, 15ff.; F. Poulsen (1924) 45, Abb. 10; P. de la Coste-Messelière (1936) 92ff., 117, 153ff.; De Brauw (1940) 53; Kähler (1949) 49ff., Abb. 39; P. de la Coste-Messelière (1950) Taf. 7; K. Schefold (1964) 63, Abb. 55b; Bühler (1968) 51; W. Fuchs (1969) 402, Abb. 445; Brommer (1976) 118, Num. 5; Ridgway (1977) 231ff.; K. Schefold (1978) 23; L. Giuliani (1979) 44, Taf. 11,2; E. Zahn (1983) 105-106, Cat. 4; de la Geniere (1983) 158ff.; Szeliga (1986) 297-305; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 77; La Roche and Nenna (1990) 241-284; Partida (2000) 119, 129-130; C. Marconi (2007) 16-17, 92-93; Lolos (2012); Wescoat (2012) 177-178, n. 339; Scott (2014) 105, 272

COMPARANDA Any number of sculpted metopes from the same general period. See especially those from Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi also found in the floor.



Figure 10 Istanbul, Arch. Museum Inv. 780

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Sculpted andesite metope. Broken in half. Upper half missing. Roughly rectangular block preserved. Left side of metope frame also preserved.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. The bull appears to be moving very slowly from left to right.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND

SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 550 BC. Assos (northwest slope of the acropolis)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .52m, W .85m, D .05m

The fragment is very poorly preserved. Two incomplete fragments are joined near the center. There is a vertical line at the join. Right fragment has more surface wear. Upper half completely lost including all of Europa's waist and upper body and most of the bulls' back and head. Front left hoof of bull missing. Front right hoof worn away. Lots of chippings and general wear to the surface.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Details are difficult to make out given poor preservation and extreme surface wear. Wescoat hypothesizes two possible arm positions for Europa. In one, Europa holds both hands upward, while in the other she rests her right hand on the bull's flank with her left hand raised. Wescoat acknowledges Europa might have looked forward or at the viewer. The bull is in a standing or slow moving profile view. He seems disproportionately large compared to Europa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Norton (1897) 507-514, Fig. 1; Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey (1902) 147, Fig. 9, 151, Fig. 20; Mendel (1914) 22, Num. 265; Sartiaux (1915) 48, Fig. 28; Technau (1937) 92; G. Lippold (1950) 64ff.; Bühler (1968) 51, Anm. 39; Brommer (1976) 119, Num. 6; Zahn (1983) 106-107, Cat. 7; Finster-Hotz (1984) 99, 143, Fig. 33; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) 81, I 80; B. Wescoat (2012) 176-179, 275, Cat. M5

COMPARANDA Any number of sculpted metopes from the same general period. See especially those from Assos collected by Wescoat (2012).



Figure 11 Berlin, Staatliche Museum Inv. 1709

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Sculpted marble metope. Preserved fragment is square shape.

SUBJECT This shows a very close-up view of Europa and the bull. She appears in profile from the waist up. She looks down in the bull's eye while clutching his right horn with her left hand. She presses her left arm against his neck. Her hair and parts of her chiton are preserved. The right half of the block consists of the bull's head, neck, and right forepaw. They are compressed against the right side of the frame.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 530 BC. Pergamon (purchased from local resident)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .21m, W .21m, D .05m

The center part of the block is very well preserved with only mild surface damage. Around the outsides there is more significant damage. The entire left side is broken off. This includes the right side of Europa's body and the top of her head. The bull's nose also is broken off and the forward part of his right hoof. The surface in general is chipped and pitted.

TECHNICAL FEATURES The artist has incised straight and wavy lines to define the physical anatomy of Europa and the bull. Europa's hair falls in wavy strands down her shoulders. Her chiton drapes onto the neck of the bull. Her left sleeve forms a strong vertical line that coincides with the line of her upright left arm. She has a serene archaic smile. Fingernails are visible. Her eyes focus on the bull. Incised wavy lines along the shaggy neck and face of the bull. Right eye with pupil, and ear preserved. The bulls' head is raised notably upward to accentuate Europa's mastery over it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY B. Schröder (1914) 165; Schröder (1919) 104, Num. 1709; Technau (1937) 91; Blümel (1940) 21 ff., Taf. 48; G. Lippold (1950) 64, Taf. 18,4; Blümel (1963) 39, Abb. 81; Bühler (1968) 68b; Brommer (1976) 118, Num. 3; Zahn (1983) 106, Cat. 6; Robertson LIMC 4 (1988) | 81

COMPARANDA Any number of sculpted metopes from the same general period and region. This block stands out as unique among Europa depictions because of the close-up perspective.

APPENDIX B

CHAPTER 3 Catalog Black Figure Vase Painting



Figure 12 Samos,
Mus. K 3848

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Laconian Cup
fragment with
partial handle. Black
figure. Ovular shape,
slightly wider than
high.

SUBJECT The
rear legs and cloven
hooves of a large
animal, presumably
a bull are preserved.
From the leg

positioning, it is clear the bull was in rapid motion. A dark ground-line runs beneath the bull. This likely indicates land. Below is a body of water and the incised lines of a partially-preserved fish. On the interior of the cup, there are the remnants of the rear part of a sphinx.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

Boreas Painter. Ca. 640 BC (Isler says ca. 570 BC). Samos (Heraion, Find Group J).

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION

H .034m, W .046m (without handle)

TECHNICAL FEATURES Pink-brown clay, white-green overlay, with brownish-black varnish. Two dark vertical lines evident behind bull where the handle was attached. The handle appears to have been black. Incised lines for bull's sinewy legs and hooves, and on the fish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Pincelli (1960) 542ff.; Isler (1978) 102, Cat.183, Taf. 52; E. Zahn (1983) 108, Cat. 13; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 22

COMPARANDA See other works by the Boreas painter, including ones of horse-riders. See also images on contemporaneous black figure cups.

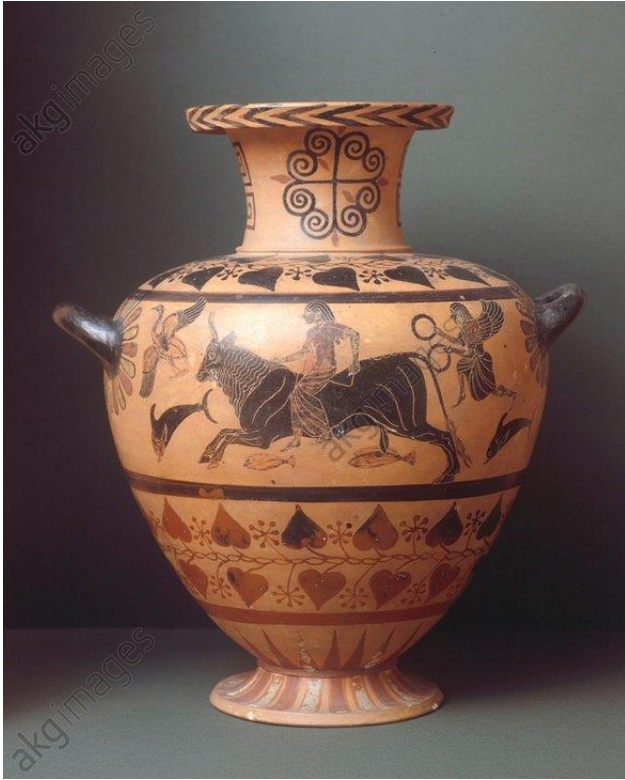


Figure 13 Rome, Villa Giulia 50643

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Caeretan hydria. Black figure. A palmette design around either handle attachment. A band of ivy with tendrils and flowers runs both above and beneath the central image. Swastika, cross, and spiral design on neck. Geometric arrow band around lip. Dagger design around foot with tongue around base. Glazes in black, brown, and red. Characters shape, hair, hands, etc. show Etruscan influence.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. They move from right to left in very rapid motion. Her right hand rests on the bull's neck, and her left on its flank. She wears a full-length chiton. A winged Nike flies behind her holding a wreath in either

hand. Ahead, a bird flies. The bull is swimming. Two fish appear below, and a dolphin both in front of and behind the pair. Side B, two springing horses.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. Ca. 530 BC. Unknown.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .445m, Max. Diam. .33m, Extremely well-preserved

TECHNICAL FEATURES Bright red clay. Characters painted in shiny black varnish. Interior fired pink. The artist has rendered the characters and designs on the vase with remarkable detail. Incised lines to the clothing, jewelry, and anatomical features of Europa. The same technique is applied to the bull's massive body, especially around the neck, where thick tufts of hair predominate. Careful attention also has been paid to the bull's tail. The hovering Nike behind has the same basic incision technique applied. This includes to her wings, hair, and clothing. The fish, dolphins, and bird reveal different varying degrees of incision as well as different color glazes in black, brown, and red.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Brunn (1865) 142; Stephani (1866) 107, n.8; Jahn (1870) 2-22, Taf. 5a; Overbeck (1871) 425; Dümmler (1888) 167, n. vi; Pottier (1892) 254; Webster (1928) 196, n.6; Mingazzini (1930) 175, Pl. 39; Technau (1937) 79, Anm. 6; De Brauw (1940) 53; Hemelrijk (1956) Num. 5; Kraiker (1958) 49, Taf. 24; Bühler (1968) 52; Thimme (1970) 19ff.; Schefold (1978) 24ff., Abb. 16; E. Zahn (1983) 108, Cat. 14; Hemelrijk (1984) Num. 13; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 24

COMPARANDA Other Caeretan hydria. Mingazzini references the Andokides painter in the treatment of Nike. See also Rider Painter for bird.



Figure 14 Paris, Louvre E 696

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Caeretan hydria. Black figure. Palmette design at handle attachments. Band of tendrils entwined with ivy and flowers runs around vase above and beneath central image. Neck with cross, spiral, and meander designs. Lip with meander design. Dagger design around foot and tongue design around base.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. They move quickly from right to left. She wears a long chiton. She holds her right hand up to her nose, presumably sniffing a flower. Her left hand rests on her hip. The bull is in a kind of springing motion as if about to emerge from the water onto land. A dolphin leaps in front of the bull, and further ahead is the indication of

land. A rabbit and three trees are depicted. On Side B, we have a scene from the Calydonian boar hunt. Atalanta appears with two other men. Her head and face are nearly identical to Europa's.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. 530 BC. Unknown Caeretan tomb

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .44m Very good. Some surface wear in isolated spots. The head of the bull, for example, has been rubbed off, but the outlines remain.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Pale yellow clay, with mica. Dark orange on surface to clear brown color. Characters in black with traces of red and white throughout. Incised lines to Europa's dress. Splotches of light brown and red form decorative motif on her dress. The bull too has been incised with lines to demarcate anatomical features. This includes especially to the neck and tail. The dolphin is detailed through incision and added glaze, as is the rabbit. The hillside and trees are painted black. The leaves are as black dots.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Jahn (1870) 21; Brunn (1871) I.XII, Sect. 2; Overbeck (1871) 425, Num. 7; Pottier (1892) 254, Num. 5; Dümmler (1901) 270, Num. 5; Fölzer (1906) 73-75; Pottier (1933) 77, 92; CVA (Louvre) 9, Pl. 1,2; De Brauw (1940) 53; Hemelrijk (1956) Num. 7; Bühler (1968) 52; Brommer (1973) 517, Num. C 1; E. Zahn (1983) 108, Cat. 15; Hemelrijk (1984) Num. 13; M. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 23

COMPARANDA Other Caeretan hydria. See **Figure 13** above for design similarities.



Figure 15 Wurzburg, Wagner Mus. L 193

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Neck amphora with square stand. Yellowish clay. Black paint. Red and white added to Europa and bull. Palmette and tendril designs above and below on either side of central image. Tongue design band around neck. Geometric band above, beneath lip. Meander and tongue patterns around base.

