James Middleton Essay Prize in Humanities
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Essay by Dylan Morningstar
On the Correlation of Eastern Contact and Representation in Art

Life and culture are always in flux; whether ancient or modern, foreign or familiar, the way in which things are perceived and believed are constantly changing. Greek civilization and culture, though we as Westerners tend to see them as self-perpetuated, are no different from these shifting social phenomena. This is not to say that the Greeks and their revolutionary political, social and artistic accomplishments are to be undermined, but simply that they should be taken down from the pedestal that many scholars have put them upon and should be viewed with a more critical and world-conscious eye. What is meant by the term world-conscious eye, is that one must look at the Greeks not only in relation to their surroundings, but also *from* the view of those surrounding them and their relation to and influence on the Greeks. The aim of this paper, consequently, is to use the aforementioned world-conscious view to analyze the depictions that the Greeks use to delineate "others," specifically the peoples of Egypt, Troy/Persians, Assyrians, and the general east, as consciously and definitively different from representations of themselves. In exploring the differences of the Greeks and the East, there will inevitably be similarities as well: through contact, positive or negative, cultures exchange practices, linguistics, and myths, all of which will be proved and analyzed in the following. By determining the time and amicability of contact, as well as the extent of the influence of the eastern civilizations on Greeks through mythological evolution, it will be demonstrated that depictions of eastern civilizations in Greek art were a direct reflection of contact eastern contact and cultural absorption.

To first understand the reasons behind the certain portrayals of cultures of the east by the Greeks, the context and background of said portrayals must first be examined. Beginning chronologically with the Bronze Age and the Mycenaean and Minoan civilizations, particularly after the Minoan collapse c.1400 B.C.E-1340 B.C.E., there is a complex trade route between the Mycenaeans and the east, attested by finds of Egyptian pottery in Mycenae and vice versa.[1] Before commenting on the Mycenaean aspects of this relationship, a few words are to be said about the Minoans. The Minoans are considered by some scholars to have succumbed to the influences of the east more so than the Mycenaeans, including palace construction and writing forms. Reynold Higgins states that, "[Minoan] civilization clearly owe(s) something to intensified contacts with Western Asia and Egypt, but the foreign influences were soon absorbed and transformed," into a uniquely Minoan style.[2] Higgins also recognizes the relation between Minoan and Egyptian hieratic and hieroglyphic forms and the fact that they both co-existed simultaneously in their respective civilizations.[3] Artistic instances of this eastern similarity can be seen in a sphinx from the Minoan town of Mallia, and also exemplified by the adoption of the Egyptian faience technique of core quartz grains being cemented together and covered with a glaze[4] (Figure 1).

Mycenaeans, however, are often seen as the proto-Greek civilization though they are not essentially Greek. The fact that many Greek myths of heroic deeds are set contemporaneously with the Mycenaeans attests to the influence of the Mycenaeans, such as the *Iliad* with

[1] Hicks 1962, 91-92.
[2] Higgins 1997, 17.
[3] Higgns 1997, 18.
[4] Higgins 1997, 31.

Agamemnon leading the "Greeks" to Troy, and heroes such as Perseus, and importantly for this paper, Heracles.[5] Excavations by Petrie and Peet at Tell-el-Amarna starting in 1891 and 1921, respectively, have found over 1500 Mycenaean pottery sherds conclusively dating to c.1375-1350 B.C.E and to the reign of Akhenaten.[6] These sherds were found in trash heaps outside what Petrie and Peet deemed the "great Sun-Temple" of Akhenaten, and date to the Late Minoan IIIb (LMIIIb) period, merely decades before the collapse of the Minoan civilization which correlates to the lack of Mycenaean/Minoan pottery at Tell-el-Amarna after the collapse.[7]

Another find indicative of the vast contact with the east that the Mycenaean and Minoan civilizations experienced is established by the Bronze Age shipwreck of Uluburun, which dates closely to the rule of Akhenaten in which the Mycenaean pottery was found at Amarna.[8] The date of the Uluburun shipwreck has been dated to the LMIIIb period and the contents include mostly raw materials: copper, tin and silver ingots, cobalt-blue glass, unworked hippopotamus and elephant ivory, Egyptian ebony, scrap gold and jewelry from Egypt and the Levant, perfumes, bronze weapons, oils, fruits, spices, nuts, Canaanite jars (120) containg Syrian terebinth resin, etc.[9] Examining this catalogue and the raw, unworked manner of most of the materials proves that the Mycenaeans and Minoans had a vast trade network available to them. The diversity and abundance of unworked material also demonstrates the diffusion of the craftspeople across the Mediterranean and the workforces necessary to refine these objects into valuable commodities and bring them into Bronze Age markets, which will also be seen in later contact periods.

