THE BOAR-HUNT IN GREEK MYTH

It has been observed, with a frisson of surprise, that in European folk-tales which feature hunting, the most fearsome and dangerous animal is regularly not the bear or the wolf, but the wild boar. The present article seeks an explanation for why this should be, with particular reference to Greek literature and myth. Not that comparative material is totally shunned. Indeed, I begin my investigation with a quote, from a notable practitioner of the comparative method, which goes right to the heart of the matter: “The widespread association of the boar-hunt with the death or murder of heroes is puzzling until one realises that the death of the boar is itself the death of a hero and evokes guilt in his slayers, who can scarce believe his courage”. With these words the late A.T. Hatto, distinguished polymath and professor of German literature in the University of London, summed up an intuition that has wide implications, and not merely for our understanding of Greek myth.

What is meant by the “death or murder of heroes” as associated with the boar-hunt can readily be exemplified from the literary instances Hatto himself cites: (i) boar-hunts that lead directly to the hero’s death include, most famously, that of Adonis (in Greek literature), and from “the mid-eleventh century versified Persian romance of Wis and Ràmín”, the story of how king Moabad, robbed of his wife Wis by his younger brother Ràmîn, “lies encamped in hope of bringing Ràmîn to battle”, when “a mighty boar


2 “The Homeric epics show a like appreciation of the boar’s matchless courage... indeed for battle - fury they place him above the mightier lion”: A.T. Hatto in the first of the treatments listed in the following note, p. xii (the reference is to Iliadic similes). For boar similes in the Iliad see the Indexes to the individual volumes of the Cambridge commentary on this poem s.v. “Similes... boar”.


4 See below p. 5.
runs from the forest and sets the army in confusion. Moabat rides out to confront the boar, misses with his javelin, and is gashed from navel to heart, the seat (so the poet tells us) of love and hate”

5 See Hatto (as cited in n. 3) p. xi f.

(ii) Boar-hunts that are associated more indirectly with the death of the hero include the climax of the Irish and Scottish folk-tale of Diarmuid and Gráinne6. Here Diarmuid, nephew of King Fionn, elopes against his will with his uncle’s wife Gráinne; successfully kills the boar his uncle has been hunting; but is then brought low by being made to measure the back of the brute he has slain: while pacing its back bare-foot he is pierced in the heel by one of the boar’s poisonous bristles. Better known (perhaps thanks to Richard Wagner’s Ring) is the ruse whereby Gunther and Hagen in the Nibelungenlied encompass the death of Siegfried: they invite him to a boar-hunt, and afterwards Hagen stabs Siegfried in the back, while he is slaking his thirst at a brook. “The motif of a knight who is treacherously slain at a boar-hunt, with his murderer blaming his death on the boar, occurs in the old Provençal Daurel et Beton and in related chansons de gestes”, as Hatto reminds us7. I close this deliberately brief and incomplete section of examples by returning to Greek myth and its most famous instance of a boar-hunt, that of Meleager in Calydon. Here too the hero’s death is associated indirectly with the vanquishing of the boar: Meleager successfully dispatches it, but is then embroiled in a quarrel with his two uncles over the distribution of the spoils, a quarrel which relates to his growing passion for the chaste huntress Atalanta8. He kills them; and their sister, his mother Althaea, in angry revenge brings about the death of her son by burning the


6 As cited in n. 3, p. xiii and p. 301. For an introduction to the topic of Chansons de geste see Ulrich Mölk’s article s.v. in Enzyk. des Märchens (2.1221 ff.).