SUBJECT Europa appears in nearly identical images on both sides. She sits side-saddle on the bull's back, wearing a draping chiton. Her arms are in a windmill pattern. Her lower body faces forward, her torso at the viewer, and her looks behind. The bull stands still or moves only very slowly. All four hooves are in contact with the ground-line. The painter's names are added to each side. It appears the painter has captured the moment before the bull crosses the sea since there is no indication of water or movement, or the moment after they arrive on Crete.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Phorbas and Aniades (names added in paint). Ca. 510 BC. Vulci.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .467m Reassembled. Previously broken. Has been painted over, with added paint on part of Europa's neck and chiton, and the upper and lower limbs of the bull. Handles intact.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised lines and circles are preserved on Europa's draping folded chiton. A great deal of attention has gone into its design and layers through added red and white paint and incision. Incised lines and added paint also for the muscular anatomy of the bull. The painter's names Phorbas and Aniades are painted on. The palmette-tendril motif in the background seems to recall vegetation in other vase painting images.

BIBLIOGRAPHY CIGr. IV 7747; CVA (Louvre) III h, e 52,1. III; Jahn (1870) 17, Taf. 1c; Overbeck (1871) 423; Jacobsthal (1910) 158; Langlotz (1932) 33, Taf. 58, Cat. 193; Technau (1937) 77-87; De Brauw (1940) 54; Bühler (1968) 52-53; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. A 6; Simon (1975) 116; E. Zahn (1983) 109, Cat. 17, Taf. 5.1; Hemelrijk (1984) Num. 13; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 27

COMPARANDA Zahn (1983, 109-111) includes a handful of this same basic type: Cat. 18, 20, 21; Taf. 6, and Taf. 7



Figure 16 Naples, Mus. Naz. RC 218.

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Lekythos. Black figure with added white paint. Double bands run around vase beneath central image. Ivy-tendrill design in band above central image. Tongue design band above that running around neck.

SUBJECT Europa rides the bull from left to right. She holds her left hand upright, while her right hand rests on the bull's flank. She looks straight ahead. She wears a long, draping chiton, and an ornate headdress. Her arms are in a windmill pattern. The bull swims overseas with his head in a three-quarter profile view. Three fish are painted below. Vines and branches are depicted in the background.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

Beldam Painter. 500 BC. Cyme.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .18m, W .27m Condition is fairly good. Some of the surface paint has chipped and flaked away. The base and handle are intact.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised and painted lines accentuate the many folds of Europa's chiton. Her skin is painted white. The bull also has incised lines and added paint. He is mostly black. The fish are painted white. The vegetation is painted with black lines and dots, and occasional white spots as fruit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Fiorelli (1857) v. 140, Pls. 10 and 13; Overbeck (1871) 424, Num. 5; Heydemann (1872) 878, Num. 218; Harrison (1894) 14, Pl. 4,2; Reinach (1922) i.4, 88, 13; Haspels (1936) *ABL* 223, 170-191; La Coste Messeliere (1936) Pl. 9.1; Cook (1937) iii, 615, n. 2, Abb. 416; Bühler (1968) 53; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. A4; E. Zahn (1983) 110, Cat. 22; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 35

COMPARANDA

Other Attic black-figure lekythoi as in Haspels (1936). Cf. Figure 17.



Figure 17
Providence,
RI, Rhode Island
School of Design
Inv. 22.216

**SHAPE AND
ORNAMENT**

Attic lekythos.
Late black figure
technique. Running
palmettes on
shoulder with
tongue design at
juncture with neck.

Painted black beneath central image.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the back of the bull. They move very slowly from left to right. She has her rear right arm raised at the shoulder and elbow, forming an L-shape. Her left hand is on the bull's horn. She pulls the bull's head to her own and looks down into his eyes as in the sculpted metope from Pergamon. Her head seems too tall for the frame. She wears a layered, elaborately decorated, draping chiton. The bull seems very relaxed and is not in rapid motion. He has his head raised. Hermes stands casually to the right of the bull. He is in profile, wearing winged sandals, a cloak, and *petasos* hat. He holds the caduceus across his shoulder. One tip of the caduceus touches the bull's nose. Behind Europa and the bull, a standing woman, presumably Aphrodite, wears an elaborate gown. Her skin is painted white. Trees and vegetation are depicted in the background.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Leagros Group. 510 BC. Unknown.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .309m, D .117m Neck broken, but mended. Otherwise intact and in good condition. Central image very well preserved.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Europa's attire is embellished with red and white paint. She has a red fillet in her hair. Her flesh shows traces of white, indicating she probably was painted white. Various other elements and accessories in red and white, including to Hermes, Aphrodite, and the bull. Early scene with Hermes not striding at head of marriage procession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Overbeck (1871) 423; CVA (Providence) Taf. 12,1; La Coste-Messelière (1936?) 159 Anm. 1; Haspels (1936) *ABL* 50; H. Phillipart (1936) 45; De Brauw (1940) 62; Schauenburg (1958) 465; *ABV* 380, 284: Leagros Gruppe; Brommer (1973) 515, Num. A 1; E. Zahn (1983) 109, Cat. 19

COMPARANDA Other Attic black-figure lekythoi as in Haspels (1936). Cf. **Figure 16**.



Figure 18 Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 1881

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Attic neck amphora. Two alternating palmettes on neck with tendrils. Lotus bud frieze is missing. Red line around image lip edges. Tongue or reed design above. Two black ground-lines below.

SUBJECT Europa sits side saddle on the bull, moving

from left to right. She has her left arm and hand raised. Her right arm is lost in the folds of her attire or she performs anakalypsis. She wears a layered, elaborate chiton. She is disproportionately large. Her head breaks out of the frame into the tongue design at top. The bull stands still. His neck extends upward and he has his head slightly raised. In front of him stands Hermes. Hermes appears in three-quarters to profile view. He faces the bull. He has his right hand raised. He wears winged sandals, a cape, and *petasos* hat. A woman, presumably Aphrodite, stands behind the bull with both hands raised. She wears an elaborate peplos and chiton.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT The Edinburgh Painter. 500 BC. Slg. Castellani?
DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .28m, D .176m Reassembled from a few large pieces. Very few chippings. Red surface nice.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Red of a striking violet hue. Red and grayish-green colors varnished on inside of neck. Reddish pink applied to Europa's and Hermes' accessories. Red headband on Europa. White on skin in spots. White crosses decorate Europa's clothes and white outlines for her form. All the character's clothes and accessories are detailed with white and red paint.

BIBLIOGRAPHY De Witt (1866) Num. 26; Gerhard (1866) 273, Num. 26; Stark (1868) 52ff., Taf. 9; Jahn (1870) 20; Overbeck (1871) 423, Num. 2; Reinach (1899) 404, 1-3; Haspels (1936) *ABL* 220, Num. 83; Technau (1937) 85, Abb. 6; *ABV* 478, 2: Edinburghmaler; Zanker (1965) Anm. 154; *CVA* (Berlin) 5, Taf. 45; Hemelrijk (1974) 148, Anm. 169; E. Zahn (1983) 110, Cat. 21

COMPARANDA See other works by The Edinburgh Painter and contemporaneous Attic amphora designs.

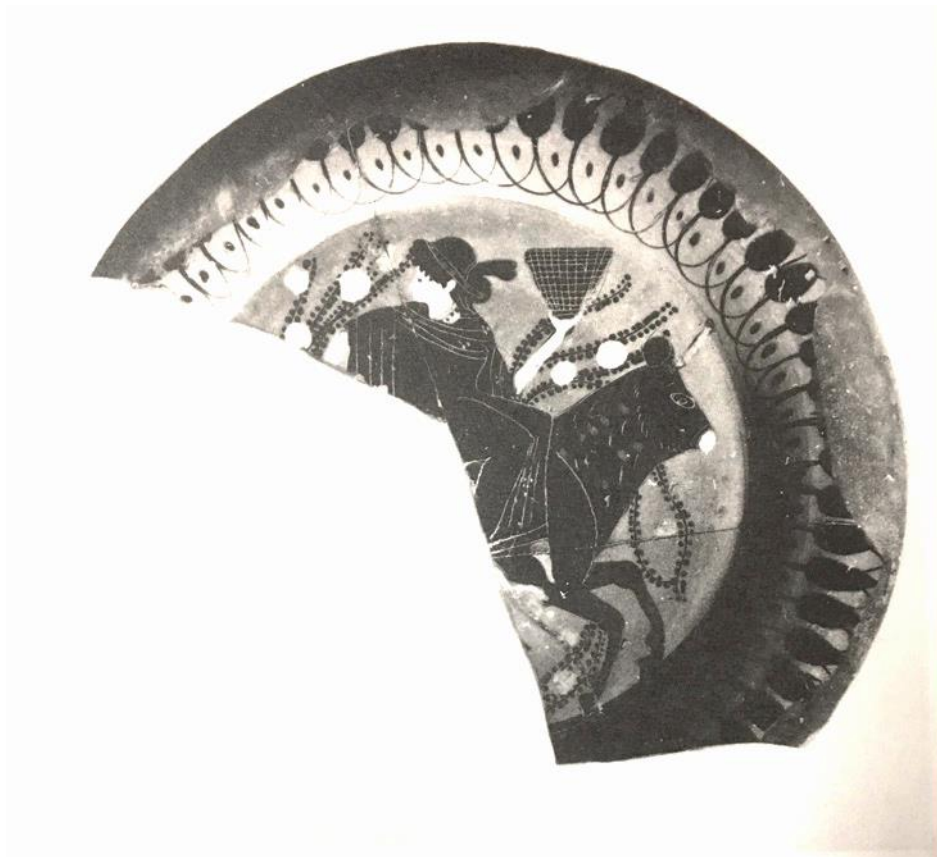


Figure 19

Athens, Nat.
Mus. Acr. 2451

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Attic black figure plate. Tendril bud design encircling outer rim with interspersed black dots. Center inset with Europa on bull.

SUBJECT

Europa sits side saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She holds a basket in her preserved left hand. She turns around to look behind. She

wears an elaborate chiton, headband, and a black necklace. The bull appears to be swimming or moving swiftly. He looks straight ahead. Abundant vegetation with fruits appears in the background.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Circle of Lydos. Ca. 490 BC. Acropolis?

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .56m, D .23m A little more than half of the original plate remains. The preserved parts are reassembled in at least three places. Fairly good preservation for these. Surface has only minor wear, except at top and on the right side to outer band design where paint has been chipped away and clay is exposed.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Fine, compact, bright orange clay. There is added thick, bright, greenish-black colored paint. Added white paint to Europa's skin, the fruits, the bull of the nose, and elsewhere. Incised details in the folds of Europa's dress and to the bull's eye, neck, and shoulders. Bottom is black except for at edge of foot. Circular flat base in middle. Etched in bottom is *hieros*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Graef and Langlotz (1925) I, 239, Num. 2451, Taf. 99; Bühler (1968) 52; Zahn (1983) 111, Cat. 23; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 36

COMPARANDA Other vase paintings from the circle of Lydos. Other black figure plates.

Red Figure Vase Painting



Figure 20 St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 1564 (St. 1637)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Attic Amphora. Type C. Red figure on black background. Free floating central image with simple ground-line.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, riding from left to right. She wears an elaborately folded, long draping chiton. She holds a basket in her left hand and clasps a fold of the chiton with her right. The bull swims from left to right. His legs are very upright compared to other similar depictions. His head looks forward. Small fish are depicted in the water below him. Zeus stands naked with a scepter on Side B.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

The Munich Painter. Ca. 500 BC. Campana.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION

H .925m, D .41m Excellent condition. The vase appears to have

only a few very minor surface dinks.

TECHNICAL FEATURES

The artist has incised and painted lines to accentuate the complex details of Europa's folded chiton. A dark brown glaze has been applied in splotches along the surface of her dress for design. Her headband is painted red and brown. The bull has incised lines to define his shoulders and facial features. Irregular little black fish are depicted below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Stephani (1869) 240, Cat. 1637; Jahn (1870) Taf. 5,6; Overbeck (1871) 427, Pl. 9; Cook (1914) i, 531, n. 1, Fig. 405; Peredolskaja (1967) Cat. 27, Taf. 19; Bühler (1968) 52; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. B 3; ARV2 245, 3; Zahn (1983) 112, Cat. 30; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 38; Sarti (2001) 154

COMPARANDA

Other contemporaneous pieces including by the Munich Painter. Most like Figure 21 below.