The aforementioned data reflects the amicable and cooperative tendencies of Bronze Age trade between the Greeks and the east, though that is not to say that there were *no* conflicts between the Greeks and the east, but the vast network of commerce suggests that the relations were docile enough to permit extensive trade. A possible argument to the amicable relations of the east and Greeks would be the presence of the bronze weapons in the Uluburun catalogue. To this I would rebut that the presence is by no means indicative of extensive conflict between the east and Greeks, but rather perhaps inner turmoil; to suggest that a civilization would trade arms to an enemy in times of conflict seems to be a rather anachronistic concept of a capitalistic mentality where one would achieve monetary gain by any means necessary. To me this concept does not seem relevant to ancient times, as it would not fit the ancient context in regards to economic tendencies or to warfare ideals.

Another period of contact, or lack thereof as many scholars would argue, is the Archaic Period (c.800-480 B.C.E) which encompasses the firstly the late Dark Age (c.1100-750 B.C.E.), and secondly the Orientalising Period (c.700-600 B.C.E.) in which there was an increased influence from eastern civilizations. The late Archaic Period was a period of vast colonization and movement on the Mediterranean and Levantine coasts and mainlands, ending with the invasion of Greece by Persia c.480 B.C.E. The large span that the Archaic Period encompasses contains in it an Assyrian domination which coincides with an increase in movement of peoples and practice into and out of Greece.[10] This exchange allowed for movement of not only techniques of artistic representation, but also of finished products.[11] Burkert states that "as for

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[5] Nilsson 1972, 219-220.
[6] Peet 1921, 182-83.
[7] Peet 1921, 184-85.
[8] Haldane 1993, 348-49.
[9] Haldane 1993, 348-53.
[10] Burkert 1992, 21-22.
[11] Burkert 1992, 14-15.

Greece, trade with the East never completely stopped. There are individual imported pieces from the tenth and ninth centuries; their numbers increase in the first half of the 8th century, and...the first half of the seventh."[12] Burkert confirms the increase of imports with examples of amulet-type ornaments in Syrian and Egyptian style that occur in a tomb in Lefkandi, as well as Phoenician scarabs in the Heroon at Eretria and typical Mesopotamian cylinder seals at Olympia.[13] He also describes 8th century Phoenician shields in Athens, Olympia and Delos which have been identified as Homeric in style for their similarity to the description of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* (Figure 2); Burkert suggests that the figure holding the lion is Zeus, but for the sake of this paper I would emphasize the "eastern" apparel that "Zeus" adorns, a full-jump-suit-like garment that is also demonstrated in the Scythian archer (Figure 3).

Burkert lastly makes note of the continuation of Bronze Age motifs of Master and Mistress of Animals, gryphons, lions, sphinxes, and sirens, stating that they are "given a new lease on life...and adapted to the new fashion."[14] Comparing Figures 1, 2, and 4, one can see many similarities in the stylistic depictions of the beasts and the anthropomorphic entities (Figure 4).