7 Karl Meuli (Ges. Schr. 2 p. 1053 f. n. 4) detected a parallelism here: Meleager’s father Oeneus had bought the boar down on Calydon as a punishment from Artemis because he omitted to sacrifice to her (II. 9.533 ff.). The son avoids and repairs the father’s error by bestowing the honorific boar’s hide upon Atalanta, the chaste huntress and equivalent of Artemis (for artefacts which show or imply this bestowing see Boardman in LIMC 1 s.v. “Atalanta” B 19-27. Some Greek vases show Atalanta clad in an animal skin like Artemis: see Boardman ib. A5 (fragmentary black figure Attic dinos, c. 560 B.C.) and 10 (black figure Boeotian kantharos, second quarter 6th cent. B.C.). On this interpretation, the story (at least up to this point) originates as an aition about the appropriate treatment of Artemis comparable to the aition which Meuli thinks underlies the story of Dionysus in II. 6.130 ff. (for Meuli’s views on this see my remarks in “Eikasmos” 11, 2000).
famous stick of wood on which his life depends.

It will be seen that both categories of hero’s death exemplified above are associated not only with a boar-hunt but also with sexual passion, often of an illicit sort. This is a very important consideration, and we shall return to it at the end. But let us first contemplate Hatto’s central intuition that “the death of the boar is itself the death of a hero and evokes guilt in his slayers, who can scarce believe his courage”. We should associate this remark with another by Hatto on the same theme: “it is not hard to see why the most ferocious wild beast in Europe should have held so dignified a position in the eyes of those who envied him his undaunted courage in hopeless situations”\(^9\). Classical scholars will not fail to detect, in the first passage’s phrase about “guilt in [the boar’s] slayers”, a close analogy to the theories of Karl Meuli and Walter Burkert\(^10\) on the feelings of guilt aroused in the human hunters (and sacrificers) of animals. Those theories may be reprised from a slightly different angle (and the relevance of sexuality resumed) by the following quotation\(^11\), which analyses the stories told by nineteenth century Australia’s bushmen:

The manifest purpose of the ritual to which this myth relates was food – magic enacted by the hunters to secure the fertility of the game and success in the chase. Its two chief elements were sex and killing rites repeated in various symbolic forms... It is surely pertinent to ask how a people who were supremely skilled in hunting and often killed their game with savage glee (as stressed repeatedly in eye-witnesses’ accounts) could ever have come to associate with the act of hunting those feelings of guilt which the expression “feeling sore” implies and which come to a head in the frenzy of the nose-bleeding dance?

Similarly in the myth, the father’s savage reprisal and, above all, the sons’ meek sub-


mission to it are surely out of all proportion to their offence…

... The meaning of the whole cycle of myths... and of the associated rites and paintings would thus appear to be food-magic, the success of which was conditional upon a strict observance of the taboo on incest. ... The incest taboo, unknown to the lower animals and consequently a cultural achievement of the greatest magnitude, implies a repression of desire and of the aggressiveness that springs from jealousy which children first experience in relation to their parents...

... The unbearable tension, springing from the antisocial urges of incest and patricide, was released in the sex and killing rites... Hence... the taboos attached to the game in one form or another and which can have no other meaning than that of punishment ("feeling sore") for the aggression that has been transferred from the father to his symbolic substitute, the totem. "The game would not die, if we did not show respect to it", said the Bushmen.

Though nowhere mentioned by him, this evidence meshes neatly with Burkert’s remarks on human sexual excitement at the climax of the hunt or sacrifice. Note in particular this: “Man had to outdo himself in this transition to the hunt, a transition requiring implementation of all his spiritual reserves. And because this sort of behaviour became specific to the male sex, that is to say, “men’s work”, males could more easily adapt themselves to the intra-specific aggression programmed for courtship fights and the impulses of sexual frustrations... Sexuality defines the specifically male role just as much as does hunting and warring behaviour. Hunting is, of course, fuelled in part by the powers of aggression, which had their original function in mating fights. That is to say, from the very start it included an under-current of sexual motivation... when enthusiastic, aggressive tension reaches its peak, particularly at the moment of success, it may suddenly turn sexual”¹².

