

THE TROJAN HORSE AND OTHER STORIES

What makes us human? What, if anything, sets us apart from all other creatures? Ever since Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, the answer to these questions has pointed to our own intrinsic animal nature. Yet the idea that, in one way or another, our humanity is entangled with the non-human has a much longer and more venerable history. In the West, it goes all the way back to classical antiquity. This grippingly written and provocative book boldly reveals how the ancient world mobilized concepts of 'the animal' and 'animality' to conceive of the human in a variety of illuminating ways. Through ten stories about marvellous mythical beings – from the Trojan Horse to the Cyclops, and from Androcles' lion to the Minotaur – Julia Kindt unlocks fresh ways of thinking about humanity that extend from antiquity to the present and that ultimately challenge our understanding of who we really are.

Julia Kindt is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Sydney, a Future Fellow of the Australian Research Council (2018–22), a member of the Sydney Environment Institute, and Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. She is a senior editor of the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religions (ORE)*, and a member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of Ancient History* and *Antichthon*. She is also a contributor to the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Australian Book Review*, *Meanjin*, *The Conversation*, and other periodicals. Her previous, highly regarded, books include *Rethinking Greek Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and *Revisiting Delphi: Religion and Storytelling in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

‘In this beautifully written and timely book, Julia Kindt provides a fascinating account of how humans use real and imaginary animals to think about what it means to be human, and an eloquent defence of the power of storytelling. With each of its chapters comparing classical and modern sources in innovative, accessible, and engaging ways, *The Trojan Horse and Other Stories* is sure to start an important conversation about how the ancient world foreshadows our contemporary consideration of the human–animal relation.’

- Chris Danta, Professor of English, Australian National University

‘Julia Kindt has found a miraculous new lens through which to scrutinize our oldest, most loved stories and find in them colours, shapes, and qualities that we have never really seen before. Humankind’s relationship with animals has been examined through archaeology, history, and art, but never before, to my knowledge, through myth, legend, and story. The insights that this absorbing and imaginative approach reveal are enthralling and profound. The stories are told with wit, imagination, and sparkle; the animals who star in them brought wondrously to life.’

- Stephen Fry

‘The stories from ancient Greece are foundational for all our imaginations – and they are some of the best and most long-lasting stories we have! Julia Kindt is a wonderful guide to what they are, what they mean, and how they have influenced us.’

- Simon Goldhill, Professor of Greek Literature and Culture, University of Cambridge

‘Kindt’s wide-ranging volume tackles a question seldom addressed in the ever-expanding literature of ancient animal studies: how do non-human animals make us human? Investigating this question through an examination of ten animals and animal types that appear in classical mythology and history and live on in recent literature and art, she offers fresh insights on issues central to ancient animal studies, including the nature of animal intellect and emotion, the ethical obligations of human beings towards other species, and the significance of hybridity and metamorphosis. Kindt’s scrupulously researched yet highly readable text will prove informative and stimulating to classical scholars and non-specialists alike.’

- Stephen T. Newmyer, Professor Emeritus of Classics, Duquesne University

**THE TROJAN HORSE AND OTHER
STORIES**

Ten Ancient Creatures That Make Us Human

Julia Kindt

The University of Sydney



Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-41138-7 — The Trojan Horse and Other Stories
Julia Kindt
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009411387

DOI: 10.1017/9781009411332

© Julia Kindt 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-009-41138-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 The Sphinx (<i>Sphinx aenigmatica</i>)	13
2 Xanthus, Achilles' Speaking Horse (<i>Equus eloquens</i>)	33
3 The Lion of Androclus (<i>Panthera leo philanthropus</i>)	63
4 The Cyclops (<i>Cyclops inhospitalis</i>)	85
5 The Trojan Horse (<i>Equus troianus</i>)	109
6 The 'Trojan' Boar (<i>Aper troianus ostentator</i>)	135
7 The Political Bee (<i>Apis politica</i>)	163
8 The Socratic Gadfly (<i>Haematopota oxyglotta socratis</i>)	187
9 The Minotaur (<i>Hybrida minotaurus</i>)	209
10 The Shearwaters of Diomedea (<i>Calonectris diomedea transformata</i>)	243
Conclusion	273
<i>Notes</i>	283
<i>Bibliography</i>	327
<i>Index</i>	353