In regards to the Orientalising Period of the Archaic I will be mostly concerned with Egyptian influences on Greek civilization, focusing on Egyptian elements in Greek mythology and art, and the Greek mercenary/commerce port of Naukratis. During the Orientalising Period there was a rise in Greek presence which had been lacking after the Bronze Age collapse and the raids of the "Aquaiwasha," whom scholars have identified with the Acheans.[15] The increase in Greek presence correlates with the rise of the Saite dynasty (Psammetichus I and Amasis) and its reliance on Greek mercenaries to obtain the throne, eventually resulting in the founding of the mercenary-turned-commerce port of Naukratis in the 7th century.[16] The nature of the port of Naukratis has been questioned by Alexander Fantalkin who deems the port as a military garrison rather than a trading emporium because of the strict regulations on trade that Egyptians encroached on ports of their own.[17] Fantalkin also asserts in support of his militant theory that the Egyptians were acting as a central authoritative figure which orchestrated mercenary movement along the Levantine coast, which allows for an appearance of Assyrian pottery in Naukratis as well as east Greek pottery in Tel Kabri.[18] To support Fantalkin's theory, Burkert puts forward certain militant loan-words that are noted in Greek language: Greek *harpe* from Aramaic *harba*, meaning sword; Greek *macha* from Akkadian *mahsu* and Aramaic *maha*, meaning battle or to hit; and Greek and Akkadian "warcry," *alala* (Hallelujah), as a few examples.[19] Thus contact was both amicable and hostile or dangerous; both of these relations to the east will be demonstrated in the artistic expressions below.

Lastly, as not to delve into the already attested presence and influence of the east on the Greeks any more than necessary in the Later Archaic period, Herodotus' *Histories* will be examined. In Book II, Herodotus is inquiring into Egyptian religious practice and discovers the similarities between Greek and Egyptian worship, specifically in the 12 figured pantheon and,

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[12] Burkert 1992, 15.
[13] Burkert 1992, 15.
[14] Burkert 1992, 17.
[15] Hicks 1962, 92.
[16] Hicks 1962, 92.
[17] Fantalkin 2006, 202-3.
[18] Fantalkin 2006, 203.
[19] Burkert 1992, 39-40.

importantly, the myth of Heracles.[20] Herodotus explores the beginnings of the Heracles ethos, noting:

> I have indeed a lot of other evidence that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon), besides this: that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both Egyptian by descent; and that the Egyptians deny knowing the names Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet if they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, of these not least but in particular would they preserve a recollection, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and some Greeks, too, were seafaring men, as I expect and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. But Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, one of whom they acknowledge Heracles to be, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis (2.43).

Herodotus goes onto describe also his journey to Tyre in Phoenicia where he sees a temple of Heracles/Melkart that is said by a priest to be 2,300 years old (from c.450-420 B.C.E.), as well a temple in Thasos dedicated to Heracles.[21] Lastly Herodotus comments that "Heracles is an ancient god," and determines the accuracy of those who worship Heracles as both divine and mortal;[22] however, one should take a critical stance when reading Herodotus, though he may come to some accurate assumptions, the way in which he comes about these are not wholly valid and may be ethnographically unsound. Herodotus also witnessed and took active part in the Persian War, an event that lead to the change in representation of the Trojans in art, the enemy of the Greeks, to a more eastern and Persian costume due to the increased hostilities from the east. These depictions show that the relations with the east, at least to Persians, were obviously hostile; out of these hostilities also arose the distinct concept of Greek "Us vs. Them" that is beginning to form.

To expand on the evolving Greek theory of the "other" a few words must be said. Paul Cartledge comments on the advent of "Us vs. Them": "The polarity of Greeks and barbarians did not make its appearance before the fifth century, only after the Greeks' victory in the Persian Wars...Not once is 'barbarian' used as either a substantive or an adjective in all the many thousand lines of Homer...even though the plot is premised upon the confrontation between a more or less united Greek world and a coalition of non-Greek foreigners."[23] Yet oddly after the Persian Wars, the Trojans who had once been respected as formidable foes and depicted accordingly, are now seen effeminate and oddly garmented easterners (compare Figures 5-9). Suffice it to say, the concept of the "other" was growing in popularity and in correspondence to when much of the artistic pieces being examined are created (7^{th}-4^{th} centuries).

Analysing the artistic examples mentioned in the paper, first to be examined is the art representing and reflecting eastern influence upon the Minoan and Mycenaean ages in Greece.

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[20] Herodotus *Hist.* 2.43.
[21] Herodotus *Hist.* 2.44.
[22] Herodotus *Hist.* 2.44.
[23] Cartledge 1993, 13.