Figure 21 Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1927. 4502

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Hydria fragment. Irregular shaped. Image on shoulder. Free-floating image. Meander design below.

SUBJECT

In the preserved image, Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She wears an elaborately decorated chiton that drapes and folds over the bull's massive body. Based on his leg position, the bull appears to be swimming, but there are no fish present. The bull has his head turned upward. Based on comparanda, it is likely that Europa was holding his horn.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Berlin Painter. 490 BC. Tarquinia.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .362m The fragment is broken on all sides. At least three preserved parts appear to be joined near the bull's legs. The neck, mouth, and handles are all missing. Europa's body is missing above the waist. Her left hand is visible on the bull's haunch, but both arms and the right hand are unpreserved. Most of the bull is preserved. Only the top of his head and the upper part of his tail are missing. The surface is smooth and polished without significant blemishes.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Considerable incised detail to Europa's chiton. Brown glaze applied to its design. Her downward pointed toes form a strong vertical line with her upright torso. Incised lines for details of the bull, including his head, face, shaggy neck, hooves, testicles, and penis. He also has traces of brown paint to his body.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ARV2 210, 172; CVA (Oxford) 2, 425, Pl. 61, 4; ARFV 147; De Brauw (1940) 54; Bühler (1968) 54; Beazley (1974) Pl. 23, 2; Brommer (1976) 516, Num. B2; Schefold (1981) 235, Abb. 327; Kurtz (1982) Num. 62; Zahn (1983) 112, Cat. 28; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 41

COMPARANDA Other contemporaneous works including by the Berlin Painter. Cf. Padgett (2017). See also Figure 24.



Figure 22 Agrigento, Mus. Arch. Rav. 1319

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Pelike. Double band with egg design around neck at handle attachment. Meander design near foot. Palmettes at handle.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She wears a long flowing chiton. She has her left hand on the bull's horn, and her right hand on his flank. She turns around to look behind her, and wears a headband. The bull appears to be trotting along or perhaps is meant to be swimming. No fish below. The bull's tail is playfully curled.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT
Geras Painter. 480 BC.
Monte Saraceno.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION
H .19m This vase was reconstructed from multiple

fragments. Fractures are evident throughout, including multiple ones to the central image of Europa and the bull. The lip has a chip.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised lines are used for the details of Europa's chiton and her head-band. Facial features are preserved including mouth nose and eyes with pupils. Wavy incised lines are used along the bull's neck and head. His eyes include pupils painted black in the center. The tail also has been incised with horizontal and vertical lines. Testicles and penis both preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Millin (1808-1810, Vol. 2) Taf. 6; Lenormant and de Witte (1844) 63; Reinach (1891) 46ff., Taf. 6; Jahn (1870) 8, Num. 5b; Overbeck (1871) 433, Num. 14b; Griffo (1955) 119; Brommer (1976) 516, Num. B 14; ARV2 286, 113; Zahn (1983) 113, Cat. 35; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 42

COMPARANDA Other contemporaneous vase paintings by the Geras Painter and on pelike.



Figure 23
St. Petersburg,
Hermitage B 4523

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Nolan Amphora. Red figure. Free floating central image.

Meander with saltire square band below.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, moving from right to left. She has her forward right hand on the bull's neck. Her left hand is buried in the folds of her elaborate chiton. She turns around to look over her shoulder. She wears a headband. The bull

appears to move at a steady gait. He looks straight ahead. His tail is playfully curled. Side B features an old man with a stick thought to be Agenor or Phoenix.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Phiale Painter. 440 BC. Unknown.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .338m

TECHNICAL FEATURES Brilliant black glaze. Numerous lines appear in the folds of Europa's dress, with densest clusters around the right shoulder and along the edge at the bottom. Her toes are painted. Her facial features are clear. She wears a headband painted red and brown. She also has a necklace. Her garment is raised in the back to indicate swift movement. The folds of her chiton are marked with brown. The bull's body has thin delicate short wavy lines throughout in black and brown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Peredolski (1928) 16-17, Fig. 7; ARV2 1014,5; De Brauw (1940) 55; Peredolskaja (1967) Num. 205, Taf. 137, 3; Bühler (1968) 54; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. B 11; Schefold (1981) 236, fig. 330A; Zahn (1983) 115, Cat. 41; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 51

COMPARANDA Other contemporary works by the Phiale Painter. For close parallel of flying chiton, cf. Figure 23B.

Figure 23A Basel, Cahn Coll. HC 33.





Figure 24 Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. R.C. 7456

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Bell-krater. Red figure. Image in free field with meander design below. Sharply cornered mouth with lug handles.

SUBJECT The bull appears in the foreground, running from left to right. He has his head turned slightly to the viewer. His tail is playfully curled. Europa runs behind him. She wears an elaborate chiton. She grabs the bull's horn with her left hand. Her right arm is extended behind her in the air. She has on a head-band. Side B features an identical girl to Europa running.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Berlin Painter. Ca. 490 BC. Tarquinia,

Monterozzi Necropolis.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .28m, D .285m. Very good condition. Few chips to edge of the mouth. Also small chip near bull's rear right thigh. Some cracking along bottom through bull's hooves.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Some parts of the surface are fired red. Thick black folds in Europa's chiton. Red, brown, and gold glazes applied to her chiton, diadem, and jewelry. Black dots are used both for Europa's accessories and parts of the bull. Her facial features are clear, including eyebrows. The bull also has red, brown, and gold glazes used for his head, nose, and elsewhere. Complex overlap of forms in bull's right leg with Europa's left leg, and bull's rear right leg with Europa's right leg. Even her ankle bone is differentiated from the bull's cloven hoof. Also, the bull and Europa's chiton overlap and merge in design and form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Beazley (1911) Pl. 10,2; ARV2 206, 126; Arias, Shefton, and Hirmer (1962) 345, Pl. XXXV; Bühler (1968) 54; Beazley (1974) Cat. 98; Schefold (1983) 234, Fig. 328; Zahn (1983) 111-112, Cat. 27; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 2; Saunders in Padgett (ed., 2017) 115

COMPARANDA See other works by the Berlin Painter. Cf. Padgett (2017)

White Ground Vases

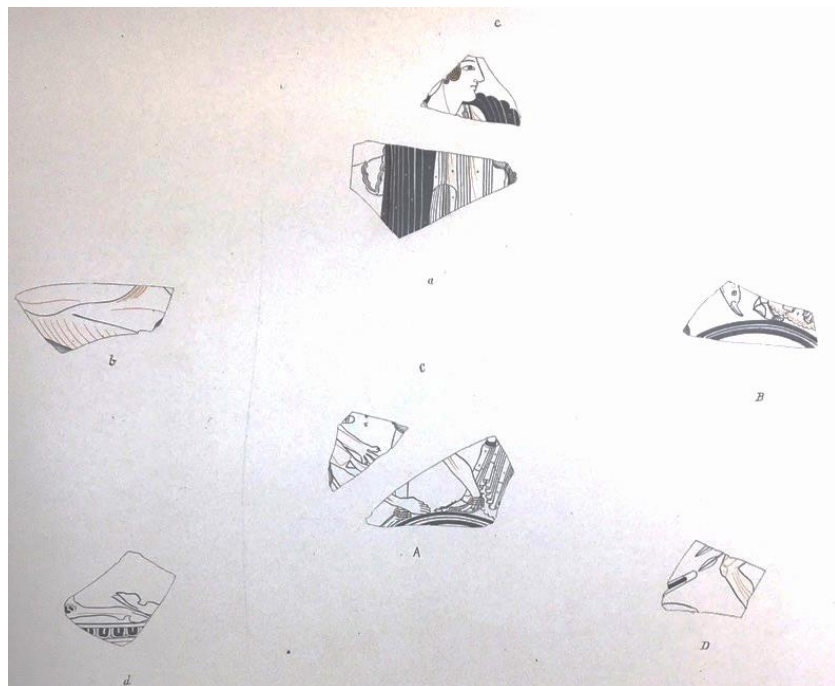


Figure 25
London, BM D 1

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Cup fragment. White-ground. Black, brown, and red glazes applied. Double black band.

SUBJECT

The preserved image shows Europa sitting side-saddle on the bull moving from left to right. A part of the bull's back and legs are preserved.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND

SPOT Douris Painter. 500 BC. Naucratis.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION

Unknown. Fragmentary. Assembled from at least eight different pieces. The pieces with the image of Europa later were joined to other pieces depicting Herakles wrestling Apollo for the Delphic tripod. The side of Europa's face remains. Part of her elaborate chiton is preserved. A small part of the bull's hind quarters and hooves remain.

TECHNICAL FEATURES

Lots of incision and painted lines to Europa's chiton. Her facial features are clear, including eyebrows and pupils. Red glaze is applied to her hair. The black and white colors of her chiton and outer wrap contain painted and incised lines that produce a complex overlap of layers and folds. Red and brown glaze also preserved on remaining parts of the bull.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hartwig (1893) 499, Pl. 50; Lorimer (1905) 122, Pl. 6,4; Edgar (1905) Pl. 6,4; Philippart (1936) Pl. 2; ARV 281, 18; ARV2 429, 20; Bühler (1968) 53; Buitron (1976) 47, Num. 29, 50, 53ff.; Mertens (1977) 100ff., Fig. 21; Zahn (1983) 112, Cat. 32; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 37

COMPARANDA

See other works by the Douris Painter and other contemporaneous white ground vases. Cf. Figure 26 below.



Figure 26

Munich, Antikenslg.
2686

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Phiale (or Patera Cup). White-ground technique. Figures painted red and black. Outer black band.

SUBJECT In the preserved image, Europa sits side saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She has her left hand on the bull's horn, and her right hand raised to smell a golden flower. She wears an elaborate chiton and diadem. The bull appears to be swimming but no fish are preserved below. On the

outside of the cup, a hovering eros appears holding a lyre and cup. She sits. Right hand holds golden flower. Bull appears to be swimming.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed. 470 BC. Aigina (Temple of Aphaia, on table)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION Unknown. Restored from nearly 20 pieces. Surface damage with paint chipped completely away from most of bull's body and Europa's mid-section.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Inner part has a yellowish-white coating. Black, brown, red, and shining gold glazes applied. Fine careful lines especially in Europa's diaphanous chiton and body beneath. Curved lines used for her facial features. Brown glaze evident in Europa's hair and fingers. Black, brown, red, and gold all strategically placed to accentuate the details of her draping chiton. It has a black inner edge with gold applied to the outer edges. Gold and red, with added pink, used for Europa's diadem, necklace, earrings, and bracelet. The bull is in bright black with a gold eye and dark pupil. "Zeus" is added on near the bull's head.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Cockerell (1860), Taf. 12; Jahn (1870) 44-46, Taf. 7; Overbeck (1871) 428-429, Num. 10; Roscher (1884) 1415 [s.v. Europa]; Furtwängler (1907) 438ff., Abb. 406; Furtwängler and Reichhold (1909) pl. 114, I; Cook (1914) I, 526, n.1, Pl. 32; Phillipart (1936) 57ff., Num. 45, Taf. 25; De Brauw (1940) 54; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. B17; Schefold (1983) 235, Fig. 329; Zahn (1983) 113, Cat. 34; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 44

COMPARANDA See other contemporaneous white ground vases.



Figure 27 Athens, NM
3250

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Bobbin Cup with double black band around inner image of Europa.

SUBJECT Europa

sits side-saddle on the bull. She wears an elaborate chiton. She has her right hand on the bull's horn and her left on his flank. The bull is swimming from right to left. Beneath him are faint indications of waves. In the outer zone are scenes of the daughters of Leukippos and the Dioskuri, and unknown other figures.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND

SPOT Sotheby Painter. Ca. 450 BC. Attica.