Figures

0.1	Louis Frederic Schutzenberger, <i>Retour d'Ulysse</i> (1884). © Wikimedia Commons.	<i>page 2</i>
1.1	Attic red-figure lekythos (ca 440 BCE) showing Oedipus and the Sphinx (detail, Sphinx only) © Princeton University Art Museum, gift of Edward Sampson, class of 1914 for the Sampson Collection.	14
1.2	Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, <i>Oedipus and the Sphinx (Oedipe explique l'énigme du sphinx)</i> (1808/1827). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle.	29
2.1	Henri Rengault, <i>Automedon with the Horse of Achilles</i> (1868). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 90.152. © Boston Museum of Fine Arts.	34
3.1	Georg Stubbs, <i>A Lion Resting on a Rock</i> (1788). Metropolitan Museum of Art. © The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949/CC BY-SA (Creative Commons).	64
4.1	Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, <i>Polyphemus</i> (1802). Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg LMO 15.011. © Photo: Sven Adelaide.	86
4.2	William Baziotès, <i>Cyclops</i> (1947). The Art Institute of Chicago 1947.468. © Estate of William Baziotès Photo © The Art Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, NY	106
5.1	Giovanni Domenico Tiepo, <i>The Procession of the Trojan Horse into Troy</i> (detail) (1773). The National Gallery, London, NG3319. © National Gallery, London.	110
5.2	Mycenaean krater (ca 1400–1300 BCE) showing a late Bronze Age horse-drawn chariot (detail). National Archaeological	

LIST OF FIGURES

Museum, Athens NAM P7387. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.	114
5.3 Athenian red-figure kylix from Vulci (ca 480 BCE) showing Athena visiting a workshop crafting a marble horse (detail). Munich, Antikensammlung 2650. © Antikensammlung, Munich	122
5.4 Attic red-figure oinochoe from Capua (ca 470–460 BCE) showing Athena producing a clay model of a horse (detail). Antikensammlung Berlin F2415. © Antikensammlung Berlin. © Photo: Johannes Laurentius.	122
5.5 Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Sabouroff Painter (ca 475–425 BCE) showing Athena making a horse. Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence V57. © Museo Archeologico Etrusco. © Photo: Scala, Florence.	122
6.1 James Ward, <i>A Wild Boar</i> (1814). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection B2002.2.1326. © Public Domain.	136
6.2 Black-figure lekythos showing Heracles and the boar. Athens, ca 525–500 BCE, attributed to the Leagros Group, Nicholson Collection, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney NM 46.52. © Chau Chak Wing Museum, Sydney.	154
7.1 Queen-bee (magnified), From <i>The Habits of the Honeybee</i> (1914). © Wikimedia Commons	164
8.1 Horsefly. © Wikimedia Commons/Pearson Scott Foresman donation.	188
9.1 Attic black-figure kylix by the Painter of London E4 (ca 515 BCE) showing a running minotaur. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 1999/99/80. © Werner Forman/Getty Images.	210
9.2 Pablo Picasso, <i>Tête de minotaure/Head of Minotaur</i> (1937). Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Photo © Bpk/ Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	224
9.3 Pablo Picasso, <i>Minotaure/Minotaur</i> (no date). Picasso National Museum, Paris. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Rachel Prat. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	224
9.4 Pablo Picasso, <i>Minotaure/Minotaur</i> (1958). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP1117. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national	

LIST OF FIGURES

Picasso-Paris)/Mathieu Rabeau. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	224
9.5 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 83 (17 May 1933). Museum of Modern Art, Paris, SAME 1104. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Thierry Le Mage. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	228
9.6 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 93 (18 June 1933). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP1982-152. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Mathieu Rabeau. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	228
9.7 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 87 (23 May 1933). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP1982-146. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Thierry Le Mage. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	230
9.8 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 90 (30 May 1933). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP1982-149. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Thierry Le Mage. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	232
9.9 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 96 (23 October 1934). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP2698. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Thierry le Mage. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	233
9.10 Pablo Picasso, Volland Suite, plate 84 (18 May 1933). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP2654. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Thierry le Mage. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	234
9.11 Pablo Picasso, <i>Tête de femme/Head of a Woman</i> (Jacqueline) (1961/2). Los Angeles County Museum (LACMA) M.2005.70.110. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris). © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	235
9.12 Pablo Picasso, <i>The Minotauromachy</i> (1935). Picasso National Museum, Paris, MP2730. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris)/Béatrice Hatala. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	237
9.13 Pablo Picasso, <i>Guernica</i> (1937). Madrid Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. Photo © BPK, Berlin, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/	

LIST OF FIGURES

Alfredo Dagli Orti. © Succession Picasso/Copyright Agency, 2023.	241
10.1 Mank’s Shearwater. Robert Havel after J. J. Audubon (1836) © Wikimedia Commons.	244

Preface

What makes us human? What, if anything, sets us apart from all other creatures? As far as questions go, they hardly get bigger and more fundamental than these. Moreover, these questions matter. They have a direct impact on how we relate to each other and to the world we inhabit.

Ever since Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, the answer to these questions has pointed us to our own animal nature. And yet, the idea that, in one way or another, our humanity is entangled with the non-human has a very long history. In the West, it goes all the way back to classical antiquity (and probably beyond).