Minoan art especially is reflective of eastern influence in not only ritual motifs, but also in decorative jewellery and frescoes. The "snake goddess" of Crete (whether goddess or worshipper is unknown, though it is commonly distinguished by scholars wanting of a being of "ritual purpose" to denote it as a goddess) is one of these ritual motifs that has echoes in eastern predecessors as exhibited in Figure 10. The bare breasted nature of this "goddess" in addition to the incorporation of some wild life into the statuette, usually snakes in Minoan representations, is a motif of Sumero-Syrian descent comparatively depicted in Fig.10.[24] Both goddesses are portrayed standing, with arms in an outstretched manner and a hat of some sort on their heads, surrounded by beasts, therefore denoting a Mistress of the Animals theme.[25] The gold pendant in Figure 11 is also reminiscent of this nature god theme, though this particular design and style can be linked to Egyptian influences, seen in the stance, gold workings and dangling pendants.[26] Mycenaean artifacts also contain remnants of eastern influence in many of the aspects that make them distinctively Mycenaean, such as hunts scenes (especially incorporating a lion).[27] On gold-covered box in Figure 12 there is a scene of lions viciously attacking their prey, thought to be representative of the war-like ideals of Mycenaeans.[28] In Figure 13 one sees the complicated designs of the seals, also a sign of eastern influence as Higgins states.[29] Even the Cyclopean masonry and larger than life grandeur of the Mycenaeans was previously employed by Egyptian artisans to depict gods in relation to man.[30]

Thus, while this brief summation of eastern influences by no means sums up all the influences of the east on Mycenaean and Minoan cultures, it certainly gives a glimpse into the impact that the east had on many Mycenaean and Minoan main cultural ideals. In the Bronze Age, relations between Greece and the east are respectful, and eastern art was seen as an ideal and as something to be technically imported. Yet, undoubtedly, the Mycenaeans and Minoans took what they adapted from their eastern contemporaries and made it their own, subsequently lending to their own distinct civilizations.

Moving chronologically to the pre-Persian War Archaic period, our attention will be diverted to the myths of Busiris and Heracles, as well as Io and Zeus, both of which contain eastern ideals. The main details of the Io and Zeus myth are that Zeus, in pursuit of Io (a priestess of Hera), is discovered by the jealous Hera who in turn transforms Io into a heifer, forced to roam the earth until Zeus impregnates her with his touch or breath; she then bears a child who is stolen away from her, and again Io is forced to wander the earth.[31] The cult of Hera to which Io belongs is of ancient Mycenaean or even pre-Mycenaean descent, with mother goddess and fertility themes epitomized in the correlation of heifers and Hera noted in the Bronze Age votive cows at Argos.[32] The ancient cult of Hera is contemporaneous of with Bronze Age contact in Egypt where the cult of Hathor-Isis, a similar mother goddess/semi-heifer being, was influential to the Mycenaeans.[33] The worship of Isis was also popular at Naukratis and the

[24] Burkert 1992, 20.
[25] Higgins 1997, 33.
[26] Higgins 1997, 44.
[27] Nilsson 1972, 31.
[28] Nilsson 1972, 29.
[29] 1997, 73.
[30] Sparkes 1997, 149.
[31] Hicks 1962, 93.
[32] Hicks 1962, 94.
[33] Hicks 1962, 94.

Greeks living there adopted aspects of the myth into their own myth of Io;[34] such adoptions include the lunar connotations of Io's name in both Greek and Egyptian which coincides with the sun/moon disc upon many depictions of Hathor-Isis (Figure 14-15); representations of Io with lunar discs are also not uncommon.[35] Clearly the story of Zeus and Io have Egyptian influences that are attested by both the artistic representations and the lore behind the myth: both can be either depicted as full heifer or either an anthropomorphic hybrid of a woman and a cow.