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .02m, D .13m

TECHNICAL FEATURES Fine white clay. Paint has been added in brown and black. Delicate fine lines used with Europa's chiton and her body beneath. Painted contours also used for the bull's body with indications of shag near the ears and horns. His tail curls playfully forward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Overbeck (1871) 430, Num. 11; *Arch. Eph.* 3 (1885) Pl. 5, I; Collignon and Couve (1902) 853, Pl. 35; Walter (1960) Figs. 2-3; *ARV2* 775, 3; Bühler (1968) 53; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. B7; Merens (1977) 141ff., Num. 1; Zahn (1983) 114, Cat. 36; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 45

COMPARANDA See other works by the Sotheby Painter, and other contemporaneous white ground vases. Cf. Mertens (1977).

APPENDIX C

CHAPTER 4 Catalog Works in Clay



Figure 28 Paris,
Louvre MNC 626 (C 3,3)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Terracotta figurine,
painted over.

SUBJECT Europa sits
side saddle on the bull
with one hand on the
bull's flank and the
other on its neck. She
wears an elaborate
draping chiton that was
once painted. She also
wears a polos hat to
signify her divinity as a
fertility goddess in the
local region.

ATtribution, DATE, FIND SPOT

Unattributed, 470 BC,
Boeotia

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION

H .21m, well-preserved with only mild surface damage.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Brownish-red color clay. Compact and heavy. Traces of red paint are preserved. Europa was modelled separately and later attached to the bull. Varying degrees of relief accentuate the folds of her draping chiton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winter (1903) I, 163, 2; Charbonneaux (1936), 190, Pl. 13; Technau (1937) 88; De Brauw (1940) 55; Mollard-Besques (1955) I, 88, C 33, pl. 62; Brommer (1976) 126, Num. 10; Zahn (1983) 127, Cat. 84; Robertson *L/IMC* 4 (1988) I 114.

COMPARANDA Terracotta figurines, especially from in and around Boeotia, including those listed in Winter (1903) I, 163, 164. See also **Fig 28A** and **Fig. 28B**. Zahn (1983) 58-61, 126-131, Cat. 81-98 contains numerous contemporaneous examples from the fifth century BC, as does Brommer (1976) 125-126, Num. 1-20.

Fig. 28A (Winter I, 163)



Figure 28B (Winter I, 164)



Figure 29 Basel, Antikenmus. Kä 232



SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Terracotta figurine, with base

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. She holds her left hand on the bull's horn, and the other rests on his flank.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

Unattributed, 460 BC, Boeotia

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .14,

Rather well preserved, except for mild surface wear, chips, and pitting.

TECHNICAL FEATURES

The sculpture is attached to a kind of

clay base. It is unclear how many parts it was originally composed of. The artist has incised lines in the folds of Europa's dress. He also has worked out the details of Europa's and the bull's facial features.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Winter (1903) 163, 6; Berger (1963) Num. C 4, Abb. 4; Bühler (1968) 69g; Brommer (1976) 126, Num. 7; Zahn (1983) 127, Cat. 90; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 116

COMPARANDA

Apparently, nine copies of this particular statue exist in different sizes. See Zahn (1983) 127-128, Cat. 90.1-90.10. Related figurines include those listed in Winter (1903) I, 163-164; Zahn (1983) 58-61, 126-131, Cat. 81-98, Brommer (1976) 125-126, Num. 1-20.



Figure 30

Princeton # 2003-255

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Square shaped, votive relief plaque (pinakes). Once painted over.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull. She wears a veil, and a draping chiton. Her left hand is on the bull's horn and her right is on the muscular flank. She stares out frontally at the viewer, except for her lower body which is in nearly a three-quarter view. Her arms are in a more relaxed version of the windmill pattern. The bull, moving from left to

right, looks straight ahead. Based off of his leg spacing, it appears likely that he is swimming. I cannot discern any fish for certain. The bull's testicles are visible and his tail makes a sharp L-shaped downward turn to accommodate the frame.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 450 BC, Locri

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .156m, W .154m, D .017m. The central image is in very good condition other than slightly worn surface and lost paint. Chips around the base include slight damage to the bull's rear right leg.

TECHNICAL FEATURES The plaque is done in fairly high relief, creating multiple planes of discernment. For example, the artist has Europa's left foot overlap with the bull's right leg. Colored paint is still visible. The front of Europa's chiton appears to have been patterned with geometric designs. There are traces throughout of red, gold, brown, and white paint. The complicated folds of Europa's chiton are clear. A series of ringlets encircles her head, probably a crown or garland, or possibly a highly stylized coiffure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Redfield (1983, 347); Spigo (1982, ?); "Acquisitions of the Princeton University Art Museum 2003," Record of the Princeton University Art Museum 63 (2004): p. 101-141.

COMPARANDA Prückner (1968) 84-85, Taf. 30,6; Hausmann (1971) 55, Num. 152; Spigo (1982); Redfield (1983, 347); Zahn (1983) 132, Cat. 100 and Cat. 101; Other votive relief plaques from Locri.

Figure 31 Athens, NM 14973



SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Clay model for mould for metal vase-grip. Semi-circular fragment, wider at top than bottom. The central image is framed by a chain design above and a wave pattern below.

SUBJECT Europa hangs off the bull

nearly horizontally to reveal her elongated elegant form. She and the bull move quickly from left to right. Her left hand is on the bull's horn, and her right hand touching his head. Her arm position indicates *anakalypsis*. She appears to be nearly nude, wearing only a thin diaphanous covering that drapes behind her. Her body is in a three-quarter profile view, while her face appears in profile. This is a highly erotic portrayal, with Europa's genital region occupying the physical center of the image. The bull appears in profile, except for his head, which turns near frontally to face the viewer. It is obvious the bull is swimming by the leg spacing, and the appearance of two fish, one in front of, and one behind the bull.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 370 BC, Crete

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .085m, W .05m

TECHNICAL FEATURES The artist has rendered the body of Europa in a wind-blown Classical style. He has paid special attention to anatomical details, including in her facial features, waves of hair, loose drapery, even her belly button. Several deeply incised lines demarcate the bull's shaggy neck. He has large, bulging eyes, horizontally turned ears, very well-defined sinewy legs, and a long wavy tail terminating in a knotted braid. Even the fins of the fish are incised.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Pappadakis (1941) 452ff., Abb. 1; O. Walter (1942, 103); Schefold (1949) 124; Züchner (1950) 181; Schefold (1954) 293ff.; Bühler (1968) 57; Brommer (1976) 126, Num. 2; Schefold (1981) 236, fig. 331; Zahn (1983, 132, Cat. 103); Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 99

COMPARANDA Vase moulds of this type are considerably rare. The closest contemporaneous comparisons are in various clay relief such as **Figure 30** above.

Figure 32 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 108



SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Clay relief lekythos, rosette design on neck, wave pattern below.

SUBJECT Europa and the bull, moving from left to right. Europa hangs off the bull similarly to the portrayal above, but she is positioned more vertically. Again, she performs *anakalypsis*. She is nude. A long, free-flowing peplos cascades around her body and streams behind. The bull appears swimming in profile, and turns his head to face the viewer frontally.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 380 BC, Blisnitza (Ukraine)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H. .19m. Condition is fair to good thanks to restoration. The work has been reassembled from at least a few pieces. Join lines are evident across the torso of Europa and the neck of the bull, as well as running near the foot of the vase and across Europa's own feet. The vase is broken off at the neck, with the topmost part completely missing. There also appears to be a circular piece broken off beneath the bull. Mild surface damage throughout.

TECHNICAL FEATURES The artist has devoted considerable attention to the two rosette designs on the neck of the vase, one of which is preserved quite well. The other is almost entirely missing. Numerous wavy lines

also have been incised to accentuate Europa's billowing garment, and give the effect of several overlapping folds. These same wavy lines also are preserved in the neck of the bull. The relief is quite high as it wraps around and accommodates the circular shape of the vase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Stephani (1866), Taf. 2,33; Overbeck (1871) 444, Num. 23; Winter (1903) I, 164, 3; Zervoudaki (1968) Taf. 21,1; Brommer (1973) 518, Num. E 2; Krammerer-Grothaus (1976), 237ff., Abb. 8-10; E. Zahn (1983), 134, Cat. 105.2; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 93

COMPARANDA Zahn 133-134, Cat. 104.2-104.7 and 105.2 includes seven lekythoi of similar type. See also **Figure 32A** and **Figure 28B**; Jahn (1870) 47, Anm. 1a; Athens NM 12421; Berlin T 7404; Frankfurt Liebieghaus Inv. 504; London BM Inv. TB 1120 (184) (G 6) = [=Figure 32B] Paris, Louvre MNB 628.



Figure 32A Lekythos, London BM TB (1120) (184) (G6)

Cf. also Winter (1903) *Typen* 164,4 [**Figure 28B**]; Zahn (1983) 133, Cat. 104.6. Zahn identifies seven similar forms of this particular design.

Gems and Stones



Figure 33

Oxford, Ashm.
Mus. 1966.596.

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Moss green
agate scaraboid

SUBJECT Europa
appears sitting
side-saddle on
the bull, moving
from right to left.
She holds one
hand on the
bull's flank
(possibly even his
tail) as the bull
swims forward.

Fish are depicted in front of the bull. Both Europa and the bull look forward. The composition shape accommodates the circular shape of the scarab.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, ca. 470 BC, Cyprus

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION 19 x 14 mm

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised lines give definition to Europa's chiton. Her body is visible beneath. The drape over the shoulder creates a strong vertical line. The same technique has been applied to the bull's neck to give the indication of shaggy hair. The photo is too grainy to make out in much detail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Boardman (1968) 106, Num. 305, Pl. 20; Bühler (1968) 69; Richter (1968) Num. 137a; Boardman (1970) Taf. 345; Brommer (1976) 123, Num. 26; Boardman and Vollenweider (1978) I, 16, Num. 75; Zahn (1983) 152, Cat. 200; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 84

COMPARANDA Zahn (1983) 152-153, Cat. 199, 201, 202, 203, 204 has five other scarabs dating to the same general period. They mostly come from personal collections. Provenance for many difficult to ascertain, but found in Italy and Cyprus among other locations. At least one has been identified as Etruscan.



Figure 34
 Madrid, Mus.
 Arch. 36994

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Green jasper scarab. Greco-Phoenician. A chain design encircles the central image.

SUBJECT

Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She holds the bull's left horn with her

left hand, turning his head to face the viewer. She also appears to face the viewer or look in reverse. Her rear right arm rests on the bull's flank. Her arm position is reminiscent of contemporaneous vase painting depictions and the earlier Archaic windmill pattern. The bull is disproportionately large compared to Europa. Beneath the bull are the possible remnants of a fish or letter?

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, ca. 450 BC, Ibiza

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION Unknown, good condition other than slight fractures near top and along left bottom near tip of tail and bull's hoof.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised lines evident, especially to the bull's massive, contorted neck, and Europa's chiton. Varying degrees of relief bring out the bull's and Europa's anatomy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Vives (1917) pl. 25, 9 [*non vidi*]; Boardman (1982) 297, pl. 66,7; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 85

COMPARANDA Zahn (1983), 152-153 lists five other scarabs from this same general period: Cat. 199, 201, 202, 203, 204.