Now when the animal being hunted is a boar, these considerations become all the more relevant, since, as Hatto has observed¹³, “in view of the boar’s masterful way of mounting his sow” it was not difficult for the beast to become “a symbol of overmastering virility”. The equivalence between hero and animal, hunter and hunted, thus becomes all the closer. Because of

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¹³ As cited above (n. 3), pp. 303 and 225 respectively.
the physical construction of his body, the boar’s most frequent mode of wounding his human pursuers was in the groin with his tusk. But this fact takes on a symbolic aspect when we bear in mind the idea of sexual excitement at the climax of the hunt which illuminates such deaths combined with emasculation as that of Adonis (cf. [Bion] Epitaph. Adon. 7 f. μηρόν ὄδόντι, λευκὸς λευκὸν ὄδόντα: note the suggestive juxtaposition of words meaning “white”; or, at the Calydonian Boar Hunt, that of Ancaeus: cf. Ov. Met. 8.399 f.: occupat audentem, quaque est via proxima leto / summa ferus geminos direxit ad inguina dentes. Note the irony of the proceeding boast discite, femineis quid tela virilia praestent,/ o iuvenes (392 f.).

In this light, the encounter between human hunter and boar hunter emerges, like that of Spanish matador and bull, as a clash between the forces of life and death, the virile hunter pitted against the no less virile boar, on each side the powers of procreation facing those of destruction. The association between guilt feelings and animal sacrifice is the ultimate source, according to Burkert, of the common tragic motif of the “sacrificer sacrificed”15, and a similar association will have given rise to the no less common tragic motif of the “hunter hunted” [see e.g. Aesch. Eum. 253 ff. (Orestes and the Erinyes), Soph. Phil. 1146 ff. (Philoctetes the prey of the birds he has hunted), Eur. Bacch. 1108 f. (Pentheus and the Bacchants)], which reaches its most sublime and generalised form in the very plot of Sophocles’ OT.

This identification of hunter and hunted, animal and hero, underlies several stories of the boar-hunt in Greek and Greek-influenced literature and legend. For instance, in the novella16 at Herodotus 1.34-5, Adrastus

14 For the equivalence of death and castration see the career of the Phrygo-Lydian deity Attis/Adonis (cf. below p. 5 f.) who according to one tradition is killed by a boar, according to another by self-mutilation (cf. Pausan. 7.17.10-12; Hermesianax fr. 8 Powell).

15 Burkert (as cited above n. 10) p. 29 n. 34 ≡ p. 21 n. 35; cf. R. Seaford, Homeric and Tragic Sacrifice, “TAPA” 119, 1989, 87 ff. and Reciprocity and Ritual (Oxford 1994) pp. 281 ff. etc. For a primitive version of “the hunter hunted” or punished by the animal he has killed see Callimachus fr. 96 Pf. (I quote from Trypanis’ Loeb translation (p. 72 f.) of the relevant Diegesis): “A huntsman… upon killing a boar said that it was not fitting for those who surpass Artemis to dedicate (their trophies) to her; so he dedicated the boar’s head to himself, hanging it on a black poplar. He lay down to sleep under the tree and the head fell and killed him”. Cf. Meuli, ‘Phyllobolia’ (von der Mühll Festschr.) p. 263 = Ges. Schr. 2. p. 991 f. and n. 6, and Scheffold Festschr. p. 160 = Ges. Schr. 2, 1087 (cf. 1093 f.).