The other myth to be examined is that of the infamous hero Heracles and Busiris, a tyrant and pharaoh of Egypt who sacrificed all strangers who passed through his land; Heracles is captured by this tyrant and about to be sacrificed when he breaks loose and kills Busiris and his attendants.[36] The Heracles-Busiris myth obviously contains Egyptian influences as it is set in Egypt and against an Egyptian antagonist. In addition to this, the name Busiris is a Graecizing of an Egyptian city name, and translates to "house/tomb of Osiris," which gives a geographical locale for the setting of the myth.[37] In contrast to the stark Egyptian nature of Busiris and his cohorts (see below), Heracles in this myth is distinguishably Greek: he is depicted as bearded covered by the Nimean lion, larger than life, and in a violent rage, all of which tend to be characteristics of Heracles at one point or another (Figures 16-17). This is not to say that Heracles is a distinctly Greek hero, despite the wide spread nature of his cult in Greece, for he has many counterparts in eastern myth, especially in the Sumero-Mesopotamian epic of Gilgamesh.[38] It is sufficient to say, however, in this instance that Heracles epitomizes Greekness. Previously mentioned was the comical nature in which this rendition connotes, as in Fig.16 Heracles is seen throttling one cohort while simultaneously clutching at Busiris with apparent ease. In Fig.16 Busiris is interestingly portrayed in a somewhat sexually demeaning posture, with one leg raised and somewhat spread, almost reclining with one hand thrown behind his head while Heracles rather dominantly grips the man. Fig.17 shows that Heracles has disregarded his trademark club in exchange for a bludgeon improvised from cohort of Busiris, whom he is wielding against a man with an axe in a non-chalant manner. These comical yet dominant depictions of Heracles as essentially Greek and Busiris as essentially Egyptian reflect the relatively amicable relations, despite tight trade regulations, especially between those mercenary Greeks at Naukratis who were under the pay of Egyptian pharaohs.

Lastly, we will analyze the renditions of the Trojan War and scenes from the *Iliad* that grew thematically more hostile towards the east after the Persian Wars. The concept of Greek "otherness" has previously been discussed and is relatively straight forward, so we will proceed to the analysis of the art. Compare firstly the representations of the Amazons, specifically Penthesilea whom Achilles' murdered, the act of which is portrayed in Fig. 5: Penthesilea is seen as a worthy adversary, as her Amazonian people were often earlier depicted in the Amazonomachy,[39] defeated at the hands of Achilles. Compare Fig. 5 to Figures 6 where the Amazons, mythically originating from the east, are garmented with effeminate hats and pants, pointed footwear, and equipped with a bow and arrow, a stereotypically Persian weapon. In Figure 6, Penthesilea looks as if she is already surrendered and has not fought to an honourable death, a notoriously non-Greek portrayal of the enemy.[40] Again, in the Death of Sarpedon we see

[34] Muhs 1994, 101.
[35] Hicks 1962, 96.
[36] Hicks 1962, 102.
[37] Hicks 1962, 104.
[38] Burkert 1992, 87.
[39] Stewart 1995, 583.
[40] Sparkes 1997, 153.

the same motifs applied due to increasing hostilities with the Persian Empire: Sarpedon initially seen as a worthy enemy, then transformed into an effeminate, placid figure, complete with Persian attire and in a pose of languished surrender. No further detail is needed for the point has been made clear: the hostilities in the art of the Late Archaic period directly reflect the increased contact and hostility with the Persian Empire and the Persian Wars.

In summation, it has been clearly demonstrated that representations of eastern civilizations have a direct correlation with their depictions in art. During the Bronze Age, contact with Egypt and other Levantine countries was amicable, and thus resulted in a respectful imitation and adaptation of eastern techniques and practices, imported into Mycenae and Minoan Crete through the wanderings of craftsman and the commerce of nations.[41] This contact allowed for a creation of *uniquely* Minoan and Mycenaean styles, but did not lend to a creation of an identity that was set against the "other," merely one that delineated them from the east. Into the beginnings of the Archaic period, much of the contact between Greek and the east was favourable for the Greeks, as Phoenician sailors opened trade routes between the Greeks and the east and establishment of militant trading posts such as Naukratis and Tel-El Amarna allowed for an explosion of exchange between the two sides of the Mediterranean. Exchanges resulted in wealth for the Greeks, which in turn transformed into a rather amicable artistic relation with Egyptians, as they borrowed from their mythology and as well, displayed them in art as both comical and ritual. The end of the Archaic culminating into the Persian Wars, however, saw the creation of a new Greek self-awareness that had a rather negative effect on how Greeks viewed the "other." The epitome of alterity is magnified in representations of battle scenes in the mythic Trojan War, where Trojans once were respectable and now were mocked and degraded with stereotypical ideals. Again, the correlation between contact and representation of the east in art is well defined, as the more amicable the relation the more friendly the depiction, and vice versa.