Figure 35 Taranto, Mus.
Nat. 2150

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Gold leaf over white paste

SUBJECT

Europa on bull moving overseas from left to right. She appears to have both hands on the bull's horns. She also is wearing a hat, perhaps a polos to signify divinity. Her upper body is in profile, but three-quarter view from waist down. The bull's outstretched body indicates swift movement. His tail is playfully curled. The

possible remnants of a fish are preserved below.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 350 BC, Santa Lucia

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION 15 x 13 mm, fair condition, rough, unfinished look, chippings, and surface damage.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Blonde color, clear, elliptical, flat face, laminate with gold paste, finely chiseled. Facial features preserved on Europa and the bull.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Becatti (1955) 340, pl. 85; Bühler (1968) 58; Brommer (1976) 124, Num. 29; Zahn (1983) 153, Cat. 205; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 87

COMPARANDA Zahn (1983) includes one other example dated slightly later (153, Cat. 206), and several from Roman times. Cf. also Brommer (1976) 123-124

Coins



Figure 36 Current location unclear (Paris, Cabinet Medaillons?)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Elektron Stater

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull moving from right to left. Her rear left hand rests on bull's flank, and her right hand clutches his horn. A very large fish appears beneath them.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT

Unattributed, 450 BC, Cyzicus

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION

?, Good condition with mild surface wear and pitting

TECHNICAL FEATURES Incised lines for the folds of Europa's chiton and the shaggy neck of the bull. Also small incisions to bull's hooves and mouth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Babelon (1901) II 2, no. 2674, Pl. 174, 44; Fritze (1912) VII, Pl. 3, 27; Zahn (1983) 145, Cat. 166; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 105

COMPARANDA Other coins from period listed by Zahn et. al. Also shares features with gems. Most closely resembles the scarab **Figure 34** above.



Figure 37

London, BMC Crete Collection, 37, 3 pl. 9,3

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

AR Stater

SUBJECT Europa sits frontally on the bull with her arms extended outward to either side. The image occupies most of the surface. She possibly wears a polos hat. Her feet appear to rest on a fish. The bull moves overseas from left to right. Side B features a lion's head.

ATtribution, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 440 BC, Gortyn

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION ?, condition is good, with only minor surface wear

TECHNICAL FEATURES Few incised lines as others of this type. Series of incised lines near Europa's waist. Some evident also to bull's anatomy. Bull's bulging eyes evident.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Svoronos (1872) 158, Num. 1.2, Taf. 12,21; Babelon (1901) III, 7-14, 23, 24, pl. 252; De Ridder (1924?) pl. II, 8-16; Kraay/Hirmer (1966) 537-538, pl. 164; Zahn (1983) 137, Cat. 116, Taf. 22.1-2; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 107

COMPARANDA

Several other coins discovered at Gortyn (cf. Zahn (1983) 137-143, Cat. 116-155; and **Figure 37A** and **Figure 37B**).

Figure 37 A (from Cook, 1914, i.)



Figure 37 B (from Cook, 1914, i.)





Figure 38
London, *BMC*
Crete 61,2

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

AR Stater

SUBJECT

Europa sits on a rock, with her right hand raised, and her left hand resting on her lap. She appears in profile. She has a headdress and draping chiton. On the left side of the coin, the front part of a bull is visible. This includes the neck, head, and right foreleg.

This is one of the earliest portrayals of Europa not sitting on or hanging from the bull. It appears to depict the moment of their first meeting. Side B features Hermes.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, Phaistos, ca. 400 BC

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION ?, Fairly good condition. A small triangular chip just to left of Europa's head. Otherwise mild surface wear.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Considerable details include lots of wavy incised lines to Europa's chiton. The outline of her body is visible beneath. Facial features are preserved on both Europa and the bull. Possible inscribed name or word on upper left (Europe?).

BIBLIOGRAPHY Svoronos (1872) pl. 22, 35-37; Babelon (1901) III, pl. 255, 5.6; Zahn (1983) 144, Cat. 160; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 12

COMPARANDA

Cf. **Figure 37A** and **Figure 37B**.

Mirrors



Figure 39
Reggio
Calabria, Locri,
Mus. Naz.

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Bronze Mirror handle attachment. Palmette designs near top at mirror rim and Europa's hands. **SUBJECT** Europa hangs off the bull, facing the viewer frontally. Her body is fully visible. She is clothed in a long,

flowing peplos with one breast exposed. She is wearing either a hat or crown. The bull appears to be slowly meandering from right to left, with his head turned to the viewer.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 420 BC, Locri

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .35m, fairly good condition except for mild flaking and surface damage. This handle is broken off from the original mirror at the base of the mirror case rim, which is only partially preserved.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Lots of chiseling and incised lines. The chiseled band around the preserved mirror edge at the top similar to one along edge of Europa's polos hat. Facial features preserved on Europa and the bull. Wavy incised lines along base perhaps indicate grass. Europa's hands terminate in two palmette designs where the mirror was joined.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Orsi (1917) 112, Abb. 13; Von Duhn (1921) 148, Abb. 26; Rump (1924) 54; Oberländer (1967) 202, Num. 300; Bühler (1968) 58; Brommer (1976) 119, Num. 3; Schefold (1981) 236; Zahn (1983) 135, Cat. 108; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 98

COMPARANDA Zahn (135-136) lists six other mirror depictions from this same general period: Cat. 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113. See **Figure 39A** and **Figure 40**.

Figure 39A (from Zahn, Taf. 20 and Taf. 21)





Figure 40
Athens, NM
7422

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Bronze mirror cover

SUBJECT Europa hangs off of the bull in a three-quarter view. She and the bull move from right to left. Her face appears in profile. She has her left arm raised in the position of *anakalypsis*, and her right hand on the bull's horn. Her mantle

waves behind in numerous folds, occupying nearly a quarter of the space. The bull is in a near horizontal position with outstretched legs. It is obvious he is swimming. A large dolphin is depicted below. Side B shows a Nereid with Pan.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 380 BC, Eretria

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION D 8 cm, good condition with mild surface damage

TECHNICAL FEATURES Various wavy incised lines and stark changes in relief create numerous folds of Europa's dress. Idealized and exaggerated. Four incised lines along bull's neck and another for his cheek. Eyes, ears, cloven hooves, and other anatomical features preserved. Multiple planes created through changes in relief. Europa's legs overlap with the bull's and with the elongated body of the dolphin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY de Ridder (1897) 77ff., Abb. 1b; Stais (1907) I, 289, Num. 7422; Züchner (1942) KS 146, Pl. 4.1; Bühler (1968) 58; Brommer (1976) 119, Num. 3; Schefold (1981) 236; Zahn (1983) 135, Cat. 109; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 100

COMPARANDA Zahn (135-136) lists six other mirror depictions from this same general period: Cat. 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113. See **Figure 39A**.

Late Classical Vase Painting



Figure 41

London, BM E 231

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Hydria. Red-figure. White overlay, yellow and gold markings. Band of black dots near lip, dart and egg design below. Dart and egg band below. Palmettes on shoulders, dot designs around

handles. Vegetal motifs on reverse.

SUBJECT Europa hangs off of the bull. She appears upright in the background. She has her right arm raised in *anakalypsis* and her left hand on the neck of the bull. She wears a long draping chiton, with her breasts prominently exposed. She has her hair in a hair band. She stares straight ahead. The bright white bull is the central image. He swims from left to right. His forelegs are extended. His tail is curled. His testicles and penis are visible. In front of the bull, Hermes strides forwards with a cape wrapped around his neck. He turns back towards the bull. His right arm is raised in the same position as Europa's. Zeus appears seated on a throne further right. He also has his right hand raised and his long chiton removed. Behind the bull another male figure is seated (Agenor or Phoenix?). Two hovering *erotes* appear in front of and behind the bull. Like the bull they are painted brilliant white with red, brown, black, and gold glazes. One appears to be standing on the bull's tail and the other to be touching the tip of the bull's nose. A dolphin appears below and a few fish. A hanging fillet also appears in the background.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Europa Painter, 370 BC, Cyrenaica (Libya)

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .46m, Very well preserved

TECHNICAL FEATURES The vase displays a remarkable amount of detail. Each character receives considerable attention to their anatomical features and clothing. These details include various white, red, gold, yellow, brown, and black glazes. This includes to the folds of Europa's chiton and the plumage of the hovering *erotes*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY CVA British Museum (6) Pl. 96, 2; UKV #174; De Brauw (1940) 55; Metzger (1951) Pl. 40,2; Bühler (1968) 56; Brommer (1973) 517, Num. B 24; Schefold (1981) 236, Abb. 332; Schauenberg (1981) 112; Zahn (1983) 117, Cat. 48; Robertson *L/IMC* 4 (1988) I 57

COMPARANDA Contemporary Attic and South Italian vase painting, especially scenes of Aphrodite, Hermes, and the world of women.

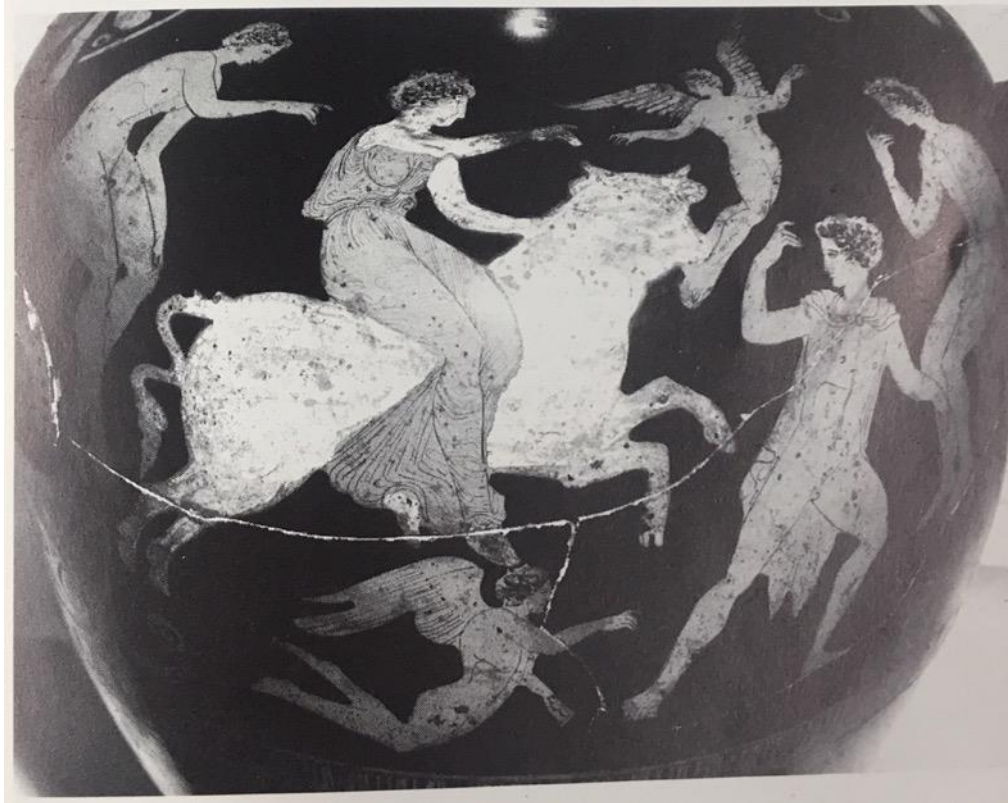


Figure 42
St. Petersburg,
Hermitage St.
884

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Hydria, double egg and dart band above. Freely entwined tendril pattern. Egg and dart design below. Rosette on bottom.

SUBJECT

Europa sits side-saddle on the bull, moving from left to right. She is

wearing a long peplos with her legs crossed at the ankles. Her right arm is raised, and her left arm on the bull's neck. The bull has its head turned away from the viewer. His front legs are extended to indicate swift movement. His tail is curled into an S-shape. Hermes appears striding in front of the bull with his right arm raised. He has a cape clasped at the neck. A nude, seated youth appears further right. Another nude seated youth appears behind the bull. They both have their right arms raised. One erotes hovers in front of Europa and the bull, reaching out to touch Europa's outstretched right hand with his own. Another erotes hovers beneath the Europa. Her foot almost touches his head.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Europa Painter, 360 BC, Campana

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .4m Fairly good condition. Reassembled from at least four pieces. Large horizontal crack runs from feet of seated rear male figure across Europa's and bull's feet, Hermes' upper-body, and seated youth in front.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Various dilutes and glazes in white, red, gold, brown, yellow, and black. Copious detail paid to each character. Notable features include the lower part of Europa's peplos with numerous black lines for folds and the *erotes'* plumage. The perspectives on the characters range from profile, to frontal, and three-quarters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Cook (1914) I, 506, Abb. 369; *UKV* # 154, Taf. 12; Metzger (1951) Pl. 41, 3; Bühler (1968) 56; Brommer (1973) 517, Num. B 23; 3; Zahn (1983) 117, Cat. 50; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 58

COMPARANDA

Contemporary Attic and South Italian vase painting, especially scenes of Aphrodite, Hermes, and the world of women.