16 For this term see e.g. E. Maas, “Byzant. Neugr. Jhb.” 5, 1926/7, 182 (“Kroisos-novelle”) and David Asheri’s commentary on Hdt. 1.34-45 (“era noto in Lidia che uno dei figli [di Creso] era morto violentemente: tutto il resto è novella”). On the definition of “novella” in this type of context see e.g. K. Reinhardt, Tradition und Geist (Göttingen 1960) p. 33 n. 1 ≡ Homer: German Scholarship in Translation, p. 188 n. 17; R. Merkel-
accidentally kills Croesus’ son Atys, though actually aiming at the boar\(^\text{17}\), and, as the climax of the tale, kills himself out of an overwhelming feeling of guilt. It is generally recognised\(^\text{18}\) that this story has powerfully influenced the complicated inset tale in the Eighth Book of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*: in the outlines of this, Charite’s husband Tlepolemus is murdered by the villainous Thrasyllus while on a boar hunt. The motive again relates to sexual lust, since Thrasyllus proceeds to pursue the hand of the widow (who has improvised a cult for her dead husband). She, informed of Thrasyllus’ treachery by her husband’s ghost in a dream\(^\text{19}\), entraps Thrasyllus and blinds him before killing herself (8.1-15). The mode of Tlepolemus’ murder is particularly significant: Thrasyllus puts him in the way of the boar so that he is mangled by it, and then throws his lance through his rival’s right thigh: *crederet ferri vulnera similia futura prosectu dentium* (8.5).

Another aspect of identification between hero and hunted, hunter and boar, is to be found in the use of boar-helmets. Their existence in Mycenean times is well-documented, but doubts have been expressed as to whether the tusks incorporated in these helmets could have resisted splitting under attack. Hatto stresses, therefore, that “in the minds of their wearers (or of the latters’ ancestors) defensive magic as well as ordinarily practical considerations will have played its part in these princely helmets”, with the choice of boar being “determined by considerations of aggressive and defensive magic of the same kind, say, as occurs in the Aino epic, where the animals depicted on the sword sheaths leap off to join in the fray”\(^\text{20}\). Such an idea would, of course, be entirely alien to the world of Homeric epic, but the *Doloneia* does notoriously describe a boar-helmet (*II*. 10.261-5) worn by Odysseus\(^\text{21}\), a remarkable artefact in several respects.

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\(^\text{19}\) Dreams feature with striking frequency in tales of heroes killed indirectly at boar-hunts. Apart from Croesus’ dream foreshadowing his son’s death (Hdt. 1.34.1 f.), note the *Nibelungenlied’s* account of Kriemhilde, worried by a dream into trying to prevent her husband Sigfried going to his fatal hunt (the same futile attempt (without the dream) in Apul. *Met.* 8.4).

\(^\text{20}\) Hatto (as cited above n. 3) pp. 249 and 251.

\(^\text{21}\) On which see the discussion *ad loc.* in J.B. Hainsworth’s commentary. Note in par-
Before we leave the subject of war, it may be worth observing how Greek poetry sometimes implies a near equivalence\textsuperscript{22} of a death-defying nature between war and the hunt\textsuperscript{23}. Thus the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus, who often chose for his subject-matter themes redolent of epic poetry (think, for instance, of his \textit{Iliupersis}), also composed a poem about the Calydonian boar-hunt (\textit{Suotherae}), a papyrus fragment of which (fr. 222) lists some of the participants in a manner reminiscent of epic catalogues of martial warriors. Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses} (8.267 ff.) burlesques the topic by a parody of epic motifs and themes\textsuperscript{24}.

Let us finally return to the issue of sexuality. We have considered above the significance of the theme of the hero who is directly killed (or emasculated) at a boar-hunt by a thrust of the brute’s tusks. But what are we to make of those tales mentioned above where the death is indirect and very often engineered by sexual jealousy? Is it striking that so many of the heroes whose deaths are indirectly associated with the boar-hunt should be maternal nephews in a way significant for the narrative. This is of course true of Meleager, who quarrels with and kills his mother’s brothers. It is

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Röhrich as cited above (n. 1) p. 406 f.: "Psychologisch war die J[agen], bes[onders] die höfisch-aristokratische, sicherlich auch ein Ersatz für den Krieg denn J[agen] vermittelt die Illusion des Krieges und eines stets siegreichen Kampfes". Robert Smith Surtees (1805-64), the author of various humorous novels detailing the exploits of Mr. Jorrocks, the sporting grocer, once put memorable and highly pertinent words into the mouth of his hero (\textit{Handley Cross} (1843) chapter 7): "'Unting is all that’s worth living for - all time is lost wot is not spent in 'unting... it’s the sport of Kings, the image of war without its guilt and only five-and-twenty per cent of its danger" (my italics: admittedly he is talking of fox-hunting). Returning to ancient Greece, note David Asheri’s commentary on Hdt. 1.36.2: “in generale, dal punto di vista greco, il cacciatore è un eroe e l’eroe è un cacciatore”. Cf. R.B. Manning, \textit{Hunters and Poachers} (Oxford 1998), ch. 2.