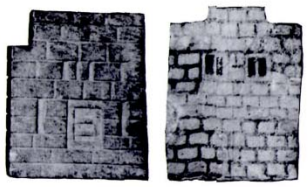
As a final comment on the approach of this paper, I would like to emphasize the importance of viewing culture, especially Greek, within the bigger picture. One must balance between an exclusively Greek mind set seen by those such as DeLoverdo, who approach associations with the east wearing blinders[42], and those such as Burkert, who may not give enough credit to the Greek past as perhaps is deserved. As with all things, equilibrium must be achieved in order to fully understand the greatness of our past.

[41] Burkert 1992, 10-13.
[42] DeLoverdo 1970, 6-15.

Images and Figures

Figure 1

20 A sphinx: one of the unique moulded clay vase decorations found in Quartier Mu, Mallia. Other shapes included cats, trees, shells and birds



21 Faience cut-out relief, one of the Town Mosaics, and a similar ivory plaque (*far left*), give some idea of the exterior appearance of Minoan private houses, with two or three storeys built in clay bricks with timber tie-beams

Figure 2

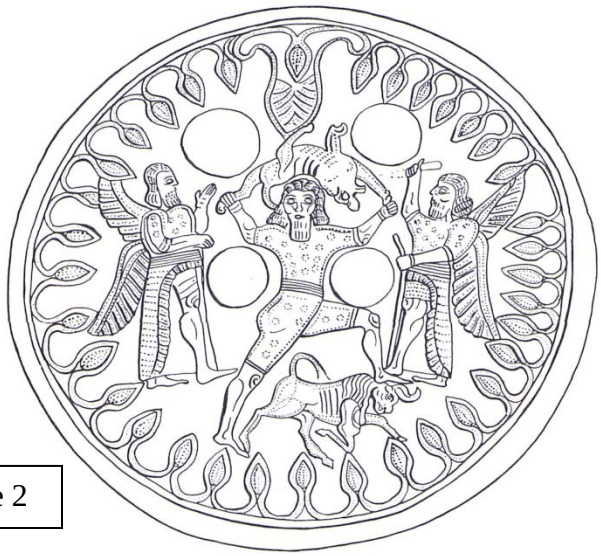
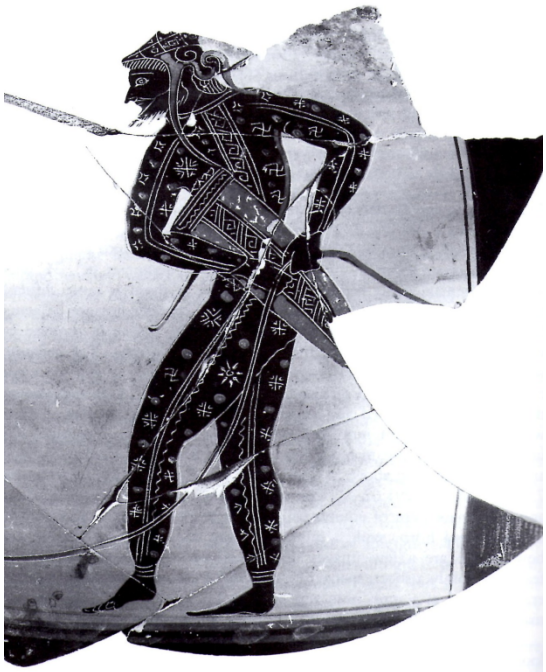


Figure 1. Bronze tympanon from the Idaean cave, Crete, eighth century B.C.: "Master of Animals" holding up a lion, two demons: Zeus and kouretes?