Figure 43 St. Petersburg, Hermitage T. 1870.63 (KAB 4d)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Attic red-figured pelike. Egg and dart band around vase near lip and foot. Palmettes near handles. Vegetal motifs on bottom in front of and behind central image.

SUBJECT Europa appears in the foreground, hanging off of the bull. She wears a long peplos, with her breasts revealed. The bull is painted white. He moves from right to left. He likely was swimming. Poseidon holding his

trident appears in the background holding his trident. An *eros* is perched on his knee. In front of the bull appears a clothed figure, likely Hermes. Side B has three fully clothed female figures.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Europa Painter, 350 BC, Taman

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .38m, Surface very rubbed away. Most of bottom half of image is missing, especially to the left side. Mouth is broken.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Detailed folds in black on Europa's and Poseidon's peplos.

Bull in white with curled tail. Front legs in swimming position. Gold paint applied to Europa, including her jewelry. Gold also applied to Hermes' accessories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY UKV # 436; Metzger (1951) 306, Num. 14; Bühler (1968) 56; Brommer (1973) 516, Num. B 18; Schauenberg (1981) 114, Anm. 46; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 66; Zahn (1983) 117, Cat. 49

COMPARANDA

Contemporary Attic and South Italian vase painting, especially scenes of Aphrodite, Hermes, and the world of women.



Figure 44 St. Petersburg, Hermitage b 3292 (Inv. 14784)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Attic red-figure fish-plate. Egg and dart design around outer edge. Another band runs inside image around black center.

SUBJECT

Europa and the bull appear at the bottom of this image. They are one of several character groupings running around the plate. She appears as one of several images running around the entire surface of the plate. She hangs off of the bull in a draping peplos. The bull swims from left to right over an enlarged fish, and a giant squid. Two hovering erotes appear in front of them and

one behind. The rear one holds a fillet. Further right of the front two forward erotes a bearded Zeus sits enthroned, holding his scepter. Continuing counterclockwise we have a Nereid riding a seahorse, and Poseidon holding his trident. Various other aquatic creatures appear interspersed.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Unattributed, 370 BC, Blisnitza

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION D .26m. Reassembled from multiple fragments. Still missing pieces along right and upper sides. Lots of surface wear and damage.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Copious detail paid to each of the characters. The image of Europa on the bull is badly damaged. Various added glazes in black, brown, red, yellow, gold, and white. Notable elements of emphasis include the fillet held by one of the erotes and the marine life. The squid is a first.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Vasen Sammlung (1869) 379, Num. 1915; Overbeck (1871) 440-442; UKV #58; Metzger (1951) 307, Num. 19; Brommer (1973) 516, Nr. B 21; Schefold (1981) 236-237, Abb. 333; Zahn (1983) 118, Cat. 53. Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 59

COMPARANDA At least a few other of these fish-plate exist. Zahn includes them (118-119) as Cat. 51, 52, 54. See also a nearly identical version **Figure 44A**

Figure 44A St. Petersburg, Hermitage KAB 4a (St. 1915) [Europa appears lower left]





Figure 45 Paestum Museum
(Formerly in Getty Collection)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT Calyx-krater. Ivy, tendril, and floral design beneath lip. Tongue design around foot near attachment to base. Griffins beneath with other ivy, tendril, and floral design below. Floral motif running around near handle attachments. A checkerboard design supports the main image which is enclosed by a pentagon.

SUBJECT Europa sits side-saddle on the bull riding from right to left. She looks forward. She holds her right hand above the bull's horn, and her left hand clasps her billowing garment. She wears an elaborately decorated chiton. It is done in the local Italian tradition, with checkerboard and cross designs. She also has on local sandals. Her mantle

forms a figure S behind her. Scylla and Triton appear in front of and behind her. One holds a triton and the other an oar. The brightly painted white bull swims from right to left. He turns his face to the viewer. Various small fish appear below. An eros (identified as *pothos*) hovers above, holding a phiale and sprinkling a libation. Two triangular pediments appear on either side of the central image, to form an enclosing pentagon. The left side features from left to right Zeus, Crete (personified), and Hermes. The right pediment features from left to right a small eros holding a phiale, Adonis, and Aphrodite. Side B features Dionysus with a thiasos.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Asteas, 340 BC, Paestum

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .71m, D .61m, Excellent condition except for minor surface wear to floral motif between handles

TECHNICAL FEATURES Remarkable detail paid to every character on the vase. Various added glazes in black, brown, red, yellow, gold, and white bring out details of the scene. Notable features include to Europa's chiton, the Triton's bodies, the bull, the characters' clothing in the upper pediments, and the elaborate surrounding bands with natural and geometric motifs. One of the finest specimens of this vase type and of all Europa portrayals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY *RVP* 85, 129, Pl. 49-51a; *CVA, USA* 27 (Getty Museum 4) 45-47, Pl. 231-232; Jentoft-Nilsen (1983) 139-146, Figs. 1-4; Zahn (1983) 122, Cat. 66; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 74; Cipriani, Greco, et. al. (2009)

COMPARANDA

Other South Italian calyx kraters including those by Asteas (see **Figure 45B**).

Fig. 45A

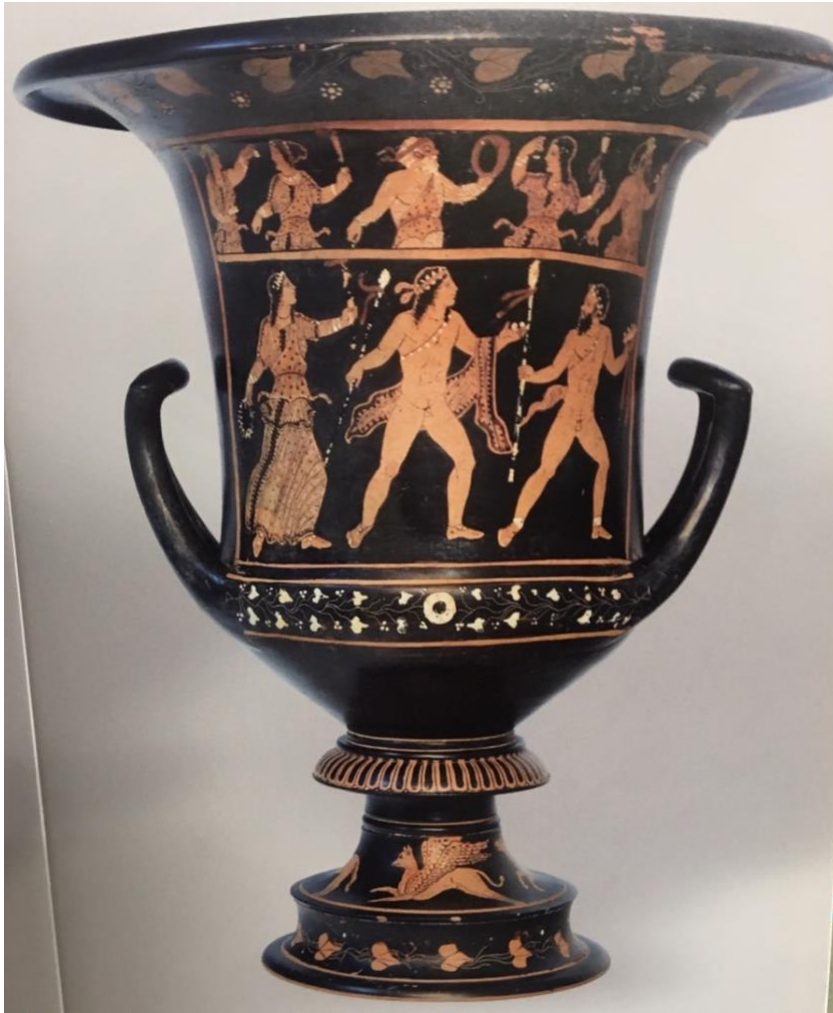


Figure 45B (Asteas krater of Europa, now in Atlanta)





Figure 46
Paris, Louvre
K 3
SHAPE AND ORNAMENT
Bell
krater. Wave
design
beneath lip.
Tongue
design
around
handles.
Meander and
saltire cross
design in
band below.
Palmette and

vegetal motif beneath handle design.

SUBJECT Europa appears as the central image. She sits on a rock, performing *anakalypsis* with her right hand. She is in a contorted body position, with her head facing forward, torso at the viewer, and legs behind. She has an elaborately decorated chiton and jewelry. Side B features a procession of Dionysus, Maenad, and Satyr. She wears veil and has her face turned down to look at the bull. The bull approaches Europa with his head bowed down. This is unseen before and suggests his subservience. His tail is playfully curled. Above the bull, moving counterclockwise, we have a seated Aphrodite talking to a small eros, two women in conversation, and a veiled woman holding a large amphora on her head. Trees and flowers are preserved around Europa.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Iliupersis Painter, 370 BC, Apulia

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .47 m, Excellent condition

TECHNICAL FEATURES Elaborate added glazes of black, brown, red, gold, yellow, and white. Notable details include in all of the women's clothes and jewelry, especially Europa's. The semicircular arc of the trees behind Europa is paralleled by the arc of characters behind and above her.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Overbeck (1871) II, 434, Num. 15, Taf. 5,12; Cook (1937) iii, 622, Anm. 3, Abb. 422; Schauenburg (1961) Num. 7; Bühler (1968) 56; Brommer (1973) 518, Num. D 7; *RVAp* I 195, 17 pl. 62; Zahn (1983) 121, Cat. 64, Taf. 14,1; Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 4

COMPARANDA

Contemporary Apulian and South Italian vase painting, especially scenes of Aphrodite, Hermes, and the world of women.



Figure 47
Rome, Vatican
X7 (inv. 18106)

SHAPE AND ORNAMENT

Two-handed amphora. Elaborate floral and tendril design beneath lip with prominent frontal female face. Egg and dart band

beneath. Ornate palmette, tendril, and floral design beneath handles. Multiple registers run horizontally.

SUBJECT Europa and the bull appear as the central image. She is wearing an elaborate chiton and jewelry. She bends over and reaches down to touch the bull's horn. The bull bows his head to the ground. A small flower appears between him and Europa. Above the bull an eros hovers in a standing position. He has just released a fillet and holds a lotus flower in one hand. Behind Europa, we observe Zeus on a slightly elevated plane performing *anakalypsis*. He holds a scepter. To the left of him a woman dressed similarly to Europa bends over while holding a mirror above her head. A basket appears in front of her feet. Behind the bull, we have another woman standing in elaborate costume. She is holding the bull by the tail. To her right stands Hermes, leaning over, wearing a cape, and holding a garland. Beneath the central image, a band of sea creatures runs around. Beneath that, another register with women and *erotes*. Side B also features tiers of young men and women on sea creatures.

ATTRIBUTION, DATE, FIND SPOT Perrone Painter, 330 BC, Apulia

DIMENSIONS AND CONDITION H .86m, D. ?, Excellent condition.

TECHNICAL FEATURES Various added glazes in black, brown, red, gold, yellow, and white. Elaborate details in the clothing and jewelry of all characters. The decorative motifs are also highly embellished. Full of copious detail. One of the finest specimens of its type.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Jahn (1870) 4; Cook (1937) iii, 620, Anm. 2, Num. 2, Abb. 419-420; De Brauw (1940) 55; *RVAP* II 523, 227; Trendall (1955) pl. 54; Schauenburg (1961) Num.8; Bühler (1968) 56; Brommer (1973) 518, Num. D 8; Schauenburg (1981) Anm. 37; Zahn (1983) 125, Cat. 77

Robertson *LIMC* 4 (1988) I 9

COMPARANDA Contemporary Apulian and South Italian vase painting, especially scenes of Aphrodite, Hermes, and the world of women.