This book seeks to speak to and engage all those with an interest in the question of the human in its relation to the non-human – or, in the words of David Abraham (an ecologist and philosopher) 'more than human'. More specifically, it illustrates how the ancient world mobilised concepts of 'the animal' and 'animality' to conceive of the human in various ways.

The ancient Greeks and Romans held the idea that there is an intrinsic quality to members of the human species and set out to explore it from the earliest times onwards. The major genres of Greco-Roman thought and literature – epic, history, tragedy and comedy, medicine and philosophy (to mention just a few) – all, in one way or the other, investigate the human condition. And all of them, in various ways, do so in reference to the animal.

By investigating ancient views of the human and the non-human animal, this book is part of a larger endeavour to reveal some of the foundations on which Western humanism rests. It aims to show how ancient conceptions have shaped and continue to shape the present,

PREFACE

and to make visible some of the assumptions on which they are based – including those assumptions which today appear problematic or discriminatory. To this end, it offers ten essayistic interventions into ways of ‘thinking the human’ that connect antiquity with the present. Each strand is focused through the lens of an iconic creature and the sometimes amusing, sometimes disturbing, but always deeply engaging stories that sustain it.

In order to make the chapters that follow accessible to a wider group of readers, this book deviates from the standard classical book in a number of ways. It includes brief explanations of concepts and terms that would not need explaining if the book was only addressed to the classical reader. The book also features the dates of ancient authors and their texts whenever relevant and provides information on the disciplinary background of scholars mentioned in the text if they are from fields other than classical studies. References are kept to a minimum and relegated to the end of the book. They are mainly there for the academic reader who may be interested in following up on the ancient texts and the modern scholarly debates to which they relate. It is absolutely possible to read through the book without consulting them.

With the general reader in mind, I have resisted the urge to include long quotations from the sources in the original ancient Greek and Latin. Instead, I have included Latin and transliterated Greek only when it clarifies a particular point and matters to the larger argument. All translations from the ancient languages are grounded in those of the Loeb Classical Library except when otherwise noted. I have made adjustments where I felt the translation suggested did not sufficiently reflect the meaning of the original and when this mattered to the argument. Finally, even though I sometimes use the term ‘animals’ instead of the somewhat formulaic ‘non-human creatures’, or ‘non-human animals’, I do so for variation and not to imply a fundamental distinction between us and them.

Acknowledgements

I enjoyed writing every single one of my books, but this one has been special. Researching it took me to many new places, even though most of the time I was stuck at home due to the pandemic. I thank the Australian Research Council (ARC) for awarding me a four-year research fellowship (Future Fellowship) to write this book and Colin and Mary McCann for supporting Classics at Sydney (and this project) for many years. To be able to dedicate such an extended period of time to thinking, reading, and writing in the middle of my career has been a deeply transformative experience. It allowed me to move beyond my disciplinary comfort zone, to forge a plethora of new connections and collaborations, to engage in new conversations – as well as continuing on in existing ones – and to read much more thoroughly and widely than otherwise possible. Working on this project made me see the presence of non-human animals in the lives of the human animal (past and present) much more clearly than previously the case.

It made me look at the world with different eyes.

I thank my husband Daniel and my daughter Sophie for putting up with me during intense periods of writing. I thank Tanja Latty for allowing me to attend her introduction to biology lectures (BIOL 1006, *Life and Evolution*) in semester 1, 2018, and for answering my relentless questions about honeybees and other insects. I thank the Sydney Environment Institute (SEI) for making me a member and including me in a group of truly inspiring and engaging scholars. I thank Thom van Dooren and Peter Wilson for discussing aspects of this project with me. I thank Rick Benitez, Tristan Bradshaw, Danielle Celermajer, Bob Cowan, Richard Gordon, Kitty Hauser, Brooke Holmes, Stephen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Newmyer, Robin Osborne, and Anne Rogerson for reading and commenting on individual chapter drafts and Jan Bremmer for reading through the whole manuscript. Paul Cartledge for answering my questions on Socrates and ostracism. Early drafts of several chapters were improved by my academic writing group convened by Barbara Caine and Glenda Sluga. Individual chapters were presented to audiences at the University of Sydney, the Greek Festival of Sydney, and in Tokyo and Kyoto, and I thank Noboru Sato for inviting me to visit Japan.

I would like to thank Billy Griffith for helping me find a title for the book. I thank Maria Merkeling and Edward Armstrong for proofreading and editing, and Rebecca Georgiades, Brennan Nicholson, and Louise Pryke for their help with other aspects of the typescript. Thanks also to Candace Richards and Craig Barker for helping me with some of the images.

Finally, I thank the anonymous peer reviewers of Cambridge University Press for the care and diligence with which they read my manuscript and for making invaluable suggestions for further improvement.