now clear evidence that Phoenicians were manufacturing perfumes on Rhodes even before 700.[15] On Samos, too, the influx of oriental goods seems to begin before 700.[16] All the great sacred sites which came to flourish by the eighth century, Delos, Delphi, and above all Olympia, have produced substantial finds of oriental objects; and next to Eretria Athens deserves special notice.[17] Etruria started its own orientalizing period through independent contacts with Phoenician trade which spread to



igure 7.3 Archer : Athenian black-figure amphora ype A) painted by University Museum 4873: Beazley 956: 145, 16; 19 9:40). *c.* 540BC (Photo: Museum)

Figure 3

Figure 4

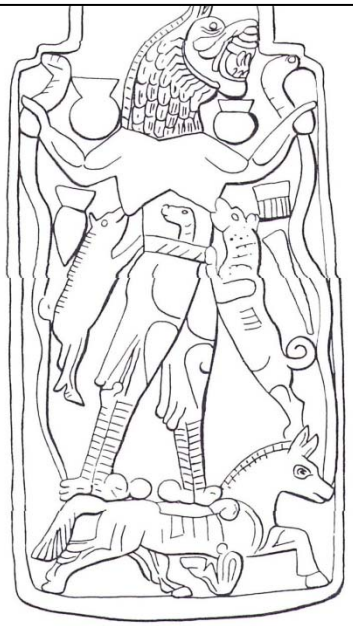


Figure 5. Bronze plate from Carchemish: Lamashtu. Demoness with lion's head, bird's talons, standing on a donkey, wielding snakes, and suckling a pig and a dog.

Knielauf, and, above all, the iconographic paraphernalia. We may take as an example the famous representation of the Gor-

Figure 5

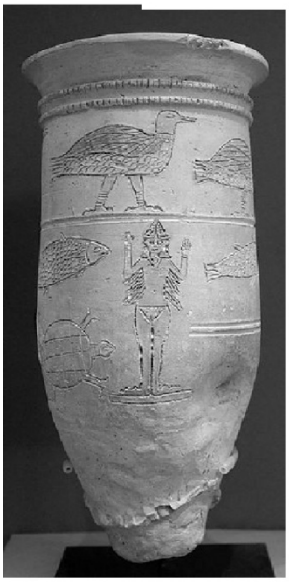
Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10



22, 23 Two ritual figurines representing either the Snake Goddess or her attendants. The faience figure (*above*) is a companion to that shown in *Ill. 3*. The authenticity of the ivory and gold figure (*right*) has been questioned, and is still debated, though the details of costume and feature, the tautness of the pose and the delicacy of the execution all ring absolutely true

Figure 11

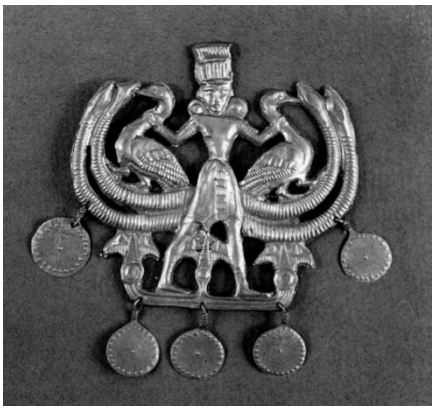
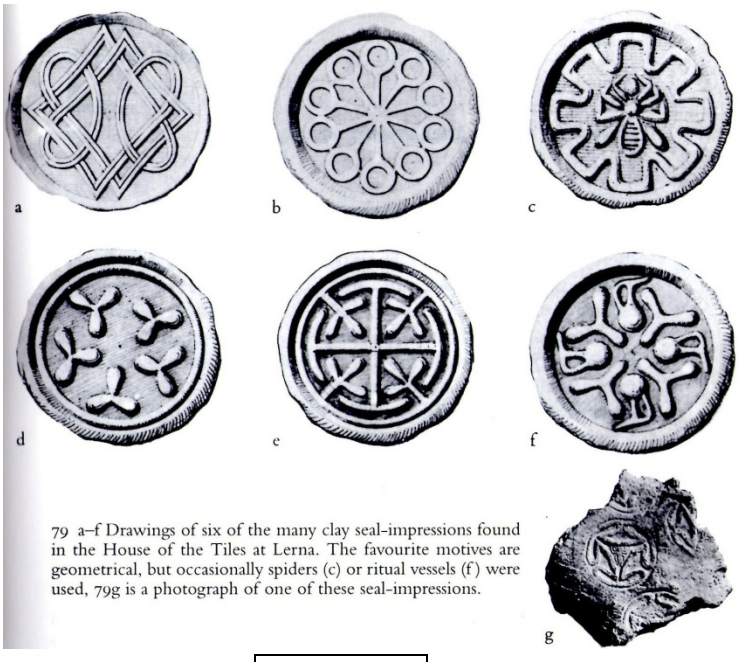