Figure 47A Apulian amphora ca. 330 BC attributed to the Darius Painter now in Naples



APPENDIX D

Moschus' *Europa*

Εὐρώπη ποτὲ Κύπρις ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἦκεν ὄνειρον,
νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἴσταται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς,
ὑπνος ὅτε γλυκίων μέλιτος βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζων
λυσιμελῆς πεδάα μαλακῶ κατὰ φάεα δεσμῶ,
5εὔτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὄνειρων:
τῆμος ὑπωροφίοισιν ἐνὶ κνώσσουσα δόμοισι
Φοίνικος θυγάτηρ ἔτι παρθένος Εὐρώπεια
ώισατ' ἠπείρους δοιάς περὶ εἶο μάχεσθαι,
ἄσσιον ἀντιπέρην τε: φυὴν δ' ἔχον οἶα γυναῖκες.
10τῶν δ' ἦ μὲν ξείνης μορφὴν ἔχεν, ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐφίκει
ἐνδαπίη, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔης περιίσχετο κούρης,
φάσκεν δ' ὥς μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ὥς ἀτίτηλέ μιν αὐτή.
ἦ δ' ἐτέρη κρατερῆσι βιωμένη παλάμησιν
εἴρυν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν, ἐπεὶ φάτο μόρσιμον εἶο
15ἐκ Διὸς αἰγιόχου γέρας ἔμμεναι Εὐρώπειαν.
ἦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν στρωτῶν λεχέων θόρε δειμαίνουσα,
παλλομένη κραδίην: τὸ γὰρ ὥς ὑπαρ εἶδεν ὄνειρον.
ἐζομένη δ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἀκὴν ἔχεν, ἀμφοτέρας δὲ
εἰσέτι πεπταμένοισιν ἐν ὄμμασιν εἶχε γυναῖκας.
20ὀψὲ δὲ δειμαλέην ἀνενείκατο παρθένον αὐδήν:
'τίς μοι τοιάδε φάσματ' ἐπουρανίων προΐηλεν;
ποιοί με στρωτῶν λεχέων ὑπερ ἐν θαλάμοισιν
ἦδὺ μάλα κνώσσουσαν ἀνεπτοίησαν ὄνειροι,
τίς δ' ἦν ἡ ξείνη, τὴν εἶσιδον ὑπνώουσα;
25ὥς μ' ἔλαβε κραδίην κείνης πόθος, ὥς με καὶ αὐτὴ
ἀσπασίως ὑπέδεκτο καὶ ὥς σφετέρην ἴδε παῖδα.
ἀλλὰ μοι εἰς ἀγαθὸν μάκαρες κρήνειαν ὄνειρον.'
ὥς εἰποῦς' ἀνόρουσε, φίλας δ' ἐπεδίξεθ' ἑταίρας
ἠλικας οἰέτεας θυμήρεας εὐπατερείας,
30τῆσιν ἀεὶ συνάθυρεν, ὅτ' ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνοίτο,
ἦ ὅτε φαιδρύνοίτο χροά προχοῆσιν ἀναύρων,
ἦ ὅπῳ ἐκ λειμῶνος εὐπνοα λείρι ἀμέργοι.

αἰ δέ οἱ αἰψα φάανθεν: ἔχον δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑκάστη
ἀνθοδόκον τάλαρον: ποτὶ δὲ λειμῶνας ἔβαινον
35ἀγχιάλους, ὅθι τ' αἰὲν ὀμιλαδὸν ἠγερέθοντο
τερπόμεναι ῥοδέη τε φυῆ καὶ κύματος ἠχῆ.
αὐτὴ δὲ χρύσειον τάλαρον φέρεν Εὐρώπεια,
θηητόν, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγαν πόνον Ἥφαιστοιο,
ὄν Λιβύη πόρε δῶρον, ὅτ' ἐς Λέχος Ἐννοσιγαίου
40ἦεν: ἠ δὲ πόρεν περικαλλεῖ Τηλεφάσση,
ἦτε οἱ αἵματος ἔσκεν: ἀνύμφω δ' Εὐρωπείη
μήτηρ Τηλεφάσσα περικλυτὸν ὤπασε δῶρον.
ἐν τῷ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχαστο μαρμαίροντα.
ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ,
45εἰσέτι πόρτις ἐοῦσα, φυῆν δ' οὐκ εἶχε γυναίην.
φοιταλή δὲ πόδεσσιν ἐφ' ἀλμυρὰ βαῖνε κέλευθα,
νηχομένη ἰκέλη: κυανῆ δ' ἐτέτυκτο θάλασσα.
δοιοὶ δ' ἔστασαν ὑψοῦ ἐπ' ὀφρύος αἰγιαλοῖο
φῶτες ἀολλήδην, θηεῦντο δὲ ποντοπόρον βοῦν.
50ἐν δ' ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἐπαφώμενος ἠρέμα χερσὶ
πόρτιος Ἰναχίης, τὴν δ' ἑπταπόρῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ
ἐκ βοῶς εὐκεράοιο πάλιν μετὰμειβε γυναῖκα.
ἀργύρεος μὲν ἔην Νείλου ῥόος, ἠ δ' ἄρα πόρτις
χαλκείη, χρυσοῦ δὲ τετυγμένος αὐτὸς ἔην Ζεὺς.
55ἀμφὶ δὲ δινήεντος ὑπὸ στεφάνην ταλάροιο
Ἑρμείης ἦσκητο: πέλας δέ οἱ ἐκτετάνυστο
Ἄργος ἀκοιμήτοισι κεκασμένος ὀφθαλμοῖσι.
τοῖο δὲ φοινήεντος ἀφ' αἵματος ἐξανέτελλεν
ὄρνις ἀγαλλόμενος πτερύγων πολυανθείϊ χροίῃ,
60ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας ὡσεῖτε τις ὠκύαλος νηῦς:
χρυσείου ταλάροιο περίσκεπε χεῖλεα ταρσός.
τοῖος ἔην τάλαρος περικαλλέος Εὐρωπείης.
αἰ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν λειμῶνας ἐς ἀνθεμόεντας ἵκανον,
ἄλλη ἐπ' ἀλλοίοισι τότε ἀνθεσι θυμὸν ἔτερπον.
65τῶν ἠ μὲν νάρκισσον ἐϋπνοον, ἠ δ' ὑάκινθον,
ἠ δ' ἴον, ἠ δ' ἔρπυλλον ἀπαίνυτο: πολλὰ δ' ἔραζε
λειμώνων ἐαρотреφέων θαλέθεσκε πέτηλα.
αἰ δ' αὖτε ξανθοῖο κρόκου θυόεσσαν ἔθειραν
δρέπτον ἐριδμαίνουσαι, ἀτὰρ μεσσίστη ἄνασσα
70ἀγλαῖην πυρσοῖο ῥόδου χεῖρεσσι λέγουσα,
οἷά περ ἐν Χαρίτεσσι διέπρεπεν Ἀφρογένεια.
οὐ μὴν δηρὸν ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι θυμὸν ἰαίνειν,

οὐδ' ἄρα παρθενίην μίτρην ἄχραντον ἔρυσθαι.
ἦ γὰρ δὴ Κρονίδης ὣς μιν φράσαθ', ὡς ἐόλητο
75θυμὸν ἀνώιστοισιν ὑποδηθεὶς βελέεσσι
Κύπριδος, ἠ μούνη δύναται καὶ Ζῆνα δαμάσσαι.
δὴ γὰρ ἀλευόμενός τε χόλον ζηλήμονος Ἥρης
παρθενικῆς τ' ἐθέλων ἀταλὸν νόον ἐξαπατήσαι
κρύψε θεὸν καὶ τρέψε δέμας καὶ γείνετο ταῦρος,
80οὔχ οἶος σταθμοῖς ἐνιφέρβεται, οὐδὲ μὲν οἶος
ᾠλκα διατμήγει σύρων εὐκαμπὲς ἄροτρον,
οὐδ' οἶος ποιμνῆς ἐπιβόσκεται, οὐδὲ μὲν οἶος
ὄστις ὑποδηθεὶς ἐρύει πολύφορτον ἀπήνην.
τοῦ δὴ τοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέμας ξανθόχροον ἔσκε,
85κύκλος δ' ἀργύφειος μέσσω μάρμαιρε μετώπῳ,
ὅσσε δ' ὑπογλαύσσεσκε καὶ ἴμερον ἀστράπτεσκεν.
ἴσα τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κέρα ἀνέτελλε καρῆνου
ἄντυγος ἠμιτόμου κεραῆς ἄτε κύκλα σελήνης.
ἦλυθε δ' ἐς λειμῶνα καὶ οὐκ ἐφόβησε φαανθεὶς
90παρθενικάς, πάσησι δ' ἔρωσ γενεὴ ἐγγύς ἰκέσθαι
ψαῦσαι θ' ἴμερτοῖο βοός, τοῦ δ' ἄμβροτος ὀδμή
τηλόθι καὶ λειμῶνος ἐκαίνυτο λαρὸν αὐτμήν.
στῆ δὲ ποδῶν προπάροισιν ἀμύμονος Εὐρωπείης,
καὶ οἱ λιχμάζεσκε δέρην, κατέθελγε δὲ κούρην.
95ἦ δέ μιν ἀμφάσασκε καὶ ἠρέμα χεῖρεσιν ἀφρόν
πολλὸν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀπομόργνυτο, καὶ κύσε ταῦρον.
αὐτὰρ ὁ μελίχιον μυκήσατο: φαῖό κεν αὐλοῦ
Μυγδονίου γλυκὺν ἦχον ἀνηπύοντος ἀκούειν.
ᾠκλασε δὲ πρὸ ποδοῖν, ἐδέρκετο δ' Εὐρώπειαν
100αὐχὲν ἐπιστρέψας καὶ οἱ πλατὺ δείκνυε νῶτον.
ἦ δὲ βαθυπλοκάμοισι μετέννεπε παρθενικῆσι:
'δεῦθ' ἐτάραι φίλια καὶ ὀμήλικες, ὄφρ' ἐπὶ τῷδε
ἐζόμεναι ταύρω τερπώμεθα: δὴ γὰρ ἀπάσας
νῶτον ὑποστορέσας ἀναδέξεται, οἷά τ' ἐνήης
105πρηῆς τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ μελίχος, οὐδέ τι ταύροις
ἄλλοισι προσέοικε: νόος δὲ οἱ ἦντε φωτὸς
αἴσιμος ἀμφιθέει, μούνης δ' ἐπιδεύεται αὐδῆς.'
ὡς φασμένη νῶτοισιν ἐφίζανε μειδιώσα,
αἰ δ' ἄλλαι μέλλεσκον. ἄφαρ δ' ἀνεπήλατο ταῦρος,
110ἦν θέλεν ἀρπάξας: ὠκύς δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἴκανεν.
ἦ δὲ μεταστρεφθεῖσα φίλας καλέεσκεν ἐταίρας
χεῖρας ὀρεγνυμένη, ταὶ δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο κιχάνειν.