\textsuperscript{23} The frequent emphasis on the formidable size of the boar that is being hunted (e.g. Hdt. 1.36.1: ἰὸς χρῆμα μέγα) observed by Meuli, \textit{Scythica Vergiliana}, “Schweiz. Arch. für Volkskunde” 56, 1960, 126 = \textit{Ges. Schr.} 2.799) may be partly explained by the wish to provide a worthy “enemy”, though other factors beside are at play (see e.g. Burkert (as cited above n. 10) p. 88 Þ p. 75: “In the hunter’s imagination and in mutual acts of encouragement, the quarry... had to seem ‘big’ and ‘masculine’... in a sense the ‘big’ and ‘masculine’ prey was part of the group, φιλακός in the basic sense of the word. Masculine, big, both a member of the family and doomed to die”). For war as “a transformation of ritual killing” comparable with, though even more serious than, hunting see Burkert p. 58 Þ p. 47.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. N. Horsfall, “Cf” 14, 1979, 319 ff. The presentation of the boar on its appearance in Apuleius \textit{Met.} 8.4 exaggerates its ferocity to the point of parody: see Hijmans and van der Paardt as cited above n. 18 and in the Groningen commentary \textit{ad loc}.
also true of Diarmuid in the Irish tale, who is the maternal nephew of King Fionn, and of Tristan in Gottfried’s _Tristan und Isold_, who is the maternal nephew of King Mark. In Gottfried’s narrative (vv. 13512 ff.) the High Steward Marjordo dreams that a boar (an animal already associated with Tristan because (vv. 4940 ff.) its figure was displayed on his shield) bursts into King Mark’s bed-chamber, ploughs up the royal bed, and befouls its sheets with his foam. This undeniably sexual imagery is followed by the appropriate sequel: Majordo awakes to witness an illicit assignation between Tristan and Isold.

In explanation of this recurrent affinity I would invoke (with all due caution) the remarks on aggression, sexuality and incest\footnote{Compare the interpretation of folk-tales (such as that of Cain and Abel) about fratricide as “Vatermord... abgeschwächt zu B[uder]mord” (M. Lüthi in _Enzykl. des Märchens_ s.v. “Bruder, Brüder”[2.856]).} cited above in connection with the Bushman of Australia. In the Meleager story, aggressive instincts which might dangerously be directed against the father are more safely channelled towards uncles on the mother’s side\footnote{For the possible relevance of incestuous and patricidal instincts in the context of hunting see e.g. Burkert (as cited above (n. 10) pp. 86 ff. \(\approx\) pp. 73 ff.), esp. the conclusion (p. 88 \(\equiv\) p. 75): “the rising generation’s latent rebelliousness... and its Oedipal inclinations toward patricide are deflected and ritually neutralised in the hunt, sacrifice, and war”. Cf. K. Roth’s article s.v. “Kastration” in _Enzyklopädie des Märchens_ (7.1002) for castration as punishment for incest in folk-tales. Cf. R.G.A. Buxton, “JHS” 100, 1980, 24 f. on blinding as a possible symbolic substitute for castration in, e.g., the climax of the Oedipus story; note the binding of Thrasyllus in the story at Apuleius _Met._ 8.1-15 mentioned above.} Likewise in the tales of Diarmuid and Tristan, the prospect of an incestuous affair with the father’s wife is averted by intrusion of the mother’s brother.

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