Figure 12



79 a–f Drawings of six of the many clay seal-impressions found in the House of the Tiles at Lerna. The favourite motives are geometrical, but occasionally spiders (c) or ritual vessels (f) were used, 79g is a photograph of one of these seal-impressions.

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 7.10 Herakles and Busiris: Athenian red-figure cup painted by Epiktetos (Rome, Villa Giulia 57912: Beazley 1963:72, 24 and 1623; Carpenter 1989:167). *c.* 500BC (Photo: Hirmer).

Figure 17

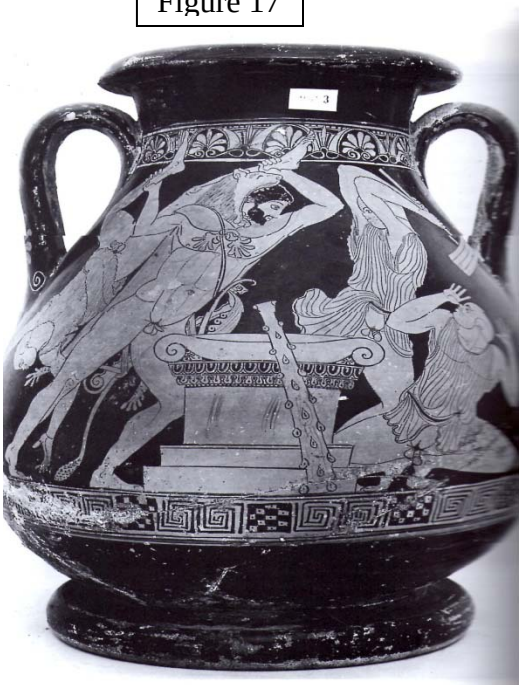


Figure 7.11 Herakles and Busiris' henchmen: Athenian red-figure pelike painted by The Pan Painter (Athens NM 9683: Beazley 1963:554, 971:386; Carpenter 1989:258). *c.* 470BC (Photo: Museum).

Figures 1, and 10-13 from Higgins 1997: pp. 31, 33, 45, 73, 79; **Figures 2 and 4** from Burkert 1992: pp. 17 and 84; **Figures 3, 16 and 17** from Sparkes 1997: pp. 138, 149, and 150.

Figure 5 from *Achilles: Achilles slaying Penthesilea, Attic amphora*. Photograph. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Web. 31 Mar. 2011. c. 530 B.C.E.

Figures 6 and 7 from Stewart 1995: pp. 581, 583.

Figure 8 from: *Sarpedon's body carried by Hypnos and Thanatos (Sleep and Death), while Hermes watches.* Side A of the so-called "Euphronios krater", Attic red-figured calyx-krater signed by Euxitheos (potter) and Euphronios (painter), ca. 515 B.C.E. Formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.2006.10); Returned to Italy and exhibited in Rome as of January, 2008

Figure 9 from: *Patroclus (naked, on the right) kills Sarpedon (wearing Lycian clothes, on the left) with his spear, while Glaucus comes to the latter's help.* Protolucana red-figure hydria by the Policoro Painter, ca. 400 B.C.E. From the so-called tomb of the Policoro Painter in Heraclaea. Stored in the Museo Nazionale Archaeologico of Policoro.

Figure 14 from: *Hermes, Io (as cow) and Argus.* Side A from a Greek black-figure amphora, 540–530 B.C.E. Found in Italy, and, *Papyrus of Ani* - an ancient Egyptian text showing Hathor emerging from a mountain and coming through papyrus plants; c. 1240 B.C.E.

Figure 15 from: *Ancient Egyptian, the goddess Hathor* (name represented by c.1000 B.C.E. hieroglyphic on bottom right. Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

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