ἀκτάων δ' ἐπιβάς πρόσσω θέεν ἤϋτε δελφίς
 χηλαῖς ἀβρεκτοῖσιν ἐπ' εὐρέα κύματα βαίνων.
 115ἦ δὲ τότ' ἐρχομένοιο γαληνιάασκε θάλασσα,
 κήτεα δ' ἀμφίς ἄταλλε Διὸς προπάροιθε ποδοῖν,
 γηθόσυνος δ' ὑπὲρ οἶδμα κυβίστεε βυσσόθε δελφίς:
 Νηρεΐδες δ' ἀνέδυσαν ὑπέξ ἄλός, αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι
 κητείοις νώτοισιν ἐφήμεναι ἐστιχόωντο.
 120καὶ δ' αὐτὸς βαρύδουπος ὑπεΐραλος Ἐννοσίγαιος
 κῦμα κατιθύνων ἀλίης ἠγεῖτο κελεύθου
 αὐτοκασιγνήτω: τοὶ δ' ἀμφί μιν ἠγερέθοντο
 Τρίτωνες, πόντοιο βαρύθροοι ἀύλητῆρες,
 κόχλοισιν ταναοῖς γάμιον μέλος ἠπύοντες.
 125ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐφεζομένη Ζηνὸς βοέοις ἐπὶ νώτοις
 τῇ μὲν ἔχεν ταύρου δολιχὸν κέρασ, ἐν χειρὶ δ' ἄλλη
 εἶρνε πορφυρέην κολποῦ πτύχα, ὄφρα κε μὴ μιν
 δεύοι ἐφελκόμενον πολιῆς ἄλός ἄσπετον ὕδωρ.
 κολπώθη δ' ὤμοισι πέπλος βαθύς Εὐρωπείης,
 130ἰστίον οἶά τε νηός, ἐλαφρίζεσκε δὲ κούρην.
 ἦ δ' ὅτε δὴ γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἦεν ἄνευθεν,
 φαίνεται δ' οὐτ' ἀκτὴ τις ἀλίροθος οὐτ' ὄρος αἰπύ,
 ἀλλ' ἀῆρ μὲν ἄνωθεν, ἔνερθε δὲ πόντος ἀπειρών,
 ἀμφί ἐ παπτήνασα τόσῃν ἀνενεΐκατο φωνήν:
 135 'πῆ με φέρεις θεόταυρε; τίς ἔπλεο; πῶς δὲ κέλευθα
 ἀργαλῆ εἰλιπόδεσσι διέρχεαι, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν
 δευμαίνεις; νηυσὶν γὰρ ἐπίδρομος ἐστί θάλασσα
 ὠκυάλαις, ταῦροι δ' ἀλίην τρομέουσιν ἀταρπόν.
 ποῖόν τοι ποτὸν ἠδύ; τίς ἐξ ἄλός ἔσσει ἐδωδή;
 140ἦ ἄρα τις θεὸς ἐσσι: θεοῖς ὃ ἐπεικότα ῥέζεις.
 οὐθ' ἄλλιοι δελφῖνες ἐπὶ χθονὸς οὐτε τι ταῦροι
 ἐν πόντῳ στιχόωσι, σὺ δὲ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον
 ἄτρομος αἰῶσεις, χηλαὶ δὲ τοί εἰσιν ἐρετμά.
 ἦ τάχα καὶ γλαυκῆς ὑπὲρ ἠέρος ὑψός' ἀερθεῖς
 145εἵκελος αἰψηροῖσι πετήσεται οἰωνοῖσιν.
 ὦμοι ἐγὼ μέγα δὴ τι δυσάμμορος, ἦ ῥά τε δῶμα
 πατρὸς ἀποπρολιποῦσα καὶ ἐσπομένη βοῖ τῶδε
 ξείνην ναυτιλίην ἐφέπω καὶ πλάζομαι οἷη.
 ἀλλὰ σύ μοι μεδέων πολιῆς ἄλός Ἐννοσίγαιε
 150ἴλαος ἀντιάσειας, ὃν ἔλπομαι εἰσοράασθαι
 τόνδε κατιθύνοντα πόρον προκέλευθον ἐμεῖο.
 οὐκ ἄθεεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα διέρχομαι ὕγρα κέλευθα.'

ὥς φάτο: τὴν δ' ὧδε προσεφώνεεν ἠΰκερως βοῦς:
'θάρσει παρθενική, μὴ δείδιθι πόντιον οἶδμα.
155 αὐτός τοι Ζεὺς εἶμι, κεῖ ἐγγύθεν εἶδομαι εἶναι
ταῦρος: ἐπεὶ δύναμαί γε φανήμεναι ὅτι θέλοιμι.
σὸς δὲ πόθος μ' ἀνέηκε τόσῃν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι
ταύρω ἐειδόμενον: Κρήτη δέ σε δέξεται ἤδη,

ἢ μ' ἔθρεψε καὶ αὐτόν, ὅπη νυμφήϊα σεῖο
160 ἔσσεται: ἐξ ἐμέθεν δὲ κλυτοὺς φυτύσειαι υἱας,
οἱ σκηπτοῦχοι ἄνακτες ἐπὶ χθονίοισιν ἔσονται.'
ὥς φάτο: καὶ τετέλεστο τὰ περ φάτο. Φαίνεται μὲν δὴ
Κρήτη, Ζεὺς δὲ πάλιν σφετέρην ἀνελάζετο μορφήν,
λῦσε δὲ οἱ μίτρην, καὶ οἱ λέχος ἔντυον ἾΩραι.
165 ἢ δὲ πάρος κόρη Ζηνὸς γένετ' αὐτίκα νύμφη,
καὶ Κρονίδη τέκνα τίκτε καὶ αὐτίκα γίνετο μήτηρ.

Moschus' Europa (Neil Hopkinson, tr. 2015)

Cypris once sent upon Europa a sweet dream. At the time when the third part of night begins and dawn is near; when limb-loosening sleep, sweeter than honey, sits on the eyelids and binds the eyes with a soft bond; and when the herd of true dreams goes afield—at that time, as she slumbered in her upper chamber, Europa, daughter of Phoenix, still a virgin, thought she saw two continents contend for her, Asia and the land opposite;⁵ and they had the form of women. Of these, one had the appearance of a foreigner, while the other resembled a native woman and clung more and more to her daughter, and kept saying that she had herself borne and reared her. But the other, using the force of her strong hands, drew her not unwillingly along, for she said it was fated by Zeus who bears the aegis that Europa should be her prize.

Europa leaped in fright from her covered bed, her heart pounding; she had experienced the dream as if it were real. Sitting down, she kept a long time silent; and still she kept a vision of both women before her now open eyes. At last the girl raised her frightened voice: "Which of the gods in heaven has sent such visions upon me? What sort of dreams appearing above my covered bed have scared me as I slept so sweetly in my chamber? Who was the foreign woman whom I saw as I slept? How love for her seized my heart! How joyfully she herself welcomed me and looked on me as her own child! May the blessed gods bring this dream to fulfillment for me with a good result!"

With these words she leaped up and looked for her dear companions, girls of the same age, born in the same year, dear to her heart and from noble fathers, with whom she always played when she entered the dance, or when she washed her body in the streams of rivers, or when she plucked fragrant lilies from the meadow. And at once they appeared to her; and each held in her hands a basket for flowers; and they went to the meadows near the sea, where they always gathered together in groups, delighting in the growing roses and in the sound of the waves. Europa herself carried a golden basket, a thing to admire, a great wonder, a great work of Hephaestus, which he gave as a gift to Libya when she went to the

bed of the Earthshaker. She gave it to the beautiful Telephassa, who was of her blood; and Telephassa, mother of Europa, presented it as a splendid gift to Europa when she was still unmarried.

On it were wrought many elaborate designs that gleamed brightly: there was Io, daughter of Inachus, wrought of gold, still a heifer; and she did not have the form of a woman. She went wandering with her feet on the briny paths as if swimming, and the sea was wrought of blue enamel. High up on the cliffs of either shore stood people in crowds who gazed on the seagoing cow. There was Zeus, son of Cronus, touching lightly with his hands the heifer, daughter of Inachus, which by the seven-branched Nile he was changing back from a well-horned cow to a woman. The stream of the Nile was of silver, and the heifer of bronze, and Zeus himself was wrought of gold. All around, under the rim of the rounded basket, Hermes was depicted, and near him Argus was stretched out, endowed with unsleeping eyes. From his crimson blood arose a bird, exulting in the many-hued color of its wings: spreading them out like a sea-swift ship it covered the lip of the golden basket with its tail. Such was the basket of beautiful Europa.

Now when they reached the flower meadows one girl delighted her heart with one flower, one with another. One of them picked the fragrant narcissus, another the hyacinth, another the violet, another thyme; for on the ground many flowers of the meadows nourished in spring were blooming. Others again competed to gather fragrant tresses of golden saffron. But in their midst the princess, plucking with her hands the splendor of a flame-red rose, stood out like the foam-born goddess among the Graces.

Not for long was she to please her heart with the flowers or keep her virgin girdle undefiled. No sooner had the son of Cronus noticed her than he was in turmoil in his heart, overcome by the unexpected arrows of Cypris, who alone can overcome even Zeus. Indeed, to avoid the anger of jealous Hera and wishing to deceive the girl's simple mind, he hid his godhead, altered his shape, and became a bull—not such a bull as feeds in the stall, nor such as cuts a furrow, dragging the well-bent plow, nor such as grazes in charge of the herds, nor such as pulls a heavily laden wagon, subdued by the whip. The rest of his body was golden colored; but a silvery circle gleamed in the middle of his forehead, and his eyes shone brightly from underneath and shot forth desire like lightning; his matching horns rose from his head like crescents of the horned moon when its rim is cut in half. He went into the meadow and did not frighten the girls when he appeared: a desire arose in them all to come near and touch the lovely

bull, whose divine fragrance from far off exceeded even the sweet scent of the meadow. He stopped before the feet of noble Europa, licked her neck, and charmed the girl. She stroked him gently, and with her hands wiped away the mass of foam from his mouth, and she kissed the bull. He lowed gently—you would have said you heard the sweet sound of a Mygdonian flute playing—and knelt before her feet and gazed at Europa as he turned his neck, and showed her his broad back. And she said to the girls with their deep tresses, “Come here, dear companions, girls of my age, so that we may enjoy ourselves sitting on this bull: making a couch of his back, he will take us all, so mild and gentle and tame is he to look on; nor is he at all like other bulls, but a sensible mind like a man’s surrounds him, and he lacks only speech.”

With these words she sat smiling on his back, and the others were about to do so, but the bull leaped up suddenly, having gained the girl he wanted, and arrived swiftly at the sea. She turned round and kept calling her dear companions, stretching out her hands; but they could not reach her. Crossing the beach, he sped onward like a dolphin, going over the wide waves with hooves unwetted. Then the sea became calm as he went along, and the sea beasts played all around before the feet of Zeus, and the dolphin somersaulted joyfully over the swell out of the deep. The Nereids rose from the sea, and all moved in ranks sitting on the backs of sea beasts. And above the surface the deep-roaring Earthshaker himself was leader of the sea path for his brother, smoothing the waves; and around him were gathered the Tritons, deep-sounding musicians of the sea, playing a wedding song on their tapering shells. And she, sitting on the back of the bull Zeus, with one hand held a long horn of the bull, and with the other gathered up the purple folds of her robe so that the gray sea’s great waters might not wet it trailing along. The deep robe of Europa bellied out round her like the sail of a ship, and it bore the girl up lightly.

But when she was far from her homeland, and neither a sea-sounding shore nor a high mountain was to be seen, but air above and the boundless sea below, gazing around she spoke these words: “Where are you carrying me, godlike bull? Who are you? And how do you pass over ways hard for shambling cattle, and do not fear the sea? The sea is passable for swift ships, but bulls fear a briny path. What sweet drink, what food will there be for you from the sea? Are you then some god? At any rate, you do things fitting gods. Seagoing dolphins do not go on land, and bulls do not go at all on the sea; but you speed fearlessly over land and sea, and hooves are oars for you. Soon, I daresay, rising high above the clear sky, you will fly like the swift birds. Alas! How very unlucky I am! Leaving my

father's house and going with this bull, I make a strange foreign voyage and wander alone. But may you, ruler of the gray sea, Earthshaker, receive me kindly; I suspect I see you directing this voyage and leading the way for me; not without some god do I pass over these watery ways."

So she spoke; and the horned bull addressed her with these words: "Take courage, my girl; do not fear the sea swell. I am Zeus himself, even if at close quarters I seem to be a bull, since I can take whatever appearance I might wish. Love for you made me cross so much sea in the shape of a bull. Crete, where I myself was reared, will soon receive you; there your marriage will take place; and from me you shall bear famous sons who shall all be rulers over men."

So he spoke; and what he said was brought to pass. Crete indeed came in sight, and Zeus took on his own shape again and loosened her girdle, and the Hours prepared her bed. And she who was formerly a girl at once became the bride of Zeus, and she bore children to the son of Cronus and at once became a mother.